

UC-NRLF



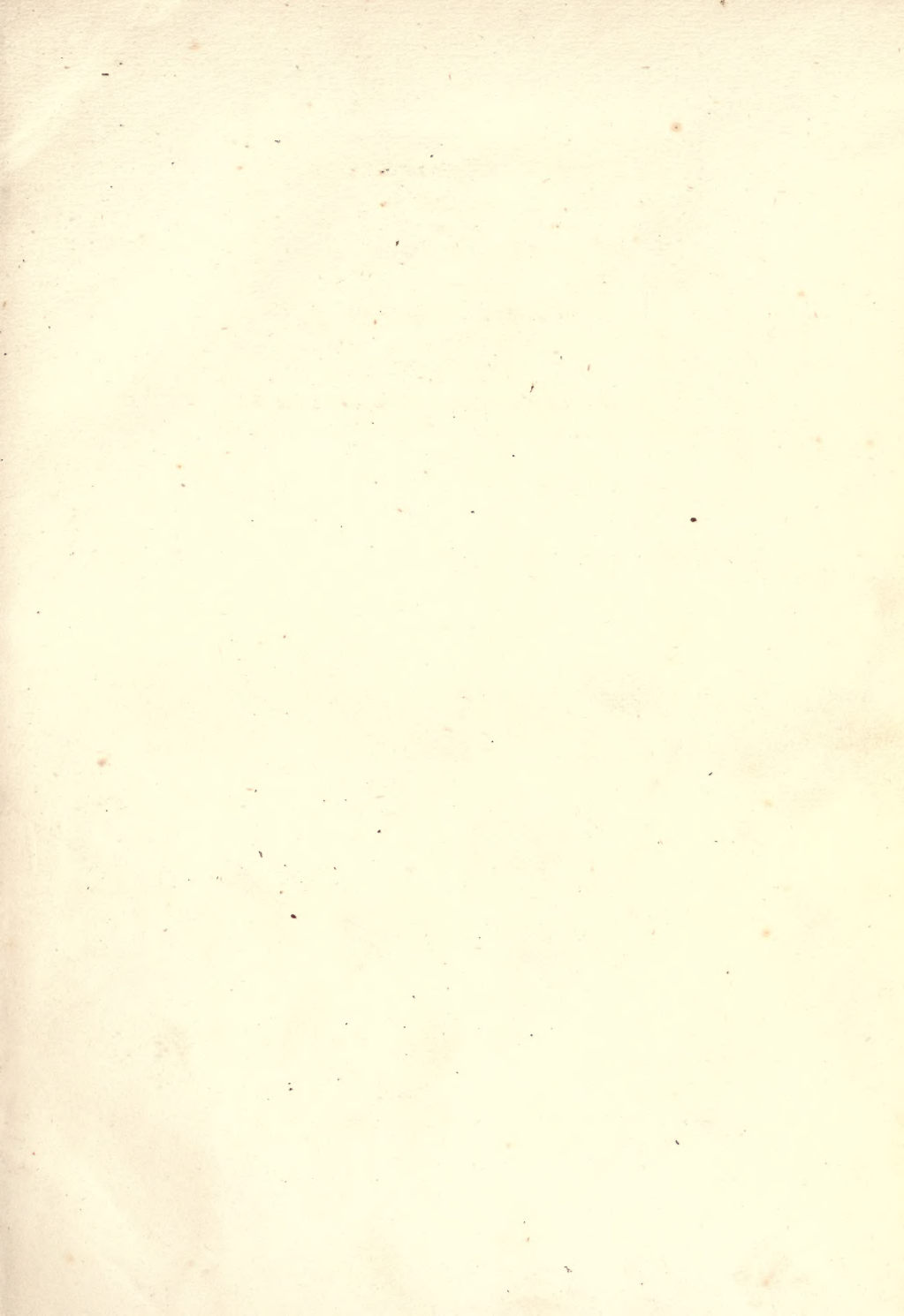
SC 16 089

LIBRARY  
OF THE  
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

GIFT OF  
MRS. MARY WOLFSQHN

IN MEMORY OF  
HENRY WOLFSOHN

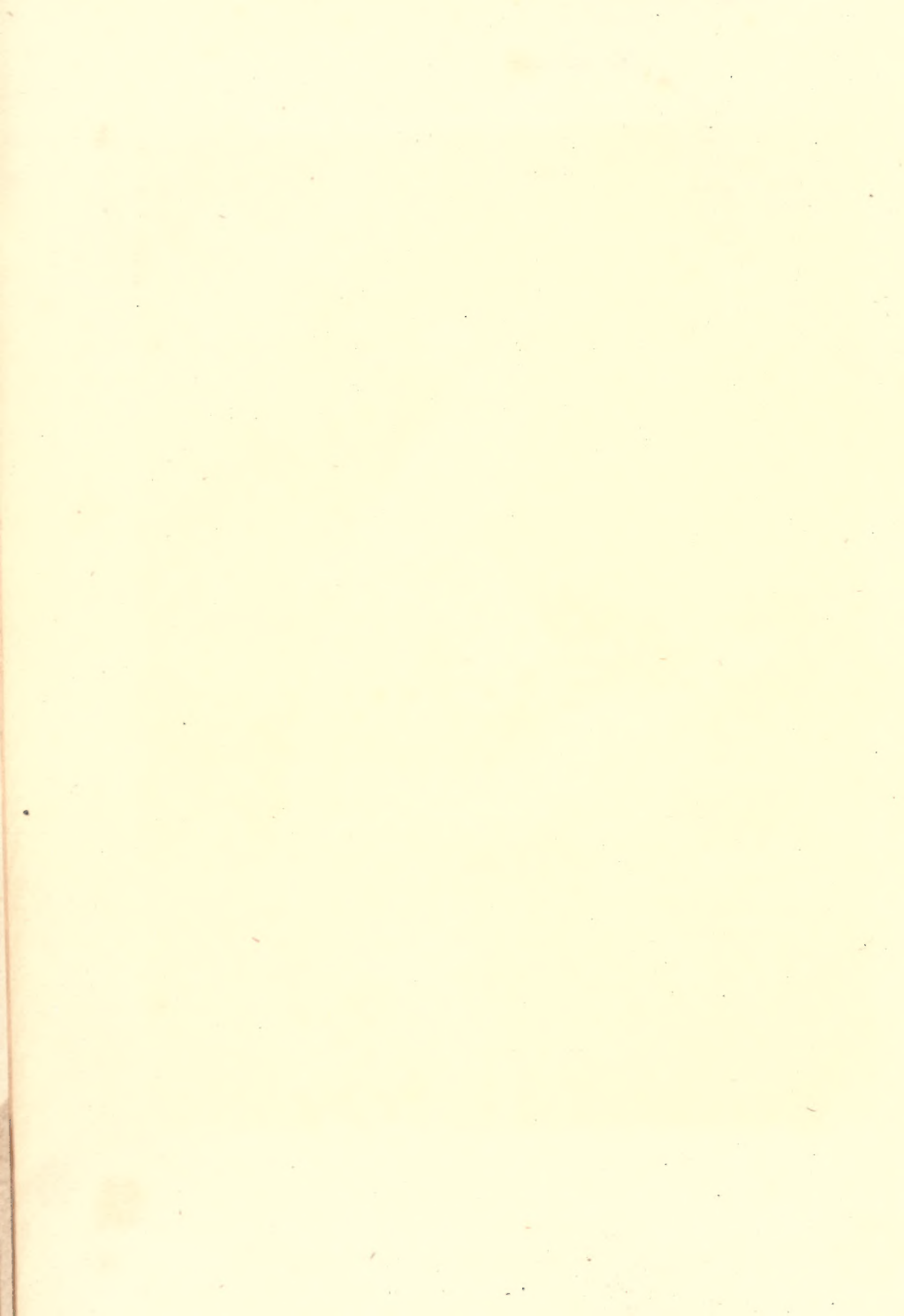


















*Engraved according to and at the request of the Queen by John Mulready & Co. in the studio office of the engraver, at the southern corner of New Street.*

*Victoria*

*From the original painting by Chappé, in the possession of the publisher.*

Johnson, Fry & Co. Publishers, New York.



# HISTORY OF THE WORLD



## Ancient and Modern.

Painted by

INVASION OF BRITAIN BY JULIUS CAESAR.

Alonzo Chappel

NEW YORK,  
JOHNSON, PERRY & COMPANY,  
27 BEEKMAN STREET.

Published by Johnson, Perry & Co., 27 Beekman Street, New York, in the year 1854, in the second volume of the History of the World, A.D. 1854.





HISTORY  
OF  
THE WORLD

FROM THE  
EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME.

*COLLECTED AND ARRANGED FROM THE BEST AUTHORITIES.*

BY  
EVERT A. DUYCKINCK,  
AUTHOR OF "NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY OF EMINENT AMERICANS," "CYCLOPEDIA OF AMERICAN LITERATURE," ETC., ETC.

Illustrated with Highly Finished Steel Engravings  
OF

HISTORICAL EVENTS AND PORTRAITS OF EMINENT MEN

*FROM ORIGINAL PAINTINGS BY ALONZO CHAPPEL, PAUL DE LA ROCHE, GEROME, COPLEY, WEIR,  
POWELL, AND OTHER EMINENT ARTISTS.*

VOLUME III



NEW YORK:  
JOHNSON & MILES,  
27 BEEKMAN STREET.

# CONTENTS.

## VOLUME THIRD.

	PAGE
HOLLAND, . . . . .	1
BELGIUM, . . . . .	43
SWITZERLAND, . . . . .	69
SPAIN, . . . . .	80
PORTUGAL, . . . . .	143
ENGLAND, . . . . .	169
SCOTLAND, . . . . .	490
IRELAND, . . . . .	560
AUSTRALASIA, . . . . .	631
POLYNESIA, . . . . .	636

# LIST OF ENGRAVINGS

## VOLUME THIRD.

PORTRAIT OF QUEEN VICTORIA,	- - - - -	<i>Frontispiece</i>
INVASION OF BRITAIN BY JULIUS CÆSAR, -	- - - - -	<i>Vignette Title</i>
HUDSON RECEIVING HIS COMMISSION	- - - - -	PAGE 25
COLUMBUS PLANNING DISCOVERY OF AMERICA,	- - - - -	96
HEROIC DEFENCE OF SARAGOSSA	- - - - -	111
KING JOHN SIGNING MAGNA CHARTA,	- - - - -	211
TRIAL OF QUEEN KATHERINE	- - - - -	249
CROMWELL REFUSING THE CROWN OF ENGLAND	- - - - -	323
DEATH OF THE EARL OF CHATHAM,	- - - - -	405
PORTRAIT OF NELSON,	- - - - -	448
PORTRAIT OF WELLINGTON	- - - - -	468
PORTRAIT OF BRIGHT,	- - - - -	484
PORTRAIT OF GLADSTONE,	- - - - -	488
MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS' LAST MOMENTS	- - - - -	558
PORTRAIT OF DANIEL O'CONNELL	- - - - -	626



# HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

## HOLLAND.

**H**OLLAND is an European kingdom, formed in part of islands, but chiefly of that part of the Continent where the mouths of the Rhine are divided into several branches before it reaches the German Ocean. This district is said to have owned the ancient name of Batavia, by which it was known to the Romans, to one Bato; but at what period he flourished is unknown; and the name is now scarcely used excepting among the poets of the district. By accounts collected from the works of Caesar and Tacitus, we learn that the ancient tribes who inhabited this portion of Europe had been able to maintain their independence in spite of the attempt made to subdue them by the Teutones, the Cimbri, and other nations, who had conquered the rest of what was then called Gaul. The Batavians, says the last of these historians, excelled all the other people on the Rhine in military spirit. When subdued by the Romans they paid their tribute in soldiers; and from them was formed a cavalry, which composed the most efficient part of the Roman armies. They astonished the Dacians by the dexterity and bravery with which, completely armed, they swam their horses across the Danube to attack those people; and for a long period they formed the guard of the Roman emperors. A body of Batavians accompanied Agricola on his expedition into Britain, and were of great assistance in securing his conquest in the island.

Although the Romans at length overcome the Batavians, it was after a strenuous re-

sistance. The last that submitted was the tribe of the Frisons, who inhabited the marshes. Drusus, the Roman commander, constructed a canal between the Rhine and the Zuyder Zee, and thus opened a way into the German Ocean to the Ems and the Weser, by which he was enabled to penetrate into the heart of Germany, and to subdue that country. During four centuries the Batavians formed part of the Roman legions; but amongst these, after the reign of the Emperor Honorius, their name is no longer to be found.

After that period the islands were overrun by the Franks; and the transactions relating to them have been mixed up with those of the adjoining Belgians. The Frieslanders, however, opposed and broke through the armies of the Franks, and made their appearance as a free, and in some measure a victorious people, on the left bank of the Rhine; and there, adhering to their ancient customs, upon which had been engrafted many of the principals introduced by the Romans, they long maintained their independence. These people had suffered the least from the invasion of foreigners, and retained through several centuries distinct traces of their ancient constitution, their national spirit, and their national manners.

In the fifth and sixth centuries the kingdom of the Franks, which had arisen out of the ruins of the Roman power, gradually extended itself, and in the seventh had subdued the last of the Batavian people, the long re-



sisting Frisons. Under Charles Martel the last conquest was achieved, and a way opened by his sword for the introduction of the Christian religion.

When Charlemagne had obtained his extensive dominion, and the feudal system was introduced, and continued under his successors, the powerful vassals of the crown, to whom the lands were granted, by degrees acquired a sort of mitigated sovereignty; but being unable to maintain themselves without the assistance of their under feudatories, they were compelled, in order to secure their fidelity, to grant them advantageous conditions of tenure. The clergy, too, by pious usurpations or pious donations, became a powerful and independent corporate body. Thus, during the tenth, eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the whole of Belgium and of Batavia was split into several small dominions, the princes of which acknowledged a limited allegiance, some of them to the German empire, and others to the kings of the Franks. During this period Brabant, and afterwards Luxembourg, Limburg, and Gueldres, obtained the name of dukedoms; Flanders, Holland, Zealand, Henne-gau, Artois, Namur, and Zutphen, were ranked as Graafschappen or courtships. Utrecht was a bishopric, the prelate of which exercised civil authority also in Overijssel and Groningen. Amongst all these chiefs the Count of Flanders was the most powerful; and as, in 1383, that countship fell to the then more powerful house of Burgundy, the prince of that family, partly by intermarriages, partly by force, and partly by voluntary or purchased submission, obtained supreme authority over the whole of what became the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands.

This appears to have been the most flourishing period of these provinces. Agriculture was carried on with spirit, skill, and abundant results. Manufactures of linen, and especially of woollen goods, gave occupation to an increasing population; and foreign commerce was extensive and profitable.

The commodities of India brought to the Italian cities were transmitted to Antwerp, Bruges, and some other places, where extensive dépôts were established for foreign and domestic goods, and where, at the periodical fairs, the merchants of the northern kingdoms of Europe resorted, and transacted their commercial affairs.

The government of the Dukes of Burgundy was tempered by the privileges enjoyed by the cities, and by the nobility who possessed the land; and, though contests frequently arose between the sovereign and the states, they rarely came to open hostilities. When disturbances occurred, they were not of such duration, or so extensive, as to interrupt in any great degree the rapid growth of general wealth and progressive improvement.

Charles the Bold, the last of the Dukes of Burgundy, lost his life in a battle with the cantons of Switzerland in 1477. His eldest daughter Maria married Maximilian, duke of Austria, and received the Netherlands as her portion; and her grandson, born at Ghent, afterwards Charles V., emperor of Germany, thus became sovereign of those countries and of the kingdom of Spain from the moment of his birth. Before the marriage of Maria, and also under Maximilian, when he had become emperor and guardian of his son, attempts were made to lessen the influence of the states. But these were powerfully resisted by some of the cities, and especially by Bruges, in 1487, and by Sluys about the same time. Bruges was sufficiently strong to resist the encroachments; but Maximilian, in despite of its privileges, blocked up the port of Sluys for ten years, which caused the foreign ships that before crowded to that place to repair to Antwerp and Amsterdam; and these cities from that period became the two principal seats of foreign commerce.

The Netherlands, at the end of the fifteenth century, became the great school for the fine arts. These had been introduced from Italy; and the artists of the Low Countries were

soon successful rivals of their masters of Florence, Bologna and Venice, in painting, in statuary, in architecture and in engraving. The art of printing, if not invented, was first made known at Haerlem, and was soon practiced in other cities of the Netherland provinces.

At the accession of Charles V. the situation of the Netherlands became widely changed. Instead of a paternal government, the chief of which in a great measure depended on the prosperity of these provinces, they were converted into a dependent, and, though rich and populous, an insignificant part of a large empire, to the promotion of whose greatness, whether for good or for evil to themselves, they must in future be almost wholly subservient.

Between the Flemings and the Spaniards an excessive distaste was mutually felt, which soon attained to the most inveterate hatred. This originated in the difference of genius, of manners, customs, and mode of government, and was quickly increased by the regret natural to a powerful people, such as those of the Netherlands deemed themselves, at being incorporated, and thereby almost swallowed up, by another nation. Steps were early taken by Charles, under the pretence of introducing unity in his territories, that had a tendency to undermine the privileges which the Netherland states had zealously defended and long maintained. Before his accession a legal tribunal had been established at Mechlin, to which appeals might be made from all the legal tribunals of the confederate states; and as none but natives were judges, and their decisions were guided by the ancient law, it was looked up to with confidence, and considered as a security to their constitutions. This tribunal was, however, nullified by being placed under an imperial court, established at Brussels, several of the members of which were foreigners, and all of whom were dependent on the royal favor alone. This imperial court was naturally viewed with a jealous eye, and was ill adapted for the protection of those

rights to which the people were attached. The growing expenses of the hostile operations of Charles in other parts of his extended dominions, made his demands on his Netherland subjects much heavier. In spite of their ancient right of levying taxes, he imposed some that were new, and increased others. The history of this reign contains constant repetitions of subsidies required, which were at first rejected or deferred, but at length yielded, though with reluctance and discontent.

Another subject of murmuring was the introduction of foreign troops, that is, forces belonging to other dominions of the emperor, as well as recruiting his armies in the Netherlands without the consent of the states; circumstances which, besides being contrary to the constitution, involved them in wars to which they were indifferent or repugnant, and which were injurious to their interest as a commercial people.

Charles felt that the commerce of his subjects could alone enable him to extract from them those pecuniary supplies which his general government needed; and so far he protected their manufactures and mercantile affairs, and in some cases even recalled edicts, at the requisition of his Flemish subjects, which he would have without hesitation enforced at Madrid. The most influential of all the causes which arose in the reign of Charles V. was the religious reformation which had commenced in Germany, had spread in France, and from both these countries had been introduced into the Netherlands, chiefly in the trading cities, and in them had gained numerous adherents. The full effect of this, and of the other causes which have been here noticed, did not appear until the abdication of the emperor had elevated his son Philip II. to the extensive dominions of his father.

The religious excitement gave some uneasiness to Charles, and measures were feebly applied to check the progress of the new opinions, to which, when not actuated by political views, he at one time seemed not to be



strenuously inimical. Had the emperor been disposed to severity towards the professors of the Protestant tenets, any measure of that nature would have affected the interests of commerce, and have tended to diminish the revenues he drew from that source. The foreign merchants who had establishments, or frequented the fairs, in the Netherlands, brought with them from Germany, England, France and other countries, the doctrines and the writings of the Protestants. These were diffused amongst the natives, and made a great impression; and any attempts to destroy their intercourse, or to punish them for their opinions, would have driven commerce, as it did a few years later under Philip II., to the other markets of Europe, where greater religious freedom was enjoyed.

Towards the close of his reign, Charles issued indeed some most severe laws against those who professed the new religion. These were in some cases applied with unfeeling cruelty, though they tended but little to diminish the progress of the dissident principles. He had resolved, after the successful issue of his wars in Germany, to reduce his Netherland subjects to uniform obedience to the Roman Catholic religion, and for that purpose he designed to have introduced the Inquisition. The fear alone of that dreaded tribunal in Antwerp suspended immediately all commerce, and the most eminent foreigners made instant preparations to remove. There were neither buyers nor sellers to be seen, the value of the buildings was destroyed, and all the operative laborers were discharged. Money totally disappeared, and no taxes could be collected. At the earnest recommendation of the Duchess of Parma, as vice-regent, this edict was suspended. The common tribunals were directed to practice no molestation on the foreign merchants; and, instead of the Inquisition, a milder court, at least in name, was framed, and called the ecclesiastical tribunal. In the other provinces, however, much severity was beginning to be practised, not long before the abdication of Charles; but, severe as

these were, the remembrance of them was speedily obliterated by the more savage cruelties practised under the reign of his son.

The reign of Charles was, upon the whole, beneficial to the United Netherland Provinces, and he left that division of his dominions in a most flourishing condition; so that for its extent it was by far the most considerable state in Europe. Their taxes were by no means heavy, though their trade was most extensive; and the mechanical genius and persevering industry of the inhabitants had rendered the Low Countries the workshop of Europe. When the emperor, at his solemn abdication, delivered over these provinces to the rule of his son, they are reported to have contained three hundred and fifty cities, and six thousand three hundred towns and large villages, besides numerous hamlets, farm-houses and castles. These comprehended the four dukedoms of Brabant, Limburg, Luxembourg and Gelderland; the seven countships of Artois, Hennegau, Flanders, Namur, Zutphen, Holland and Zealand; the margravate of Antwerp; and the baronies of Friesland, Mechlin, Utrecht, Overijssel and Groningen. Statistical researches were not much practised at that period, and no accurate views can be obtained of the extent of the population; but there is good reason to conclude, that, though at present the Netherlands are the most densely peopled of any part of Europe, the numbers then were more than equal to what they are now. The seven provinces which afterwards formed the republic were probably less populous; but the other divisions, where manufactures were more generally carried on, were, from all accounts, proportionally more crowded. Philip II. ascended the throne on the abdication of his father in October, 1555. He had been educated in Spain, and had imbibed the retired and stately manners of that country. He spoke no other language but Spanish, except the short time he had passed in England after his marriage with Queen Mary, he had scarcely ever left the peninsula. He was most zealously attached to the Roman Catho-

lic religion, and not less so to the unrestricted exercise of arbitrary power. He was distrustful of those who administered public affairs, was nearly invisible to his subjects, and the few who had access to his presence were commonly disgusted both with his manners and with the punctilious formalities with which their introduction was attended. He was deemed insensible to human sufferings, and was equivocating, if not insincere, in the replies he made to the petitions of his subjects.

He remained in the Netherlands from his accession in 1555 till August, 1559, when he embarked for Spain, and never afterwards returned. The measures he introduced during his stay, his repulsive manners, and the humors he displayed at his departure, all tended to strengthen that aversion, mingled with suspicion, which had begun to manifest itself during the reign of his imperial predecessor.

The most obnoxious measures to the people were, first, a design to abolish several of the monastic establishments, in order that their estates might be converted into revenues for new bishopricks, the incumbents of which were to be the instruments of introducing the Inquisition into the provinces. That institution was held in such abhorrence, that it encountered every obstruction which could be opposed to it, both by the Catholics and the Protestants. It had met also, at the court of Rome, some obstacles which caused delay, so that the arrangement was not completed when the king departed for Spain. The second cause of complaint was the retention of foreign forces within the states. When the king came to the throne, a war was carried on with France; but the French having been signally defeated at the battle of St. Quentin in 1557, a peace was, after long negotiations, completed at Chateau-Cambresis. The withdrawing of the troops, consisting both of the Spanish infantry and of some German auxiliaries, was eagerly looked for by all the inhabitants. The latter were disbanded and sent home, but the

former were retained, and proved dreadfully oppressive to the country. Vander Vynckt, the faithful historian of Flanders, says, "the Spaniards were so elevated with their late successes against the French, that they thought the ransom or the pillage of the whole of the Netherlands would be an insufficient recompense for the actions they had performed. They lived at free quarters on the country, and trampled on the people without pity." In fact, receiving little or no pay, or that pay being much in arrears, they were of necessity instigated to all sorts of disorders, and led to practise the most abominable oppressions. The remonstrances of the states were coldly received, and though assurances were given that the grievance should be removed, and the period for it was fixed, it was delayed from time to time, and ultimately consented to in appearance only, as they remained on the frontiers, ready to re-enter when the ulterior measures which were in preparation should require their assistance. As one means of delaying the departure of these troops, two legions were proposed to be placed under the command of the Prince of Orange and Count Egmont, two of the most patriotic and popular of the nobility. But their integrity resisted the temptation; they declined the command, and this rendered the continuance of the troops the more obnoxious.

A third cause of complaint was, a violation of the ancient constitution of the states, by introducing into the higher executive and judicial offices persons of foreign birth. When Philip left the Netherlands, the government was conferred on the Duchess of Parma, a natural daughter of the Emperor Charles V. She was to be assisted by a council of state, composed of the Prince of Orange, the Counts Egmont and Horn, Granvelt, bishop of Arras, Count Barlaimont, and Vigilius de Quichem. But by secret orders, but which soon transpired, a committee of this council, consisting of the three last named, was empowered in most cases to communicate alone with the duchess, and in



all cases to decide on the advice which was to be given to her. Thus the Prince of Orange and the two counts were mere ciphers, and rarely attended the council. Barlaimont was a mere creature of Granvelt, who attended only to the finances, of which he was chief, and was commonly absent when other affairs were under consideration; Vigilius was a man of profound scholastic learning, very politic and very yielding; so that, in fact, the whole power was conceded to Granvelt. He was a native of France, and had distinguished himself by his learning, but more by his subservience to the rigor and caprices of Philip. By these means, from the low condition of a parish priest, he was raised to the episcopal rank, and finally to the dignity of a cardinal. His being a foreigner was the pretext, but his arbitrary disposition and intolerant rigor the causes, of general aversion; and the firmest and most pointed representations of the assemblies of the several states were solely but availingly directed towards him. He alone conducted all the affairs, and to him the secret orders of the king were conveyed.

The three members of the council who had been named on account of the estimation in which they were held among the natives of the Netherlands, though they were utterly inefficient as members of the board, should not be passed over without short notices of their rank and character, on account of the vast interest which has been excited by the events they directed, and the fates they experienced.

William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, was one of the greatest men of his own or any other age. He had in his youth been brought up in Germany, his native country, amongst Protestants, whose creed his father had adopted. Being of an illustrious house, he was early introduced to the Emperor Charles, whose favor and confidence he obtained, and he was employed by him in some most honorable commissions and embassies. He came to the possession of the family inheritance on the death of an uncle and a cousin,

consisting of extensive estates in Burgundy and the Netherlands, and thus was by far the richest of all the nobles of the country. By his wealth he was enabled to live magnificently when ambassador in France and in England, and afterwards at home when governor of the provinces of Holland and Zealand. He was as highly estimated in foreign countries as in the Netherlands, and had formed numerous alliances and friendships in England and France, and others still more considerable in Germany. He was a man of penetration, courage, and resolution, with enlarged and accurate political views. His measures were maturely considered, but when once determined upon, nothing could shake them. In the greatest adversity he was firm and tranquil, and he possessed in his mind inexhaustible resources. He was remarkable for his taciturnity, from which circumstance he was sometimes distinguished by the name of William the Silent. An Italian proverb has appropriately described him, *Tacendo parla, parlando incanta*.

Lamoral count Egmont was also a nobleman of the first rank, of a family originating in Holland, some members of which had in former times been the sovereign Dukes of Gelderland. His mother, the heiress of the house of Luxembourg-Fiennes, had brought to the family of Egmont estates in Flanders of vast extent and riches. He was adored by the inhabitants of Flanders and Artois, of which provinces he was the governor, and was generally considered as the fittest person to have filled the dignity held by the Duchess of Parma. He was generous, frank, disinterested, and open hearted. He was besides a good general, possessing intrepid courage, and had distinguished himself in the war with France. He was less adroit than the Prince of Orange, and had less of foresight, but he was as eminent in the field as the other was in the cabinet. These men were at one time rivals for power, but a common interest closely united them. Philip de Montmorenci, count Horn, was an admiral, and in his command of the naval forces

had displayed the most intrepid courage, and had rendered great service to the Spanish government. He had been governor of the provinces of Zutphen and Gelderland, and by the management of Granvelt had been suspended and sent into Spain, where he is said to have acquired a thorough knowledge of the operations intended against the liberties of his country, and communicated them to the Prince of Orange. He was reported also to have then had some intercourse with Don Carlos, the heir to the throne of Spain, who himself was supposed to feel differently on the affairs of the Netherlands from his father King Philip.

With these three leaders were connected others of rank nearly equal, the whole of the inferior nobility, and a very large majority of the burghers, merchants and manufacturers of the cities and towns; and in particular almost the whole of those people who were connected with maritime transactions, either as owners or navigators of vessels.

We return now to the causes of complaint which were made in the Netherlands. The fourth of them was, the omitting to call together the general assembly of the states. Though under the reign of the Emperor Charles the power of that body had been much curtailed, they were yet the organ of the opinions and feelings of the more respectable part of the nation. Their views and complaints were freely communicated to the government, and exercised influence on its decisions. One of the last and most decisive instructions given by Philip to the Duchess of Parma, before his departure for Spain, forbade the assembling of this body.

The chief points upon which the subjects felt aggrieved are only here noticed, though there were many others, some of a minor and some of a local nature, all which, combined with the general disgust felt towards Spain and the Spanish monarch, tended to shake the authority of the king, by indisposing the civil tribunals from following up with zeal the ordinances which from time to time were issued by the sovereign.

These complaints had at a very early period excited secret associations amongst the nobility and gentry which were in opposition to the extension of the severe penal laws. One of these associations was formed as early as 1556, by Martinier baron of St. Aldegonde in Breda, a confidential friend of the Prince of Orange. He, with ten or twelve others of equal rank, drew up a declaration, then known by the name of the *Compromise*. It contained execrations against the Inquisition, which it painted in the most horrible colors. It accused foreigners of having seduced the king to refuse the abolition of his rigid ordinances, that they might be enabled to gratify their ambition and their avarice; and it concluded with declaring, that they were united to assist the oppressed, to resist violence, and, above all things, never to submit to the establishment of the Inquisition. When this compromise had been signed at Breda, numerous copies of it were made and circulated throughout all the provinces, from Artois to Friesland. It was signed with avidity by all classes, from the highest nobility to the lowest artisans. This association at length became so extensive and bold as to determine on an application to the regent, for which purpose the leaders requested an audience, that they might lay their complaints before her. This request, after much hesitation and with some symptoms of alarm on the part of the government, was at length granted. The nobles assembled at Brussels, attended, according to the custom of the age, by their numerous followers, and, marching to the palace in a long train in regular order, were admitted to an audience. The address was read by Brederode count of Utrecht. It contained strong professions of obedience and loyalty, and asserted that the associates were innocent of the charge of which they had been calumniated, of having entered into engagements with foreign powers. In conclusion, a convocation of the states-general was requested, and in the mean time a provisional suspension of all inquisitorial measures and



proclamations, until a reply could be received from the king, who was then in Spain. An equivocal reply was given, the substance of which was merely that more temperate measures would be pursued till the orders of the king were received.

This assembling of the nobles gave to the associates a name which was assumed and long continued as a mark of distinction. During the audience at the palace, the duchess appeared somewhat alarmed at the great number of persons which composed the deputation. Count Barlaimont, one of her suit, in order to calm her disquietude, whispered, but sufficiently loud to be heard by those who were nearest, that they were nothing more than *un ramas de gueux*, a crowd of beggars. On this being reported at a convivial meeting of the nobles, one of them, as a toast, gave *vivent les gueux*, which was received with acclamation, and the name afterwards adopted; and their clothing and ornaments were so worn as to exhibit emblems like those in use amongst conventual mendicants and other beggars, one of the most distinguishing of which was a sack thrown over the shoulders, on which was frequently painted the motto of the association, *Fidèle au roi jusqu'à la besace*.

The exhibition of strength on the part of the associates led to a series of negotiations between the vice-regent and the party, which at length was terminated on the 23d of August, 1566, by the duchess provisionally, till orders could be received from Spain, agreeing to suspend the introduction of the Inquisition, and in the mean time to submit her other measures to the revision of the states-general.

Even this kind of truce was only conceded in consequence of some tumultuous and outrageous assemblages, partly excited by the Protestant preachers, but of which they soon ceased to have any power of direction or control. The assemblies first collected by field preachers were composed of those who had imbibed the Protestant opinions, and were held on the frontiers of Liège, about St.

Trond. They were soon joined, out of curiosity, by numbers anxious to hear the new doctrines, but speedily afterwards by all the wandering tribes of outlaws, vagabonds, and plunderers; and at length they became so numerous that no resistance could be made to them in the open country, or even in the cities which were not fortified and well garrisoned. The Catholic writers of the period represent these assemblages as being composed principally of the sectarians of Germany and the Calvinists of France, joined to the Anabaptists of Leyden and other parts of Holland. It seems evident, however, that these were very early outnumbered by others whose chief objects were plunder and destruction. Their first operations were to attack and rob the monasteries in the open country; they then seized on the churches, and destroyed all the images and other appendages of the Catholic worship, carrying away with them whatever was portable and valuable. The peaceable inhabitants appeared everywhere panic-struck, and the desolating power thus let loose was opposed by no obstacles; so that at length all the cities except Brussels were more or less subject to the depredators. Ypres, Tournay, Valenciennes, and Oudenarde suffered the most. At Antwerp the Prince of Orange suspended the destruction as long as he remained there, but after his removal the insurgents gained the superiority, and were enabled to destroy the images and ornaments of the cathedral, as well as those of the other churches and monasteries, in that city. This devastation was like a hurricane, and though the storm passed over in a short space of time, its effects were frightful, and its destructive operations extensive.

The duchess, though about to leave Brussels, and seek safety in Mons, was persuaded by her council to remain in the capital, where intimidations on one side, and proposals to treat with the insurgents on the other, were urged with vehemence. To the latter she at length yielded, and authorized the Prince of Orange, with the Counts Egmont and

Horn, to treat with the chiefs of the insurgents, who still continued in St. Trond. This measure was so far successful for the time, that, after the provisional agreement already noticed, a treaty was concluded with the leaders at St. Trond, and signed on the 25th of August. It was agreed that the preachers might continue their religious practices in the places where they actually did exercise them, that the people might attend them, but unarmed, and cause no trouble to the Catholics. The nobles were to renounce the confederation, and all were to lay down their arms, and assist in restoring and re-establishing the estates, the churches, the monasteries, and the hospitals that had been plundered, and indemnify those who had suffered.

A temporary lull was thus procured, though frequently interrupted by local explosions. All were waiting with impatience for intelligence from Madrid, whither couriers were immediately forwarded after the pacification, with dispatches from the duchess to King Philip. The letters to Spain were expressed in the most melancholy strain. The duchess confessed that she had granted to the insurgents terms that were degrading to herself, and which she could not relate without shame and grief. She affirmed that she had long resisted, but, weakened by fever and sleepless nights, had at length yielded; that with anguish of mind and bodily pain, and the fear of greater evils, she had granted pardon to the rebels, and had acceded to their demands, but that she had done nothing in the name of the king, but only in her own; and that he might disavow and undo what she had done, as his majesty was no party to the acts. The dispatch concluded with an earnest solicitation that his majesty would not delay his journey to the Low Countries till the spring, but come immediately to Brussels.

Philip received the dispatches at Segovia, where he was confined by sickness; and though he read and remarked upon them, no answer was returned till he was enabled

to remove to Madrid and assemble his council. In that council it was seen that the vice-regent had in no way committed his majesty, and the answers were dictated under that assumption. Two dispatches were drawn, one of them ostensible and the other secret. They are to be found at length in Strada, and the substance of them may be thus abridged. The first or public letter announced the birth of an infanta, and that the king had removed to Madrid to make the necessary preparations for his journey to Flanders; that a convocation of the states would be no remedy for the existing evils, but an injury to the honor and the conscience of the king; and that the best measure, in case of necessity, would be to repel force by force, in which circumstances she might securely count on the aid of the well disposed people. The secret dispatch was more laconic. It enjoined attention to former orders, and to the public letter, on what related to the convocation of the states-general; and if any force was exercised towards the government, to trust to God and his providence, but to do nothing that should appear, either directly or indirectly, to have proceeded from the opinion of the king.

It was the policy of the court of Spain at this period to keep every thing in the Netherlands in a state of total suspense. For this purpose rumors were spread of the king's intended journey. The time was fixed, the preparations were made, the route was determined, and the attendants were named. It was however only a kind of feint, though, to give it more the appearance of reality, application was made to the king of France for permission to pass, and also the Duke of Savoy was consulted respecting the fittest passage over the Alps, in case the king should proceed to Italy by sea. These measures satisfied almost the whole of the inhabitants that their sovereign would speedily appear amongst them. The Prince of Orange alone was not deceived. He had emissaries of talent in Madrid, in Rome, and in Vienna, and indeed wherever important intelligence



could be obtained. In 1565 Catherine de Medici, with her son Charles IX., had a meeting at Bayonne, to which King Philip and his queen, a daughter of Medici, were to have repaired. The king, however, did not join them, but the queen did. It was represented as a mere family party, at which the ambassadors of other states were not expected to attend. At the meeting the females concocted a treaty between the two kings, which was to be kept secret from all but themselves. It engaged to extirpate all heresy and hereties, not only from their own dominions, but from all the other parts of Europe in which Protestantism had already been embraced. The secret was well kept, and the meeting was attributed to some projected family marriages, which Philip represented to his ministers as a matter which would be best arranged by the females. Walsingham, the ambassador at Paris of Queen Elizabeth, within little more than a year gained the particulars of the treaty, and communicated them to his court, and thence the knowledge of it was conveyed to the Prince of Orange, who maintained the most profound secrecy till the most useful moment for its being made known had arrived.

It was generally believed that the prince had the most complete knowledge of what passed in the cabinet of King Philip, though it is now unknown if, as some suspected, he had the intelligence from his son Don Carlos, or, as others imagined, from one of his secretaries. It is said, that from his perfect knowledge of the transactions and opinions of the French court, and of what had passed at Bayonne, he had predicted the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, and had informed the Admiral de Coligny of the plot, putting him on his guard against the caresses and the treachery of the court, but which, unfortunately for the illustrious victim, did not save him from the miserable fate which he at length suffered. The Prince of Orange was possessed of large estates in Germany, and, by blood as well as by marriage, was closely connected with many of the smaller sover-

eigns of that country, who had embraced and introduced into their dominions the doctrine and the worship of the Protestants. Even the emperor, though a firm adherent of the Roman Catholic church, was in some measure influenced by him. He was induced to write to King Philip, expressing his good will, but pointed out to him that he was engaged in a war with the Turks, that a great part of Germany interested itself in the fate of the Netherlands, and that those who had adopted the confession of Augsburg would never allow the inhabitants of these provinces to be oppressed. He therefore recommended a negotiation with Orange, Egmont, and Horn, and offered his mediation to accommodate the differences. The court of Spain rejected this interference between the king and his Flemish subjects; but the knowledge of this correspondence served to strengthen the purpose of the Prince of Orange, who soon became acquainted with it, to adopt the precautionary measures which his situation required.

The Prince of Orange having learned, by his emissaries at the court of Madrid, that the preparations for the king's journey to the Netherlands were merely adopted to quiet and mislead the public, and that, on the contrary, it had been determined to pursue the most rigid measures, and intrust them to the Duke of Alba, determined on his course of action. He immediately resigned all the offices he held in the Netherlands, and withdrew himself and his family to his territories in the duchy of Nassau in Germany.

The Duke of Alba was reputed in that age to be cruel, crafty, proud, and avaricious; and his name was held in abhorrence throughout the Netherlands. Although it was resolved that he should have the sole power, yet the purpose was concealed even from the regent herself. Philip continued to assure her that he was resolved to come as soon as possible, and that the Duke of Alba only preceded him, to smooth the way, and so arrange affairs that he might on his arrival the more easily restore tranquillity; that in the

mean time the duke would command the army, and attend to the fortifications, and the security of the country, but still in subordination to the authority of her highness. The knowledge of this appointment could not be long kept secret, and its disclosure produced universal consternation. The great nobles, such as the Prince of Orange, the Counts Calembourg, de Bergh, Brederode, and others, had early sold parts of their estates, and raised money by mortgages on the other portions of them. All that could, prepared for their removal. The inferior nobility, the rich merchants of Antwerp, the wealthy burghers of all the cities, resolved to expatriate themselves and their families. Soon after the mission of Alba was publicly made known, the duchess wrote to the king to say, that already more than one hundred thousand persons had abandoned their domicils and their country. The Low Countries were at that period at the height of prosperity. The cities were opulent and contiguous, the towns, villages, and hamlets, resembled the cities of other countries, and almost touched each other. It was most densely peopled, and so cultivated that no waste land was to be seen. The commerce was active, and the inhabitants, from industry, were easy in their circumstances, well fed and well clothed. They were the objects of envy to strangers, and viewed with peculiar jealousy by the Spaniards, who saw their condition, and compared it with that of their own country.

The emigrations caused by the first intelligence of the approach of Alba alarmed the duchess, who issued edicts designed to tranquilize the people, and these had some effect; but they were disavowed by orders of the king, and some who had been induced to return were subsequently the victims of their confidence. Afterwards, when the severities of Alba began to be exercised, the emigrations were increased; and though orders were issued to prevent it, and intrusted to the Spanish troops to execute, they came too late. A great number of families had

expatriated themselves, and taken with them whatever of their property they could save. Those who were left were chiefly artisans, who could find no employment when their masters had forsaken them, and were thus compelled to seek the means of subsistence elsewhere. A great part of such as were capable of bearing arms joined the Prince of Orange, or enlisted in the armies which the princes of Germany created. Others of them sought an asylum in the imperial cities, and there exercised their trades. Some threw themselves into the Walloon country and into Picardy, for the interior of France was then in greater commotion than even Flanders itself.

The greatest removals, however, were to England, where, by the orders of Elizabeth, all the ports were open to them, where their property was protected, and where they introduced new fabrics of various kinds, and established those manufactures which have become in process of time the foundation of the commerce and the wealth of that country.

The Duke of Alba, in 1567, embarked with his army at Barcelona, and landed at Genoa. After some stay at Milan, he passed the Alps by Mount Cenis, and proceeded to Franche Comté by the frontiers of Burgundy and Lorraine, and arrived in the beginning of August at Luxembourg, whence he proceeded to Brussels, and entered that city on the 22d of the same month. At his first appearance his conduct convinced the duchess that he was come to exercise supreme power, and in a short time she withdrew from the government. He conducted himself in a most caressing manner to Horn and Egmont, consulted them on military subjects, and especially in constructing fortresses at Valenciennes, Antwerp, and Groningen; but suddenly at the council arrested them, consigned them to separate prisons, seized all their papers, and obtained possession of their money, jewels, and other valuable effects.

When the duchess had quitted Flanders, Alba proceeded with his more violent mea-



tures. In January, 1568, he erected a judicial tribunal, well known in the annals of the country by the Flemish name of *Bloet-Ruete*, or sanguinary council. Alba was himself president, and Vargas, a Spaniard, vice-president. The other members were neither of the privy council nor of the council of Brabant, but, with the exception of two persons who never took their seats, consisted of individuals on whose concurrence Alba could securely rely.

This tribunal commenced by citing before it all the nobles and the citizens, whether absent or present, whether living or dead, who had signed the compromise, such as the Prince of Orange, the Counts of Nassau his brothers, the Counts Hoogstraten, Calem-bourg, and Brederode, and even the Marquis of Berghes, who was deceased. The Prince of Orange, who had decided on his part, replied in terms of defiance. He asserted that he was a member of the German empire, and as such answerable before none other than the emperor himself; and that, as one of the Spanish order of the golden fleece, he could only be judged by the king when holding a chapter of that order. The others made replies rejecting the authority of the new tribunal, and avowed their junction with the forces which the Prince of Orange was collecting.

The citations were numerous, but the most detailed account is that preserved at Ghent. One hundred and fifty persons, consisting of nobles, patricians, and burghers, were summoned on fixed days to appear at Brussels. Of that number only eighteen presented themselves, the others having emigrated or being concealed. These, conscious of their innocence, were allowed to defend themselves before the tribunal, and were then bound two and two together, and thus marched to prison. The process was not long deferred; they were condemned to death, and perished on the scaffold, some by the sword, others by the halter, according to their respective ranks. Numerous other prosecutions, which terminated in death and confiscations, were

carried on towards persons in Ghent; and if the number executed in the whole of the country were in the same proportion to those in that city, it may be true which Alba is said to have boasted on his return to Spain, that more than eight thousand persons had perished on the scaffold during his government of the Netherlands.

The executions of the Counts Egmont and Horn were deferred till June, when, by a process not to be justified by any law, they were condemned to suffer death. They were brought from their confinement in the prison of Ghent, surrounded by two thousand Spanish troops, and decapitated in the Place de Sablons, at Brussels, on the 5th of June, 1568. The illegality of these executions was loudly complained of, and produced a great effect over the whole of Europe. Even the emperor and the other Catholic princes loudly condemned the proceedings, whilst many of the Protestant princes were induced by it to lend their aid to the confederation which the Prince of Orange was forming to avenge his friends, and to rescue the country from the miseries it endured.

The army which Alba brought with him from Spain, with some additions on the way, amounted to 20,000 men, one half of which consisted of Spanish infantry, who were in that day considered as the best troops in Europe. They were well disciplined and well commanded, but were much disposed to mutiny, especially when, as was often the case, their pay was in arrear; and this disposition was afterwards often displayed in the most critical circumstances, to the great injury of the service in which they were employed. The desolation of the provinces, and the horrid cruelties which had been perpetrated, at length gave birth to that ruinous and obstinate civil war, which continued so long that none of those who commenced it lived to see its termination.

When the Prince of Orange retired into Germany, he had wished to have collected a force which might have harassed the army of Alba during the march from Italy to the

Netherlands; but the princes of Germany were not so alarmed at the prospect of the danger which threatened them, as to assist him to such an extent as he deemed necessary for his purpose, and Alba with his army entered without molestation. The prince had time in his retirement to form his plans deliberately, to calculate on future probabilities, and to be ready to act when the moment for action should arrive. The first cruelties of Alba made a deep impression on all the Protestant princes of Germany, and this impression Orange was skillful enough to turn to his advantage. By the deaths of Horn and Egmont such indignation and resolution were excited in them, that they offered to Orange their wishes, their councils, their troops, and, what is almost incredible, their treasures. Amongst the most prominent of these was the Prince Palatine, with whom the Prince of Orange held a secret meeting at Strasburg, at which some of the leaders of the Huguenots in France were present. Even the Catholic princes were so inflamed at the treatment of Horn and Egmont, that, if they did not assist, they did nothing to impede Orange in his negotiations. The assistance thus obtained, with the aid of a pecuniary nature from Queen Elizabeth of England, and recruits from the Protestants of France, enabled Orange to take the field.

The prince was straitened for money; and his army, though numerous, was badly composed. The Germans and the French were new levies, hastily raised, eager for booty, and in general ill disciplined. Though they were not subject to his sole command, he could not safely disgust them, nor could he allow them to plunder. He knew, too, that at the end of the campaign these succors would quit him, because he was not in a situation to maintain so numerous a body. The greater part of the fugitives from Flanders were destitute, and the prince foresaw that these must soon become a charge which he would be unable to bear.

With forces of such motley composition,

Orange determined on a bold and sudden attempt to enter the country on one side or the other, and to sound the tocsin over the whole of the Netherlands. On this plan he formed four bodies, to enter the country at different points. The first of them was to penetrate on the side of Liege, and to enter Gelderland. It was commanded by Count Hoogstraten, the only nobleman of distinguished rank who had been so fortunate as to escape from the fangs of the Duke of Alba. The second corps consisted of the French Huguenots, commanded by De Coequeville, and they entered into Artois. Neither of these corps were strong, nor do they appear during the whole campaign to have effected any other object than, by skirmishing, to have distracted the attention of the enemy, and thus kept him from strengthening the more important points. The third corps was better composed and more numerous. It was commanded by Prince Louis of Nassau, brother of the Prince of Orange. It commenced the war by entering Friesland, where he was opposed by the king's army under the Count Arenburg, whose force was augmented by Spanish infantry and cavalry. When in presence of the enemy, he was forced to give battle, by the taunts of the Spaniards, who accused him, from his being a Fleming, of favoring the party of Orange. He led his troops to the combat, and fell in the attack. His army was completely defeated and dispersed, with the loss of its cannon, baggage, and a large sum of money which was destined to pay his troops, as well as others then in Groningen. The Frisian peasantry put to death the fugitive Spaniards; but the Germans and Flemings, who were mixed with them, were either liberated or joined the victorious troops.

The Duke of Alba was at Brussels when this disastrous event happened; and instantly, after venting his rage by numerous judicial assassinations, he repaired, with what troops he could collect, to Groningen, where he was joined by the garrison of that city. The troops of Prince Louis amounted to



12,000 or 14,000 men, and that of Alba was nearly of equal number; but the army of the latter was well trained and well disciplined, whereas that of the former was a mass of strangers, difficult to restrain, with little experience and less discipline, disposed to mutiny for want of their pay, and ready to desert their colors after any reverse. Prince Louis found it necessary to retreat from Win-schotten, where he had gained his victory, and remove into the German province of East Friesland. He took up a position defended on one side by the river Ems, and on the other by that bay of the Zuyder Zee called the Dollart, and having at his back the city of Embden. He threw up intrenchments mounted with cannon in his front, and with better disciplined troops might have maintained himself till his brother the prince, who was advancing with a numerous force, could arrive to his relief. Alba pressed eagerly forward, and, at his approach, the troops of Nassau broke out into mutiny; and though it was partially quelled, a body of auxiliary troops who had joined it from Oldenburg, instead of waiting the attack within the lines, rushed out without orders, and threw themselves upon the Spaniards, by whom they were cut to pieces, and the opening thus made was entered by the enemy. The route became complete, and the Spaniards were amply revenged for the late disaster at Win-schotten. Many of Nassau's troops were killed, more were drowned in the Ems, the cannon, colors and baggage were captured, and the prince with a few of his followers threw themselves into the city of Embden, whence, from the knowledge of the country, they succeeded in making good their retreat.

Whilst these transactions were passing on the eastern side, the Prince of Orange had been collecting his fourth and principal army on the western side, and mustered, about Aix-la-Chapelle and Liege, a body of nearly 28,000 men, which in that age was a large army. Being much superior in number to the army under Alba, the Prince of Orange was desirous of a battle, and made all possi-

ble attempts to bring it on. But the Duke of Alba, knowing the nature of his enemy's forces, and that it was beyond his power to keep together so large a body from one season to another, acted purely on the defensive. This course he adhered to with firmness, though often urged by his officers and troops to lead them to battle. The campaign was thus passed with no other operations than occasional skirmishes or advances and retreats. The prince was compelled to dismiss the greater part of his forces, and to retire, with the few left to him, into winter quarters, when Alba did the same, and both were actively employed during the winter in the necessary preparations for the following spring.

The events which caused and accompanied the commencement of the troubles in the Netherlands, have been related in a more circumstantial and detailed manner than our limits will allow to the subsequent proceedings. After the first indecisive campaign, there was a kind of suspension of hostilities, from the exhaustion of the opposing parties. Alba was employed in extorting money from the public bodies, and from individuals, to an unheard-of extent, and with intolerable severity. One demand was called the tenth denier, by which one-tenth of the amount of all sales were to be paid; a tax which served to impoverish the country, to suspend all industry in trade, and which ultimately tended to exasperate the inhabitants, and throw them into the arms of the insurgent party. The Prince of Orange, on the other hand, was occupied in negotiating treaties with the German princes, who assured him of succors both of troops and treasures. He also visited France, where Admiral Coligny, the chief of the Protestant party, after promising his aid, suggested to him the idea of creating a naval force. This was instantly adopted, and a party of sailors, of those called Gueuxmarins, seized upon Brielle, a town on the island of Hoorn, by which they secured an asylum for the shipping, and whence they gradually extended their conquests to the

other towns and cities which command the entrance to the ocean, and secure those places from naval attack. This was the first step in the formation of that naval power by which the Hollanders became ultimately enabled to secure their independence. Seamen from all parts flocked to the maritime towns as rapidly as they declared for the Prince of Orange; and in Dort, Flushing, Rotterdam, and, indeed, all the places where there were no Spanish garrisons, they joined the prince. Fleets were equipped, which seized on all the Spanish vessels they met with, even in the British Channel, and kept open a communication with the ports of England, whence, by the proceeds of the captures, they could procure stores, arms and ammunition, to carry on their warlike operations. The growth of the naval power was so rapid, that within three months after the capture of Flushing, no less than one hundred and fifty sail of armed vessels, well manned and equipped, were despatched from that place alone. The canals and rivers which intersect the country were filled with barges and gunboats, which landed at the Spanish posts, and carried away arms and other effects from the very gates of Ghent and Bruges.

Alba, who was busied in extorting the tenth penny, looked with contempt on the seizure of Brielle; but soon awoke to the consequences, and began to draw together his troops to punish the Gueux-marins. His attention was, however, too powerfully drawn to another quarter, and they were left without molestation. The Prince of Orange, the moment he knew himself secure of the naval asylum, began his land operations. At the head of 20,000 men he entered Gelderland, seized Ruremonde, Tongress, St. Trond and Tirlemont, and entered Louvain by treaty, where he rested. His brother Louis, aided by 7000 French Protestants, chiefly cavalry, entered Hainault, and surprised the important city of Mons. Another corps under Count de Bergh entered the province of Overysse, and seized Zutphen, Gorcum, and some smaller places. Alba was alarmed at

these events, but more at the apprehension that it was not merely the French Protestants, but the French king, who had become the ally of Orange. He turned his attention, first of all, to the recapture of Mons, and after a siege of three months took it on capitulation, a division of the main army which was proceeding to raise the siege having been defeated. After the capture of Mons, Alba collected his forces, and led them to attack the city of Haerlem, in the province of Holland, as preparatory to the conquests of the other maritime positions. That place, defended chiefly by its citizens, made a noble resistance; but after a siege of seven months, in which the exertions and the sufferings of the inhabitants appear almost incredible, it surrendered, and was delivered over to the vengeance of the irritated and unfeeling Spaniards. In the siege, carried on in a wet district, and in the winter months, the besiegers suffered severely, especially as they were ill supplied with provisions. Their sufferings and their want of pay caused a mutiny after the capture, which paralyzed for a time the operations of Alba, whilst the Prince of Orange was carrying on the siege of Middelburg in Zeeland, which was ably defended, and only surrendered after a siege of two years duration. The states of Holland and of Zeeland had been assembled at Dort, where, notwithstanding the republican jealousy which prevailed, powers almost unlimited were conferred on the Prince of Orange, and a kind of government constructed to manage the affairs of these two provinces.

We have thus sketched the outlines of events from the end of the year 1568 till the end of 1573, at which time the Court of Spain had recalled Alba, who departed with enormous wealth, and with curses of all classes of the people, in January, 1574. He was succeeded in the government by Don Louis de Zuniga de Requesens, but generally called by the latter name. When Requesens assumed the government, he found the affairs of it, in those parts still under the Spanish power, in a dreadful state of derangement.



The people were universally disgusted, the army in a state of mutiny, and the finances absolutely exhausted. Though intrusted to adopt a milder system of government, and actually issuing an amnesty, he could not overcome the deep hatred to his country which the Flemings had conceived. He naturally followed the military plan which had been traced out by his predecessor. The Prince of Orange had carried on the siege of Middleburg nearly two years, and Requesens resolved to attempt its relief. His naval forces were collected, and a battle ensued, in which the Spanish fleet was defeated, and most of the ships taken, burned, or sunk. This occurred on the 19th of January, 1574, and was followed by the capitulation of the city on the 19th of February. This garrison, the ecclesiastics, and such of the burghers as wished it, were allowed to proceed to Flanders. This treaty was the commencement of a milder treatment of prisoners on both sides, and henceforward the contest assumed a more humane form. The capture of Middleburg was important, as it decided the fate of the province of Zealand, which was soon rendered unassailable by the Spaniards, whose naval force was far inferior to that of the Prince of Orange. Requesens sent a corps of his army to attack a force under the command of Prince Henry of Nassau, over whom a victory was gained, on the 14th of April, near Nimeguen; but a mutiny immediately broke out amongst the Spaniards, and rendered the success of no value. When the mutinous spirit was somewhat allayed, the Spaniards besieged Alkmaer, but were received by the inhabitants with such resolution that they gave up the attack and concentrated their forces to besiege the city of Leyden. It was carried on with great vigor, and defended with skill and bravery; and after the besieged had for nearly six months endured all the horrors of famine and disease, by cutting some dikes the Spanish camp was covered with water, more than a thousand of the assailants were drowned, and on the 3d of October the siege

was abandoned. This secured to the party of Orange the freedom of the province of Holland, as the capture of Middleburg had done that of Zealand. The Spaniards were thus expelled from every part of those states except the city of Amsterdam, of which they did not quit possession till four years afterwards.

After defeat or after victory the Spanish troops were equally accustomed to mutiny. The repulse before Leyden begot this spirit, which displayed itself by deposing their commander Don Sancho de Avila. They chose one of their own number as a leader, and carrying with them Don Sancho, bound hand and foot, proceeded towards Utrecht, where by plunder they boasted they would pay themselves the arrears owing to them, and they committed the greatest excesses on the small towns which they were able to seize upon. At length some money was paid to them, the mutiny was appeased, and Requesens led them to make attacks on some of those islands which compose the state of Zealand. These were all repulsed by Prince Louis; and Requesens, who had superintended the operations in person, at length abandoned all attempts. He was called to Brussels by a mutiny of the Spanish cavalry in that city; but on the day of his arrival he was attacked by a fever, which in a short time terminated in his death.

This brings the events down to the end of the year 1575, at which period an attempt at conciliation was made by the emperor of Germany. A congress was held at Breda, where an ambassador from his imperial majesty, the two brothers of the Prince of Orange, the pensioner of Holland, deputies from Zealand and Gelderland, and two ministers of the king of Spain, met; but nothing was agreed on, after three months spent in negotiations, as the preliminary question of religion could not be settled. The king would only admit of the Catholic faith, and the opposing parties as resolutely maintained that of the reformed church.

In 1576, the Prince of Orange succeeded

in the plan he had long formed, of forming such a union between the two states of Holland and Zealand as should concentrate their efforts for the common defense, by placing in his hands, under the name of regent for the king, the whole executive power. This arrangement, concluded in April, was announced to all the cities, and accepted by them; and the prince having taken the oath of fidelity to the privileges of the states, assumed the government, and arranged the administration with judgment, despatch, and economy.

At the same time, within the provinces still belonging to Spain, the death of the governor created the greatest confusion and disturbances. The council of state, consisting chiefly of Flemings, assumed the administration, and, as soon as an answer to their communications could be received from Madrid, were confirmed in that power, but only *ad interim*, until Don Juan of Austria, who was named governor, should arrive. Though composed of only nine or ten members, this council soon became divided into factions, which thwarted each other; they were without pecuniary resources, and could take no measures to remove the difficulty. The consequence of this was, that the Spanish troops, being unpaid, broke into furious mutinies, and, with the pride of their nation, rejected the authority of the council, deposed their officers, chose one of their own number, who was called *Eletto*, indulged everywhere in the most unlimited plunder, and committed the most atrocious barbarities. The movements made by these troops alarmed all the inhabitants of the cities, so that even in Brussels itself the council could scarcely have been in safety without yielding to the impulse of indignation which was displayed by all orders of the citizens. The mutinous troops had taken by storm the fortified city of Alost, between Ghent and Brussels, when the council, on the 29th of July, issued a placard denouncing the Spaniards as rebels to their king and the country. They were depicted as mutinous traitors, and the people

of the Netherlands were called upon to exterminate them wherever they were to be found; they were also forbidden to supply them with provisions, and commanded to remove out of their way all money and other valuable effects.

The insurgent army at Alost alarmed the city of Ghent, where the inhabitants had armed themselves; but the castle which commanded the town was held by some Spanish troops, who were in connection with the mutinous army. It was of importance to take the castle; and a party in that place, where the Prince of Orange had numerous secret friends, made application to him for assistance. He, who had foreseen the event and was prepared to meet it, despatched from Zealand eight bodies of infantry, amounting to about 3000 men, with seventeen pieces of artillery, under the command of Colonel Temple, an English officer in the service of the states, who entered the city on the 26th of September, and having formed the siege of the castle, caused it to surrender on the 11th of November.

The possession of Ghent was the signal for a general movement amongst the Flemings. In spite of the orders of the king positively forbidding it, the states assembled in each province, and the feeble and divided council gave way before them; and thus the power was vested in a body, who confined some, displaced others, of the council, and changed the government into that republican form which the seven provinces that ultimately obtained their independence afterwards adopted. The king's name was used, but his power was for a time abolished. The new government sent its envoys to the several courts to implore assistance. The emperor and some other princes answered with cordiality, and offered their mediation to effect a general pacification. The king of France (Henry III.) spoke plainly, and showed good will, but said that his opponents, the Leaguists, supported by the pope and the king of Spain, had so embarrassed his affairs as to deprive him of the power of rendering



them any assistance. Queen Elizabeth of England received the envoy, Baron Swevegbaun, with much distinction. She granted to the states a loan of one hundred thousand pounds sterling, of which forty thousand were immediately paid in uncoined silver, and the remainder were made payable at Brussels by her ambassador. The cities of Ghent, Bruges and Nieuport were securities for the money; and the states agreed neither to make truce nor peace with Spain without England being comprehended in it. The other conditions were, that the English merchants should be restored to the privileges which they had enjoyed before the troubles, and that the subjects of England who had been banished, should not be protected within the territories of the states.

A treaty was soon concluded at Ghent, and ratified at Brussels, between the states on one part, and the Prince of Orange in the name of the states of Holland and Zeeland on the other. The chief stipulations were, that the contracting parties should unite to drive all Spaniards from their countries, and then assemble as in states-general before 1555, to regulate the affairs of religion, of the fortresses and the ships of war; that no attempts should be made against the Catholic religion; that all the ordinances issued by the Duke of Alba should be suspended till they were confirmed by the states; and that in the meantime the Prince of Orange should retain his power as stadtholder of Holland and Zeeland. This treaty was signed in the name of the king, and in a short time was acceded to by those other provinces not represented in the states assembled at Brussels.

Whilst these transactions were in progress, the Spanish troops, though diminished in number by their own excesses and the vengeance of the country people, continued in the same mutinous condition. One division of them took Maastricht by storm, and there perpetrated the most abominable injuries to persons and property. Two other divisions, one from Alost and the other from Zeeland,

united to seize on the rich city of Antwerp; and with them joined the portion of the garrison of the citadel of Antwerp which had cut its way through the besieging army. The citadel was in possession of the Spaniards; and as soon as the rest of the mutineers had been received into it, they stormed the city, which, though bravely defended, was ultimately overcome, a great part of it being burned in the conflict, and what remained, as well as the persons of the inhabitants, became a prey to the infuriated and merciless mutineers. Destruction was thus inflicted on the most flourishing commercial city of Europe, from the effects of which it has never since recovered. The destruction of that city was, however, one of the causes, and not an inconsiderable one, of the rapid progress in foreign commerce, which was made in Holland during the subsequent prosecution of the long protracted war, and supplied much of the pecuniary means by which that war was maintained.

Don Juan of Austria, who had been appointed to the government of the Netherlands on the death of Requesens, was a natural son of the Emperor Charles V., who had ordered him to be educated in secrecy, but suitably, according to a respectable station in life. The history of his birth had been concealed from him until he had arrived at maturity, when King Philip himself unexpectedly revealed it, and acknowledged him as his brother. At an early age he had been employed against the Moors of Granada, and had by his successful exertions gained great applause; but the chief ground of his high reputation arose from the naval victory of Lepanto, gained over the Turks, when he commanded the united fleets of the Christian world.

When nominated to the command he was residing at Milan, but instantly departed from thence to Spain, where he received his instructions from the king. He was directed to treat the Netherlands with great mildness at first, but to commit himself to nothing definitive, and on no account to give up any

of that unlimited power which the king was firmly resolved to exercise. It was commonly believed that the king gave him an assurance, if he succeeded in restoring the Netherlands to submission, that he should be supplied with forces to land in England, where he should release Mary Stuart from her prison, place her on the throne of Elizabeth, and by a marriage with her become monarch of the British Islands. Don Juan rode post through France, at that time in a state of confusion, in the disguise of a servant to one of the nobles who accompanied him, and at length reached Luxembourg on the day on which the mutinous army of the Spaniards had stormed the city of Antwerp. On his arrival there, the disastrous state of the affairs of Spain, which has already been described, seems to have left him no other alternative, after announcing his arrival to the states, than that of acquiescence in the decisions of that body, conjointly with the Prince of Orange. He accordingly gave his assent to the pacification of Ghent, and to that article of it which stipulated the removal of all foreign troops from the country of the Netherlands. Some confidence was thus gained with the states-general, but none with the Prince of Orange, with whom Don Juan had opened a correspondence of an apparently amicable and confidential nature. The troops were in appearance disbanded, or marched away. The Spaniards moved slowly towards Italy, from whence they could be recruited. Some of the auxiliaries were said to have been lent to the Leaguists in France, so as to be within call when needed. In a few months, which were passed in conciliatory measures, Don Juan, rather by fraud than by force, obtained possession of the strong castle of Namur, in the month of July, and established his court in that city, where he soon began to collect troops. This caused an alarm in the states, and they also began to collect their forces. The Prince of Orange was invited to repair to Brussels, in order to concert with the states the measures requisite for the defense of their freedom. Negotia-

tions were begun with insincerity on all sides, for neither could trust to the assurances and engagements of the other. The Prince of Orange, who had entered Brussels on the 23d of September, was consulted on these negotiations, and was in some sense a party to them; though he foresaw, from the very moment of Don Juan's arrival, that no secure treaty could be formed, and that the sword must decide the issue. The states, at the suggestion of the Prince of Orange, had decreed the demolition of those fortresses which commanded the cities, especially those of Antwerp, Ghent, Utrecht, Groningen and Lisle. This was the signal for hostilities. Don Juan had recalled the troops on the march for Italy, and those lent to the party of the League in France. The Prince of Parma brought other reinforcements; and thus Don Juan found himself at the head of an army of nearly 20,000 at the end of the year. The army of the states consisted of nearly equal numbers. They were, however, inferior in discipline and in good officers to the forces opposed to them. The two armies were in presence of each other in December. The army of the Spaniards had been so secretly collected, that the states believed that their own troops much outnumbered them, and from this impression gave orders for the attack. On the 31st of January, a bloody conflict took place at Gembloux, near to Namur, in which the Spanish force was victorious. The army of the states suffered very severely; their general, Goignies, with many of his men, were made prisoners, and the remnant retreated towards Brussels. The Prince of Orange and states removed from thence to Antwerp. Don Juan, instead of pursuing them, followed up his success by capturing the smaller fortified towns. In the course of the year 1578, he had taken Louvain, Tirlemont, Bovines, Diest, Nivelles and some smaller places. These conquests were effected by detachments, whilst his main body was encamped near Namur. But he was taken ill in September, and died on the 1st of October, 1578. The cause was



probably a pestilential fever, but, according to the custom of that age, was most commonly attributed to poison. On his death-bed, Don Juan nominated as his successor his nephew the Duke of Parma, who had recently joined him. He was a young man of highly-estimated talent, the son of that duchess who had long been the regent of the Netherlands, and under whom the troubles had commenced.

When the Prince of Orange had retired to Antwerp, he clearly perceived that, from the nature of the country, and the confidence placed in him by the people, he could preserve a secure asylum for liberty in Holland. His means did not extend to the other provinces of the Netherlands with the same commanding effect. He therefore turned his chief attention to that which, with a concentration of his means and exertions, could with most probability of success be attained.

As the ten provinces were at length all brought under subjection to Spain, and finally were transferred to the house of Austria, the transactions relating to them do not appropriately belong to the history of Holland, and will therefore be only so far noticed here as regards their connection with that country.

It was the policy of the Prince of Orange to keep alive the spirit of opposition which still existed in Flanders, because it gave employment to the troops of the Duke of Parma, and time to the inhabitants of the United Independent Provinces to prepare for that firm defense which must be the only means of securing their ultimate independence. Those states also gained much in another view. Holland was a secure asylum, and the inhabitants of the other ten provinces found refuge there, when neither tranquillity nor security could be enjoyed at home. At this period, many of the richest of the traders once more removed their families and their property to the cities and towns of Holland and Zealand. The ruins of the commerce of Antwerp were collected in Holland and Amsterdam, though the last place,

from which the Spaniards had been driven out in 1578, received the greater share of it.

Whilst Flanders was torn to pieces by the contest between the troops of the Duke of Parma and those raised by the states, the United Provinces assumed in their temporary tranquillity a more imposing aspect. The important province of Utrecht joined the party of Holland, Zealand and Friesland. The war had been carried on against the king of Spain without explicitly renouncing allegiance to him. But after the accession of Utrecht, the declaration of their independence of the authority of that monarch was promulgated. This gave confidence to the inhabitants, and admitted them to treat as sovereign states with any of the other governments of Europe. To these four provinces the three small ones of Zutphen, Overijssel and Groningen were added, and thus formed a compact and easily defended district. They assumed for their arms a bundle of seven arrows, with the motto, *Concordia res parvæ crescunt, discordia maximæ dilabuntur*.

We pass over the endeavors made to establish the Duke of Anjou, brother of the King of France, as the governor, the wars subsequent upon it, and the attempts made to assassinate the Prince of Orange, because they belong rather to the history of Flanders than to that of Holland. It may, however, be proper to remark, that in the intercourse between that duke and the prince, the latter favored the pretensions of the former; but he seems to have done it without any prospect, perhaps without any hope, that it would do more than operate as a diversion in favor of the seven United Provinces, to whom his chief regards were always directed.

From the death of Don Juan of Austria, at the end of the year 1578, to July, 1584, the state of Flanders arrested all the efforts which Spain could make to attack Holland; and the inhabitants availed themselves of it to extend their commerce, to increase their ships, to economize their resources, to accumulate warlike stores, and to organize and



discipline the whole of the male population. Spain was too much engaged with other objects to direct any strenuous operations against Holland, calculating that if she could subdue the ten larger and more populous provinces, the submission of the other seven would either necessarily follow, or might be easily enforced. Besides, she was at that time making preparations for the enormous naval force called the Armada, with which she calculated on conquering England, and thought that by that achievement Holland would fall under her power.

The intense personal hatred which existed between Philip of Spain and the Prince of Orange gave birth to the most threatening manifestoes, which were printed, diffused and read throughout Europe; and the king even made it generally known, that whoever should succeed in assassinating the prince, should receive a reward of 80,000 ducats, be made a commander of the order of St. Iago, and obtain patents of nobility. These offers, stimulated also by religious fanaticism, induced many individuals to arm themselves for the horrid deed. One of them, Geerardt, a Burgundian, gained access to the prince by means of letters from Count Mansfeldt, and, as he was passing from his dinner-table to another apartment, shot him with a pistol concealed under his cloak, which discharged three balls into the breast of his victim. The prince fell, exclaiming, "I am wounded. Lord, have mercy on me, and on this poor people!" He then immediately expired. The assassin was taken and executed. The recompense for the detestable deed was subsequently made to his family; for, in the register of the Court of Madrid of the 4th of March, 1589, patents of nobility are entered as conferred on his brothers and sisters, who are described as bearing that relation to Geerardt, a tyrannicide.

This tragical event occurred on the 10th of July, 1584, at Delft, where the states of the seven provinces were then assembled. It inspired courage rather than despair among the patriots of Holland. The eldest son of

the prince was a prisoner in Madrid, where he had been detained from the commencement of the troubles. His son Prince Maurice was instantly invested with all the power of his parent, though only eighteen years of age; and Count Hohenlohe was appointed with the character of his lieutenant.

The Dutch attempted to enter into negotiations with those powerful princes who were hostile to Spain. The application to France was made at a time when the power of the confederation of the League was so formidable as to preclude the prospect of any aid. Henry III. received the deputies with respect, but recommended them to make application to Elizabeth of England. Offers were made to her of the sovereignty of the Netherlands, which she declined; but she made a treaty stipulating to furnish six thousand troops to be maintained by her, and was to have Flushing, the Brielle and the castle of Rammekins, as pledges. Leicester, her favorite, was appointed to the command, and was to have concurrent power with two members chosen by the states in all military affairs, but was not to intermeddle in the civil transactions.

The imprudence or ambition of Leicester gave much umbrage to the states, and his presence became rather injurious than beneficial to them. The threatening danger from the Spanish Armada, and some degree of disapproval of the conduct of Leicester had induced the queen to recall him and a greater part of his force. The conduct of Leicester had produced the loss of Zutphen and Deventer; but, after the defeat of the Armada, fresh troops were sent from England, and these having drawn the Spaniards towards Ostend, in which was an English garrison, Prince Maurice was enabled to recapture those places. The celebrated siege of Antwerp, though scarcely an operation in which the Dutch were engaged, may be here noticed. It was a long and heavy labor of seven months, carried on by the Duke of Parma in person. During its progress the most extraordinary bravery and skill was displayed

by the assailants and the defenders; but the place finally surrendered, and the remains of its commerce were transferred to Amsterdam. After the recapture of Zutphen and Deventer, Prince Maurice, whose forces had been recruited, threatened Dunkirk and Nieuport, and, after a short but vigorous bombardment, captured the important city of Nimeguen, and other towns in that quarter; and those operations closed the campaign of 1592. The Duke of Parma had advanced with an army into France, and left the management of the war in the Netherlands to Count Mansfeldt.

In the beginning of 1593, Mansfeldt issued edicts forbidding all communication with the revolted and now *de facto* independent provinces, and declaring that no quarter would be given to any one who did not join him. Such threats were, however, of no avail, for Prince Maurice having collected his forces, attacked the strong city of Gertruydenburg; and, though Mansfeldt, at the head of 12,000 foot and 3000 horse, attempted to raise the siege, he was foiled. The place surrendered on the 23d of June, after suffering the extreme of famine.

The Spaniards were still in the possession of the city of Groningen, where Verdugo, an Italian, commanded. The chief operations of the year 1594 were in that quarter. Much time was passed in able manœuvres between Prince Maurice and that general. But the prince having succeeded in cutting off the communication between Groningen and Germany, that city was compelled to surrender in July. The many repulses which the Spaniards had received, and the want of pay, produced a mutiny, and the soldiers threatened to indemnify themselves by the plunder of Brussels, and other towns in the ten provinces under the crown of Spain. The mutineers were in communication with Prince Maurice, but he declined taking them into his service, though the mutiny was turned by him to the benefit of his country.

In the year 1595 a general discontent against their Spanish masters spread itself

in the ancient provinces. It was fomented by the Flemish nobility, who, in an assembly convened at Brussels, demanded peace. This affair turned out advantageous to the seven provinces, where Prince Maurice and the states-general were occupied in negotiations both with England and with France, with both of which countries treaties were concluded, in which the Hollanders engaged to supply them with naval forces, some of which assisted Sir Walter Raleigh in his successful attack upon Cadiz.

Philip of Spain, now advanced in years, having become disgusted with the cares of government, his Flemish provinces were placed under the management of the Archduke Albert of Austria. He had under his command an army of 30,000 men, with which he took Calais, and then rather turned his forces towards France than towards the new republicans. The Dutch had by this time grown up into a great naval power. They are said to have had on board of their shipping more than 70,000 seamen. The bloody wars in which they had been engaged seemed to have increased their wealth and their spirit of commercial enterprise. Even their enemy Philip connived at their carrying on a very beneficial trade with his subjects in Spain and Portugal, whilst their cruisers covered the seas, and made numerous captures of the trading ships of those very subjects.

The earnest desire to attain naval superiority which animated the Dutch, was accompanied with a correspondent neglect of their land forces. The arms of France, however, acted as a diversion in their favor, and enabled Prince Maurice in 1597 to defeat one of Albert's generals, and, in consequence thereof, to capture Turnhout, near Antwerp; and in the end of the year, several other towns in that quarter submitted to the states-general. In the same year, negotiations for peace were attempted, under the mediation of the Emperor of Germany and the King of Denmark; but the states refused to treat till the King of Spain should acknowledge



their independence. The peace of Vervins was concluded between Spain and Henry IV. of France, to the great disgust of Elizabeth and of the United States, who thereby were brought into more intimate alliance.

The commerce of the states was now much augmented. One of their citizens, Balthasar Monchuen, besides trading extensively in India, formed settlements upon the coast of Africa and upon the island of St. Thomas. Other merchants sent their ships to the South Seas, through the Straits of Magellan, in the hope of discovering a passage to Japan and China. Companies were formed which sent large ships to the East and West Indies. The trade in the Mediterranean was great and lucrative; but, above all, their fisheries on the coasts of England became a mine of wealth.

Though with inadequate force, Prince Maurice, in the winter of 1599, surprised Emmerich on the Rhine, and protected the transference of the seat of war to Germany; whilst Mendoza, the Spanish general, was opposed to him, and invested Bommel; and, though an indecisive battle was fought, Maurice delivered that fortress from the besiegers, and secured his own conquest. After this, party-spirit appeared in Holland, with sufficient fervor to lead to the reduction of the army; but, fortunately for that country, the Spanish troops were so mutinously disposed, that they were unable to take advantage of this diminution.

About the end of 1600, the states were roused to make greater land preparations, and their army under Prince Maurice, in conjunction with an auxiliary English force under Sir Francis Vere, gained the decisive victory of Nieuport, in which the Spaniards lost 5000 men, whilst the loss of the allied army did not exceed 1500, of whom 800 were English. Though Nieuport was invested, Maurice was compelled to raise the siege, when the armies went into winter quarters. About the end of 1601, some attempts at negotiations for peace were made, but, like those of the former years, they were soon suspended.

The chief military event of the three following years was the siege of Ostend, in which Vere had at first the command; but in the course of the long operations he was relieved, and joined the prince with his troops, who were replaced by the soldiers of the states. The whole attention of Europe was engrossed by the great display of military art in and before Ostend. Spinola, the Spanish general, was one of the first of the military geniuses of that age, and Vander-noot, who defended the place, was his equal. With an immense loss of life and expenditure of money, after a siege of more than three years' duration, the place was surrendered by capitulation on the 20th of September, 1604.

The death of Queen Elizabeth in March, 1603, and the accession of James to the throne of England, gave a new turn to affairs. The temper of that monarch was decidedly pacific, and, though at first he in some degree adhered to the alliance with the states, his assistance was small, and in some of the transactions rather adverse. The war was continued between the armies commanded on one side by Prince Maurice and on the other by Spinola, but both were so cramped in their operations by the parsimony or the poverty of their respective governments, that no decisive event occurred. The naval war was more effective. The fleets of Spain from the East and West Indies were intercepted by the Dutch. Tremendous conflicts were carried on, by which some of the vessels loaded with treasure from the New World fell into the hands of the republicans; but a much larger portion of the vessels which contained it were either buried or sunk. The failure of remittances so impoverished the King of Spain that he became disposed to treat for peace. The negotiation began in the early part of the year 1607. At first the required acknowledgment of independence suspended it, but in the month of April, 1607, Spain gave way, and a suspension of arms for eight months was agreed upon, without any communica-



tion of it having been made to the kings either of England or of France. When the eight months had expired, no treaty had been concluded; and, though no hostile movements were made by land, the captures of the Dutch at sea were continued during the prosecution of the treaty. At length a truce for twelve years was agreed to in April, 1609. A general amnesty on both sides was stipulated, and a freedom of trade by sea and land, including both the Indies, was agreed to.

This treaty, though only concluded for a fixed period, was yet a termination of the war as between the King of Spain and the seven United Provinces. The states had no sooner attained peace and independence, than they took part in the affairs of the other sovereign states of Europe, and became involved in hostilities with Germany, in which Prince Maurice, on a disputed succession to the Duchies of Cleves and Juliers, took the latter city, and garrisoned it. But the Germans having soon afterwards taken Wesel, a termination was put to the contest by the mediation of England and France.

Almost as soon as the states had concluded a general peace, internal dissensions arose. These were maintained by the nature of their constitution, which conferred on each individual state an independent sovereign authority. The first occasion arose from a theological difference of opinion on a topic, of all others, the most inscrutable by the human faculties. The Protestants had imbibed their opinions from Calvin, and had generally adopted his doctrine of predestination. The professors of the universities had advocated that opinion, when Arminius, a native of Holland, was appointed to the divinity chair of Leyden, and taught the opposite opinion of the freedom of the human will. He thus became the head of one sect, whilst a Dr. Gomarus, another professor, became the leader of the Calvinistic sect. Theological discussions soon created political parties. Prince Maurice had imbibed the opinions of Arminius, but finding the clergy and the

great body of the common people attached to those of Gomarus, he, without regarding the private opinions he held, placed himself at the head of the Gomarists. Barneveldt, the chief civil man in the union, was in opinion a Calvinist; but seeing the nobility and the better educated part of the people supported the system of the Arminians, he became the chief of that party. The acrimony and bitterness with which the contest was carried on soon rendered it of a mixed character, combining religion and politics. Each city possessing within itself independent powers, punished or protected either the Arminians or the Gomarists. Those two eminent scholars Grotius and Vossius defended Arminianism, whilst the synod of Dort, assisted by King James of England and the Archbishop of Canterbury, for a short time maintained the opposite side of the controversy. Prince Maurice, by his influence with the common people, and from being at the head of the army, was enabled in many of the cities to change the magistrates; and when he could not effect that purpose, as at Utrecht, he called in the troops to their assistance. Barneveldt and his party proposed a general toleration of all opinions, and presented a remonstrance to that effect; a proceeding which changed the names, but not the characters, of the party. The Arminians were called Remonstrants, and the Calvinists Anti-Remonstrants, names which have been continued to this day. The party of Maurice, consisting chiefly of the populace of the cities, and their clergy, was ready to tolerate Jews, Mohammedans, and infidels, but would not consent to grant similar toleration to the Remonstrants.

It became evident that the prince was aiming at establishing for himself and his family an hereditary sovereignty over the states; whilst Barneveldt and the higher classes, on the other hand, eager to perpetuate the liberties of their country, formed connections with the court of France, and thence obtained the name of *Lo-vestein* faction, which has been continued amongst the







opposers of the absolute power of the house of Orange to the present time. But the Orange party acquired such superiority that Maurice was enabled to seize and imprison the venerable Barneveldt and the learned Grotius, the former of whom, after an infamous trial, when the judges were threatened with death if they did not pronounce the popular sentence, was condemned to death, and beheaded at the Hague on the 13th of May, 1619. As the benefactor of his country, he died with the regret of the wise and good of his own time, and has been viewed by succeeding ages as one of the chief authors of the victories, the prosperity, and the liberties of his country. Grotius was still a prisoner, probably not a very strict one. He was allowed the use of books, which passed in a large chest unexamined, and in that chest he was concealed and carried away. He escaped to France, and passed the remainder of his days in an honorable, useful and upright manner.

The truce was now drawing to a close. The interval which the Dutch had enjoyed had been employed by them, in spite of their internal dissensions, in the most profitable manner. They had prodigiously extended their maritime operations, having been much benefited by the languor of James I. of England, and the ruined state of the marine of Spain. Their ships gave laws from the Baltic to the Levant. They had forced a trade with the Spanish possessions in the western world and in the East Indies; and, besides some smaller acquisitions, they had founded Batavia in the island of Java, and which soon became the emporium of the trade of the eastern world. The Dutch East India Company established colonies in the farthest parts of both hemispheres. It was their enterprise that founded the colony of New Amsterdam, and the settlements in North America, which have made the Dutch one of the most important elements of the population of the United States. The voyage of the "Half Moon" which brought the first Dutch colonists to the

North was made under the guidance of the English navigator, Henry Hudson, who was employed by the East India Company on account of the reputation which he had acquired by his daring voyages in the service of the English traders. To him belongs the reputation of having discovered the Hudson River. Later historical critics, however, have endeavored to prove that the harbor of New York was previously visited by other explorers. Owing to the circumstance that his ship's company was made up of almost equal parts of English and Dutch, and to his having been in some degree in the service of the English at this time, (he sailed, indeed, from London,) the British writers have disputed the claim of the Dutch to the settlement, declaring that it was sold to them by Hudson without authority. The melancholy fate of this navigator on a subsequent voyage has lent an interest to his story. He was abandoned by his crew in the Arctic seas, near the bay which bears his name.

Philip of Spain died in 1621, just at the time when the truce between him and the Hollanders had expired. The greater progress the Dutch had made in prosperity and power, the more worthy objects of his ambition did he deem them, whom he still viewed as his rebellious subjects. He had instructed his ambassador to propose such terms of peace as were sure to be rejected, which in fact they were, in the most contemptuous manner. But Prince Maurice was not well supported by the states on land. The operations were not of great moment. The Spaniards under Spinola took Juliers, but were repulsed in an attack upon Haerlem. Maurice made an effort to seize upon Antwerp, which failed; and he returned to the Hague, where an attempt was made by a grandson of Barneveldt and some Arminians to assassinate him. This, though it failed, gave great strength and violence to the Gomarists, and they were most unrelenting in their cruel punishments. The rack and the axe were in constant employment, and to be known as an Arminian was deemed sufficient cause for their in

fiction. The war by land against the Dutch was continued by Spinola, on the side of Belgium; and though he could not prevent them from recapturing Juliers, and taking Cleves, he collected such a force as enabled him to besiege Breda, which was commanded by an English colonel, Morgan. It was an important place, strongly fortified, and of great interest to Prince Maurice, because it formed the centre of his patrimonial estates: It was ably defended, and during the ten months the siege lasted, the loss of the Spaniards was enormous. They, however, ultimately succeeded, and a capitulation was signed on the 6th of June, 1625.

During these operations, Prince Maurice died in the eighty-eighth year of his age. Ambition alone, which had caused his severity towards the Arminians, prevented him from being the most amiable, as he was one of the ablest men of the age in which he lived. About the same period King James of England died, and was succeeded by the unfortunate Charles I. Prince Henry of Nassau was the successor of his brother, as governor of the states of Holland, Zealand, Gelderland, Utrecht, and Overysse. He continued the military operations against Spinola, but after the surrender of Breda neither party could boast of having gained much advantage.

The naval operations in some degree compensated for the languor which prevailed on land. The Dutch sent an expedition to the South Sea, which attacked the Spanish settlements in Peru with much success; and at length they also conquered St. Salvador and other parts of Brazil, but were soon afterwards obliged to abandon the acquisitions they had made. In the interior the religious dissensions began to revive. Henry, prince of Orange, was thought to be less rigid towards the Arminians, in other words, more favorable to them, than suited the principles of the Gomarists. This caused such a commotion as threatened a civil war, which was only prevented by the necessity of union against the common enemy. The Dutch

fleet had joined that of France, with which power they were in alliance; and this united force was attacked by the ships of the French Protestants under Soubise. They were defeated, and the Dutch admiral's ship was blown up, with himself and his crew. This caused the greatest joy among the common people in Holland, who detested the conduct of their chiefs; and in the city of Amsterdam their houses were pillaged, and their persons grossly insulted.

The threatening appearance of the thirty years' war in Germany induced the states to increase their land forces in 1626; but during that and the following year only indecisive operations occurred, as the imperial general, Tilly, did not make the expected attack on their frontier towns. The Spaniards made Dunkirk the place for collecting a great number of privateers, by which the Dutch commerce was much annoyed, and many bankruptcies occasioned among the merchants of Amsterdam. This induced the Dutch to blockade that port so closely that the system was checked, and in 1628 their East and West India fleets all arrived in safety, loaded with valuable cargoes belonging to the two great commercial companies which had grown up in Holland.

During the same year the fleets of Holland were remarkably successful against Spain. Peter Adrien captured twelve of the largest West Indianmen in the Bay of Honduras. Admiral Heine had still greater success, having a large force, and in the Bay of All Saints captured so many ships laden with sugar, that the quantity, when brought to Holland, lowered the price of that commodity in all parts of Europe. He then with thirty ships intercepted the Spanish plate fleet, and, after ravaging the coasts of Spain and Portugal, returned with prizes valued at more than fifteen million of livres. But the state of Holland was far from being tranquil. Fresh umbrage was taken by the populace at the Prince of Orange, because he had appointed some of the Arminians as magistrates, and the people of Amsterdam refused to obey



them. This with tumults amongst the seamen on account of the inadequate distribution of the prize money, caused serious commotions, which were with difficulty and some sacrifice of life put down.

The successes of the Dutch at sea had a favorable influence on the land operations of the following year. Want of pay had produced mutiny in the Spanish army. The Dutch vigor was again awakened, and the Prince of Orange furnished with a powerful army. An active campaign, in which Turenne, Montecuculli, and some other of the most celebrated warriors of the age, bore a part, was closed, by the capture of Bois-le-Duc on one side, and of Wesel on the other frontier of Holland, in spite of all the efforts of the Spaniards to raise the sieges of these places. In the year 1630 the Spaniards renewed their efforts to defend the places they held on the German frontier, but were so unfortunate that after fruitless attempts to organize a German Catholic confederacy against Holland, they were induced to enter into a negotiation for the conclusion of a truce during thirty four years. But this negotiation was rendered ineffectual, principally by the intrigues and the influence of the French minister Richelieu, who had by this time formed a strong party in Holland, in opposition to that of the Prince of Orange; a party which continued up to the present age, and to the existence of which may be attributed the enmity displayed by the successive heads of that family to the French government. After the rupture of the negotiations, John of Nassau, with a force, aided by some of the German Catholic princes, of troops and water craft, made the attempt to separate Zealand from Holland. The expedition was met by the Dutch gunboats; a terrible conflict ensued; the Spanish flotilla was either sunk or captured; and 5000 men were made prisoners, who entered immediately into the service of Holland. This blow was followed up by the Prince of Orange with his whole force, augmented by the junction of 12,000 Swedes of the army of

Gustavus Adolphus, with whom the states had made a treaty, by an attack upon Maestricht, which at length capitulated, as did also the fortified city of Rheneberg on the Rhine, by which Holland became secure from all invasion on the side of Germany. At this time attempts were again made towards negotiation; but the interference of the Austrian general Papenheim, who had garrisoned some of the towns belonging to Spain, prevented by his claims, any treaty from being brought to a pacific conclusion.

The Dutch army for the campaign of 1633 was more powerful than at any former period, and was thought sufficiently strong to have completed, with a general of such talents as the prince, the entire conquest of Spanish Brabant. He took the field for that purpose, but the excessive rains of that season, the great inundations, the sickness which prevailed in the army, the scarcity of provisions, and other inconveniences, compelled him to put his army into winter-quarters at a very early period, without having effected or scarcely attempted any object of importance. The year 1634 passed over with no memorable displays of hostile movements. The death of Gustavus Adolphus in the midst of the vast operations in Germany, of which he was the animating soul, caused so many and various negotiations, that the whole of Europe had its attentions directed to diplomatic discussions. The war between the Spaniards and the Dutch languished in the Netherlands, though it was carried on at sea much to the benefit of the latter party. In the year 1635, a partition treaty was entered into with France by the states, contrary to the will of the Prince of Orange, and their ally the king of England, by which the provinces of Luxembourg, Namur, Courtray, Hainault, Artois and Flanders, were to be transferred to the king of France, and those of Brabant, Gelderland and the districts of Waes, Mechlin, and the rest of Flanders, to the United States. In pursuance of the objects of this treaty, the fleets of France and Holland were united together; but preparations from Eng



land to place her marine in opposition in, duced them to return to their respective ports. The attempts by land were equally ineffectual. France marched an army of 20,000 foot and 7000 horse into Brabant, and the states had equipped one of nearly equal force. These united troops were to be commanded by the Prince of Orange; but whether that commander, from being averse to the service, neglected to accomplish its objects, or whether the arrogance and barbarities of the French disgusted their allies, such dissensions arose between the officers, that no movements proved beneficial, and the campaign was closed at an early period. The Dutch withdrew to their own country, and the French went into winter-quarters at Ruremond, where it is said more than 6000 of them died, from want and disease. Cardinal Richelieu and the Prince of Orange cherished a mutual animosity, which though it neutralized their land operations, did not cause a rupture of the alliance that had been formed. The Dutch were successful by sea, where they defeated a Spanish squadron near Dunkirk; and having blockaded that port, secured a safe return to their numerous trading ships from the East and West Indies. In the same year they fitted out an expedition, with the design of extending their power in Brazil. This force, under the command of Prince Maurice of Nassau, consisted of thirty-two ships, with 2700 land forces, and arrived safely at its destination.

The year 1637 was distinguished by the efforts made to capture Breda, which was occupied by a Spanish force under Fourben, a brave and skillful officer. It was invested by the Prince of Orange, and several attempts to relieve it failed, so that after a long siege it capitulated, but not till the beginning of the year 1638. In that year a great project was formed by the Prince of Orange for the capture of Antwerp. It was well designed, but failed from unforeseen circumstances, such as often occur in operations combined of marine and of land forces.

The campaign of 1639 was planned by the

Spaniards on a gigantic scheme, but was chiefly directed to naval objects. The Dutch admiral Van Tromp attacked a squadron of ten large men of war, near Gravelines, on the 18th of February. The fight was long and obstinate, but ended in the total defeat of the Spaniards. Their admiral, with three of the largest ships, was taken prisoner; the vice-admiral's ship was burned by the crew, and four of his division were captured; and their loss in men exceeded 2000. Notwithstanding this disaster, the Spaniards equipped a tremendous force under the command of D'Oquendo, consisting of eighty-seven large ships and numerous transports, with 20,000 land forces on board. A junction was formed of the two divisions, one from Cadiz and the other from Corunna. Van Tromp met and engaged this force, sunk the ship which bore the Admiral's flag, and took four of the others, but was prevented by a fog from following up his success, whilst from the same cause the Spaniards took refuge in the Downs, where there was an English fleet to protect them. Van Tromp having received reinforcements under Evertzen, and along with these, orders to renew the battle, desired the English fleet to withdraw; intimating, that if that request was not complied with, his orders were to fight both. Pennington, the English admiral, had doubts of the fidelity of his people, and no confidence in the Spaniards, who were ill disciplined and badly equipped. He therefore declared for a neutrality, but stated he would join the fleet which should be attacked. D'Oquendo had been advised to withdraw, but it was no longer in his power to do so. Pennington, under pretence that the Spaniards had violated the neutrality, withdrew his protection. Van Tromp then began the attack, the Spaniards were totally defeated. Fourteen Spanish ships of war were destroyed, amongst which was the *Teresa* of a hundred guns, with eight hundred men. The vice-admiral of Spain and the admiral of Galicia shared the same fate; sixteen large ships were taken, with 4500 prisoners; fourteen

were wrecked between Boulogne and Calais, and the remainder were saved by the interposition of the English. Of the whole armament, only eight ships under D'Ouendo reached Dunkirk in safety. The Spanish loss in killed exceeded 8000 men. Whilst these naval triumphs were achieving in Europe, the Dutch were equally successful in the operations against the Spaniards in Brazil. Their admiral Count de la Torre had been dispatched from Spain with forty-six large ships and a numerous body of troops, many of whom died on the passage, and the others arrived in a sickly state. The Dutch fleet consisted only of forty-one ships, mostly inferior in size to those of their adversaries, but well disciplined, and commanded by two admirals of great bravery and skill, Loof and Huggins. The Spanish fleet previously in Brazil joined that under De la Torre, and they thus amounted to ninety-four ships. An action took place which lasted during several days. Loof was killed at the commencement, but Huggins at length gained a complete victory, in which the Spaniards lost twelve of their largest ships, and 4000 men, whilst the casualties in the Dutch fleet did not exceed one hundred. Disease still further reduced the Spanish force, and thus left Prince Maurice nearly master of that country. The prince then accomplished the conquest of Maranham, and dispatched an expedition to the shores of Africa under Admiral Jol, who captured Congo, the island of St. Thomas, and the other establishments which the Portuguese had formed on that coast.

At this period Portugal revolted from Spain, and under the house of Braganza declared itself an independent kingdom. The new king John IV., concluded with the Dutch a treaty for a truce of ten years, in all the dominions of both countries, which, however, the latter are accused of having disregarded as far as related to Japan, whence they drove away the Portuguese, and secured for themselves the exclusive trade. The narrative of the transactions in Brazil is given in

another part of this work, under that article; and, referring to it we only add that it was finally abandoned by the Dutch in 1654.

The war between the states and their ally the king of France was continued, but with no great vigor. The jealousy of the Prince of Orange was increased by the discovery of the disinclination of Cardinal Mazarin, the successor of Richelieu, to his capture of Antwerp. He succeeded however in taking Hulst and Lillo, and thus secured a powerful barrier on the Flanders frontier. The negotiations for a general pacification were begun in 1642 and did not close till October, 1648, when the celebrated treaty of Westphalia was signed at Munster and Osnaburg. In the first of these years, the treaty between France and Holland was renewed, but was scarcely ever in activity, as all the military operations of the several powers were in some measure, though not wholly, suspended except that the Dutch availed themselves of the naval superiority they had acquired, by annoying the Spaniards in every quarter of the world.

Towards the close of the negotiations in Westphalia, the Prince of Orange died, in his sixty-seventh year, and was succeeded in his dignities by his son William II. The states, regardless of their engagements with France, and in spite of the obstacles interposed by the French ambassador at Munster, entered into a separate treaty with Spain. This treaty was speedily ratified, and its terms formed a part of the general pacification of Europe. The king of Spain acknowledged the independence and sovereignty of the states, and a clause of *uti possidetis* in all parts of the world formed one of the articles. From the peace of Westphalia, the transactions of the United States, whose independence it had legalized, were so intermingled with those of the other European powers, that they form part of the general history of Europe. In continuing this narrative, many of the events which regarded the country here treated of, though important in them



selves, must be slightly passed over, because they are to be found under the heads of ENGLAND, FRANCE, and GERMANY.

The conclusion of hostilities had found the nation in a condition of great poverty as related to the governments of the several states, but of no great wealth as regarded numerous individuals. The states were deeply in debt, but their creditors were almost exclusively citizens, not to say subjects of the country. This produced what has been called the funding system, which has since been followed by other nations.

Disputes had arisen between the states of Holland on one hand, and the Prince of Orange and the smaller states on the other, respecting the diminution of the army and the navy, and the conduct of the officers who had abandoned Brazil. These controversies were carried to such a height that the Prince of Orange would have besieged Amsterdam, towards which he had actually advanced, if he had not been prevented by the opening of the sluices, by which his army would have been drowned. This excited against the prince great unpopularity, when he was carried off by the small pox, in the twenty-fourth year of his age, leaving no son, but his wife pregnant, who was delivered of a son, afterwards William III. king of England. The civil wars of England were favorable to the trade of the Dutch, though it involved them in war with the government which succeeded the death of Charles I. The several parties in Holland had carefully watched to maintain a neutrality between the monarchical and republican parties in England; but the intemperance of the royalists emigrants, displayed in the murder of Dorislaus, who had been accused of participation in the legal murder of Charles, and of some other rash proceedings, gave the republicans a pretext for commencing hostilities. This led to a naval battle in 1652, when Blake gained some advantage over Van Tromp, though his fleet was much inferior, at least in number of ships, if not in weight of metal. The Dutch instantly fitted out a still larger fleet

under the command of De Ruyter, which was met by the English channel fleet under Sir George Ascough. They fought during three successive days, but parted each claiming a victory. De Witt was then appointed commander in chief of the Dutch fleet, with De Ruyter as his second. Blake, who had sailed to the north after his former battle, collected his ships, and was reinforced by Admirals Penn and Bourn with their squadrons. The two fleets engaged on the 30th of October. The battle was most resolutely contested, but night terminated it before it was decided, and the next day the Dutch entered Goree, declining further conflict. The fleet of Holland was quickly repaired and reinforced, and placed once more under Van Tromp. Blake had not been furnished in as prompt a manner with reinforcements as his antagonist, and was thus inferior. A tremendous encounter took place on the 25th of November, in which the Dutch were victorious. In this action Blake's flag-ship was disabled, two others were taken, two burned, and one sunk, whilst Van Tromp lost but one of his ships, which was blown up by accident. The engagement lasted from eleven in the morning till six in the evening, when darkness favored the escape of the shattered remains of the English armament.

In the early part of 1653, both the republics addressed their chief attention to the preparation of their fleets. Blake was enabled to muster sixty sail, with which he attempted to intercept a large convoy of merchant ships, protected by Van Tromp's more numerous, if not more weighty force. On the 18th of February the two contending fleets met, when there ensued an obstinate and bloody conflict, which lasted three days, at the end of which Van Tromp retreated with the loss of eleven ships. The English had lost but one, but the whole fleet was so shattered that they could not pursue. The loss in killed and wounded was nearly equal on both sides; and though the English gained the victory, Van Tromp, by his excellent seamanship, was enabled to convey in safety



to the Dutch ports the numerous trading vessels which he had been sent to protect.

At this period Sweden discovered a disposition to join her fleets to those of England, but the diplomatic skill of the Dutch ambassador prevailed on her to agree to a neutrality; and the king of Denmark made a treaty, stipulating to furnish to the Dutch a fleet of twenty sail, to confiscate the English ships in the port of Copenhagen, and to exclude all English vessels from trading in the Baltic. The Danish ships never joined, but the treaty enabled the Dutch to obtain supplies of timber and other stores. Though secret negotiations for peace had been entertained between Cromwell, now master of England, and De Witt, recently appointed pensionary of Holland, yet, as they terminated in nothing, the most extraordinary preparations were made to continue the conflict. In the beginning of June, Van Tromp, seconded by De Witt and De Ruyter, appeared on the ocean with a fleet of ninety-eight men of war and seven fire ships. They were speedily met by an English fleet of ninety-five sail and five fire ships, commanded by Blake, Monk, and Dean. On the 2d of June an obstinate battle took place, which speedily terminated in favor of the English. The victory was complete. Three of the Dutch ships were sunk, two blown up, eleven captured, with many merchantmen; and the whole of them would have been destroyed, but for their timely retreat to the shoals, where the larger English ships could not follow them. The English did not lose a single ship, but Admiral Dean, one captain, and some few inferior officers and seamen were killed. Van Tromp attributed his defeat to the inferiority of his ships in size and in weight of metal, and to the want of sufficient ammunition, especially gunpowder.

In consequence of this disaster, the party opposed to the house of Orange raised a cry in favor of peace, and some secret negotiations were carried on with Cromwell, but the public voice was strongly in favor of the Orange party, and compelled the government

to renew the naval war. Another fleet superior in numbers was hastily prepared, and ready to proceed to sea in the middle of July. This last fleet amounted to one hundred and twenty sail, and they proceeded as soon as collected to engage the fleet of England, commanded by Monk, Lawson, and Penn, between Scheveningen and the mouth of the Meuse. But Tromp fell early in the action, and his death had a bad effect. A rout followed, and the Dutch lost twenty-six ships, with 4000 men killed, and near 2000 prisoners. The English lost some ships, had 600 men killed and 1000 wounded; but their ships had been so severely shattered that they were immediately obliged to seek repairs in their own ports.

The Dutch, though defeated, were not dispirited, and prepared to renew the contest, unless Cromwell would abandon his proposition for the annihilation of the power of the Orange family. He however had determined on a war with Spain, and on expeditions to Spanish America. He withdrew his propositions respecting the house of Orange, but obtained others excluding the royal family of England and their adherents from all refuge within the states, and thus a peace was concluded. The states of Holland bound themselves to exclude the house of Orange from the stadtholderate, but the other states did not agree to it; some of the members even of that province protested against the exclusion, and it was highly unpopular with the great body of the citizens everywhere but in Amsterdam.

The war with England, though short in its duration, had been very expensive as well as sanguinary. It was however no sooner at an end than the Dutch were engaged in hostilities with the Portuguese respecting their settlements in Brazil, which were terminated without any decisive naval combat. But many of the ships of Portugal were captured; and De Ruyter was sent with a fleet to make demonstrations before Lisbon, but having encountered severe storms, his ships were so much damaged that he was com

pelled to return to repair them, and soon afterwards peace was concluded.

The Dutch next interfered in a contest between the Danes and the Swedes. The latter power had besieged Copenhagen, when the Dutch admiral Opdam was dispatched to the Baltic for its relief. He attacked and defeated the Swedish fleet under the walls of Cronenburg, and, by the supplies given to the Danes, saved their capital. A peace was soon afterwards concluded between the northern powers, through the mediation of Holland and England.

The death of Cromwell, in September, 1658, had a favorable effect on the Orange party in the United Provinces, whilst the restoration of Charles to the throne of England strengthened it still more; and, though Holland opposed it, a settlement of a large sum was voted to support the household, and carry on the education of the prince. This became necessary from the French king having, upon some very frivolous pretences, seized on the principality of Orange. Charles and his adherents were full of animosity towards the Dutch; and they, elated with their independence, and their powerful naval forces, were not disposed to yield to the indignant superiority which the restored monarch had assumed. The Louvestein faction had again, under De Witt, reared its head in Holland, and some efforts were made to form a union with France, and the view of making a conquest of the ten Netherland provinces, and dividing them between France and Holland. By this proceeding, suspicions and jealousies were created towards the states, on the part of all the other governments of Europe. Towards England the Dutch had shown some animosity, and held language the more presumptuous because their party in England, the remains of the Cromwell faction, had assured them that, from the want of money, Charles would be unable to go to war. To the dismay of the Louvestein party in Holland, the king resolved on hostilities; and in April, 1665, his parliament having voted abundant supplies, a fleet under the com-

mand of the Duke of York issued forth, and, after the capture of some merchant ships, finding no enemy, returned to Harwich. The states of Holland and Zealand with great activity prepared a naval force of 120 sail of vessels. The commander, Opdam was met on the 1st of June by the Duke of York with 100 sail, and, after some manœuvring during two days, a battle was fought, in which the English were victorious, chiefly, as the Louvestein party affirmed, from the treachery of some of the captains of the Dutch ships. Their admiral was blown up in his flag ship; the second in command, Cartemaer, was wounded, and died a prisoner; and eighteen ships, with 6000 men were captured. The loss of the English was but one ship, and that of men on board the duke's ship was 200: the rest of the fleet had suffered very slightly; but Admiral Lawson, one of the most brave and skillful of the English commanders fell in the conflict.

The remains of the Dutch fleet made a skillful retreat, and great vigor was exerted to reinforce it. The plague at that time raged in London, and prevented equal exertions from being made, so that the Dutch were enabled early in the following year to assemble a force of eighty-three large ships, furnished with much heavier metal than they had before employed. This force was greater than that the English could oppose to it. A part too of the English fleet had been despatched to cruise in the mouth of the Channel, by which the grand fleet under the Duke of Albemarle was rendered still more inferior to that of the enemy. The Dutch were commanded by De Ruyter, and the opposing fleets met, and engaged on the 1st of June. The contest continued with great vigor throughout the day; but a reinforcement of sixteen ships having joined De Ruyter, Albemarle drew off, but being pursued, he turned on the enemy, and renewed the battle. During this fight the English Channel fleet made its appearance under Prince Rupert. The contest continued, on the whole, four days. The English then retreated in



good order, with the loss of twenty-two ships. The Dutch had lost only seven ships, and were enabled to keep the sea, thus claiming the victory, and even threatening a descent on England.

The English fleet was so quickly reinforced, that on the 24th of July it again appeared at sea, and once more encountered the enemy with success. Three of the Dutch admirals and twelve captains were killed, with 2000 men; and seven ships were sunk, but none taken. After this last battle the English had the command of the sea, and inflicted a severe retaliation for the losses and mortifications they had endured. This produced great exhibitions of party-spirit in Holland, and also disposed them to peace. England, by the extravagance of its sovereign, by the sufferings of the plague and of the fire of London, and the intrigues of France, was much in need of peace.

Conferences were accordingly opened at Breda; but King Charles, with the negligence which characterized his government, had not stipulated for a cessation of hostilities during the negotiations. De Witt took advantage of this, and despatched a fleet to the Thames, which advanced to the Medway, and thus closed for a short time the port of London, at the same time threatening the naval arsenal of Chatham. This in its issue was little more than a bravado, though, after retreating from the Thames, the Dutch made some valuable captures. The negotiations at Breda were however carried on, and peace finally concluded on the 10th of July, 1667.

This treaty was followed by one between England, Sweden and Holland, designed to oppose the growing power of France. The king of England, at that time a pensioner, as well as some of his ministers, on the court of France, behaved with the greatest duplicity, and, upon the most frivolous pretences, resolved to aid France in her projects to conquer the whole of the Netherlands. Under pretence of supporting the triple alliance, Charles obtained money from his parliament, and then determined to attack the Dutch

commercial fleets, which were navigating the ocean in full security in the state of peace which had been established. A rich fleet from the Mediterranean was expected to arrive in 1672, when Admiral Holmes was sent with a naval squadron to intercept it. Holmes assumed a pacific behavior, but the Dutch distrusted him. He made an attack on the fleet, and took one of the ships of war and three small merchant vessels; but the rest, fighting as they retreated, reached the ports of Holland in safety. This naturally produced a declaration of war; and France, joined with England, was engaged in a contest, the object of which was to conquer the whole of the Low Countries, and subject them to the dominion of France.

The violent party-spirit in Holland was ground of alarm. The jealousy of the house of Orange had induced the party of De Witt to neglect the land forces, and the army was without discipline, and especially in want of skillful officers, as nearly all the more experienced men of that profession were adherents of the house of Orange, and on that account were not employed. The naval force was in a far better state under the immediate control of the Louvestein faction, though many of its commanders were of the Orange party. De Ruyter was enabled speedily to fit out a fleet of ninety-one ships of war and forty-four fire-ships, and with them sailed to attack the fleet of England and France. This combined force, under the Duke of York and Marshal d'Etrées, was at anchor in Solebay on the coast of Suffolk, where the Dutch hoped by the help of their fire-ships to achieve their destruction. But the united fleets either cut or slipped their cables, and fought the Dutch on the open sea. The fight was tremendous, and was only ended by darkness, when the Dutch withdrew to their own ports. The loss on both sides was nearly equal, but heaviest on the English ships, as their new allies took but little share in the action. It was supposed they had secret orders to spare their own ships, whilst the Dutch and English



should weaken each other, a supposition confirmed by subsequent events.

In the meantime the army of France had begun to act on the land side, under Louis XIV., who himself took the field. It was the most numerous and best appointed which Europe had ever seen. It amounted to 120,000 men, including the auxiliary troops of the elector of Cologne and of the bishop of Munster. The Dutch had not more than 25,000 to take the field, and the elector of Brandenburg had engaged to furnish an equal number, on the condition that the Dutch navy should assist him in taking Pomerania from the Swedes. The internal state of Holland was disturbed by party-spirit, but neither party were disposed to submit to a foreign dominion. The partisans of De Witt had projected a flight by sea, and made some preparations for the transport of 50,000 families to Batavia. The young prince of Orange, though of a sickly frame, resolutely encouraged a spirit of defence, hopeless as it appeared; and when asked what he should do if the French should conquer the country, gallantly replied, "die in the last ditch." This inspired others, and by the universal voice he was declared stadtholder with unlimited power, and the De Witts were prosecuted, stripped of their wealth, sentenced to perpetual banishment, and murdered by the populace.

In the meantime the French had made a rapid progress, and, proceeding by the Rhine, had subdued the provinces of Utrecht, Gelderland, and Overijssel. Amsterdam, Rotterdam, the Hague, with Middleburg, and the islands were reduced to great straits, but were held by the Prince of Orange. As a last resource, the patriotic resolution was taken to drown the country, with its invaders. By this step, when the sluices were opened, the French were in part drowned, and such diseases broke out in their army that Amsterdam was saved. Louis had made more than 24,000 prisoners. These he could no longer keep, and on their release they joined their countrymen. The spirit shown

by the Dutch had excited an interest in their favor with the emperor of Germany and other princes of the empire, and even the Spanish governor of the Netherlands sent to their aid a force of 10,000 men. A diversion too was operated in behalf of the Dutch by the elector of Brandenburg, and, though impeded by the French general Turenne, it proved of some benefit to the states.

Charles though somewhat dissatisfied with the French, sent an English fleet to act in combination with that of France, and conquered the province of Zealand; but contrary winds rendered the attempt unsuccessful. In the beginning of 1673, an attempt was made by a French division under the Duke of Luxembourg, to march over the ice and seize Amsterdam and the Hague; but this attempt failed with great loss to the invaders, owing chiefly to a sudden thaw. In the same year a combined English and French fleet, the former commanded by Prince Rupert, and the latter by D'Etrées, engaged the Dutch fleet under De Ruyter and Van Tromp. After much cannonading, in which the French were accused of backwardness, the conflicting navies returned to their ports, each of them claiming a victory. This occurred on the 14th of June.

By this time Spain had declared war against France, the Imperialists had advanced, the invading army was compelled to abandon its conquests in Holland as rapidly as it had gained them, and the dominions of the elector of Cologne, the ally of France, including the city of that name, and Bonn, were occupied by the allies and the armies of Holland.

These events led to negotiations under the mediation of Sweden, and in 1674 a peace was concluded between all the belligerent powers. The transactions of the negotiators were so managed by the address of the Prince of Orange, as to enable him to lay the foundation of the grand alliance, by which, in subsequent periods, after his accession to the English throne, the power of Louis XIV. was reduced to the lowest point.

In this war, however, Holland lost her colony of New Amsterdam in America, which fell into the hands of the English.

In 1677 the Prince of Orange was married to the Princess Mary, daughter of the Duke of York, and niece to Charles; an event hailed as favorable to their interests by the Dutch, and by those of England who were unfavorable to the mean dependence on the French court, to which Charles' pecuniary wants had subjected him.

The Dutch sent a fleet under De Ruyter to join that of Spain in the Mediterranean. In a contest with the French De Ruyter was mortally wounded, though his fleet was victorious; but in a subsequent battle the Dutch and Spaniards were defeated with great loss, by which the French became masters of the Mediterranean.

The Prince of Orange had attained to supreme, almost to absolute power in Holland. His ruling principle was hostility to France, arising from the manifest ambition of Louis XIV. With this impression he was induced to direct all his efforts to counteract the influence of France, especially amongst the German states. As his father-in-law James, who had ascended the English throne, was acting in an opposite direction, to the great disgust of the leading Protestants of his dominions, the prince opposed him by maintaining a correspondence with the discontented. They were received by him with some degree of privacy; but as James proceeded in his measures against the established religion, they became too numerous to escape the notice of France, though they engaged but little share of the attention of James, probably from the deceit of one of his ministers, who has been accused by history of having acted a false part towards him. A jealousy existed, though with no great force on the part of James, towards France and this induced him to decline the acceptance of offers of succors from Louis XIV.

The Prince of Orange, under the pretext of a dispute with Bavaria and the elector of Cologne, collected an army of 14,000, with

transports sufficient to convey them to England. After being once driven back by storms, the forces landed in Torbay on the 4th of November, 1688; and thus was effected that change of succession usually called the Revolution, the details and consequences of which belong more to the history of England than to that of Holland.

The change of sovereigns brought England into the grand alliance against France; and the united navies, in 1692, fought the battle of La Hogue, in which, after a contest of three days' continuance, the French admiral Tourville was completely beaten, and suffered the loss of sixteen of his largest ships. The Dutch commerce suffered considerably by the privateers of France, especially by the operations of the celebrated Du Bart; but these and other hostilities were suspended by the peace of Ryswick, concluded in 1697.

The death of King William occurred in 1701, just at the commencement of that war respecting the Spanish succession, which continued till the peace of Utrecht, in the year 1712. The transactions connected with it belong more to the history of other countries than to that of Holland, though the Dutch states under the succession of William, who was created stadtholder, continued to bear a considerable share in the contests.

About the year 1742 the *Louvestein* party had gained the upper hand in Holland; and Cardinal Fleury, the French minister, engaged the states in some intrigues, and even hostilities, upon which a stadtholder was again appointed, and soon afterwards a general peace was concluded, that of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748.

The prince stadtholder died in 1751. He had seen but little service in the field, yet he had proved himself an active and skillful chief of the republic. He left a son and daughter, both minors; and his office was intrusted, as well as the education of his children, to their mother, a daughter of George II.

Whilst the Seven Years' War raged, from 1758 to 1763, Holland maintained its neu-



trality, or at least affected to do so. Great complaints and many discussions arose with England, on a question of neutral rights, which has continued till the present time; but they led to no events of any importance. When the war between England and her American colonies broke out, the question of neutral rights was again resumed; but, in the midst of the discussions on that subject, it was discovered that an attempt at a treaty with those called by the English their rebel subjects had been favorably received in Amsterdam, and Mr. Laurens, an American ambassador on his passage, was captured with the correspondence. This led to hostilities, in which St. Eustatia in the West Indies was taken by the English. In the year 1782 a Dutch fleet was equipped, and met on the Dogger Bank by an English fleet of nearly equal force under Admiral Parker. A bloody fight ensued, which terminated in favor of the English. The peace which followed in 1783, restored tranquillity to Holland, which had suffered severe losses by captures during the short hostilities that had been carried on. After the peace, the Anti-Orange party in Holland, which, from the hereditary dignity having been conferred on that family, had appeared extinct, gained fresh influence, and again raised its head. The Princess of Orange, the sister of the king of Prussia, had been grossly insulted, upon which that monarch demanded satisfaction; and this being refused, he marched an army into Holland, which was feebly defended by the clamorous boasters of their bravery. Amsterdam was occupied by the Prussians in September, 1787; the stadtholder was reinstated in the power of which he had been deprived; and a strict alliance was formed with England and Prussia. Though tranquillity was thus restored, the party which had been suppressed were dissatisfied, and watched for the fittest opportunity to avenge their mortifications.

Nor was it long before an occasion presented itself. In 1794, when the French republican flag was displayed on the frontiers,

the defeated party were active and clamorous, and when the country was invaded by the army of Pichegru, they gave it every assistance in their power. This state of affairs, with a frost of great intensity, which admitted the passage on the ice of the artillery and heavy baggage of the French army, rendered the conquest of Holland of easy accomplishment. In 1795 the Orange family fled and took refuge in England, whilst a republican constitution, framed by the French faction of the day, was established, with a directory of five persons as the executive power. The new republic, called the Batavian, was compelled to cede to France some parts of its territory, with the cities of Maastricht and Venlo, and the province of Limburg. An immediate demand was enforced for the payment of ten millions sterling, and the army of France was to be paid, fed and clothed at the expense of the Batavian republic. Under this state of things, one part of their navy was given up to the British by the dissatisfied seamen, another part fought and were defeated; their colonies surrendered or were taken by the same power, their commerce was confined to mere coasting, and the bank of Amsterdam nearly shattered; but not a fraction of the pecuniary demands was abated by their new allies.

The constitution was new-modelled in 1801. The number of the directors was diminished, a kind of upper house was created in imitation of the council of ancients in France, and the country was divided into eight departments. The peace of Amiens gave back to Holland their colonies in South America and the Cape of Good Hope, but left Ceylon in the hands of England. When the war was renewed, the restored colonies were again captured, their ports were strictly blockaded, and every hope of prosperity was extinguished. In April, 1805, a new constitution was introduced by France, and Schimmelpenninck was made sole director; but his integrity was unable to serve his country in the difficult circumstances in which both he and it were placed. It was therefore deter-



mined by Bonaparte to create Holland into a separate kingdom, and place his brother Louis on the throne. This was executed in June, 1806. On his accession, Louis availed himself of the talents and integrity of the late director, and acted, as far as he was able, for the benefit of the people over whom he had been placed as sovereign. But none of his efforts proved effectual in removing the general distress, and even in the few which were made, he was so controlled by his imperial brother, that, without communicating his intention, Louis withdrew himself from Holland, renouncing all authority, and, with what scanty means of subsistence took up his residence as a private individual in the dominions of the emperor of Austria. This step has been represented as having been hastened by his incapacity to relieve the distress which had been produced in his dominions by the landing of the English in Middleburg in their attempt upon Antwerp in 1809.

Louis retired in July, 1810, and Holland was, by a decree of the Emperor, incorporated as an integral part of his empire; Amsterdam was declared to be the third city of the imperial dominions; the French conscription law was extended to the whole of Holland, and those taken under it were equally divided between the land and the sea service; and the country was then, for military purposes, formed into two divisions.

Under this military yoke, the Dutch suffered till after the battle of Leipsic in October, 1813, when a part of the victorious army under General Bulow advanced toward Holland, and met there an English division under General Graham. On the 20th of November the two commanders called on the Dutch to join the cause of the allies. Two days before this, Count Hogendorp, a moderate Orangist, had privately collected in his house a number of the most distinguished persons, who, like himself, had formed part of the ministry from 1788 to 1795, and persuaded them to take upon themselves the provisional government, till the Prince of Orange, who was expected from England, should arrive.

A correspondence was opened with General Bulow, and with the allied monarchs, who had advanced to Frankfort; and invitations were addressed to the prince, who with little delay arrived at the Hague, and proceeded to Amsterdam amidst the rapturous acclamations of the assembled crowds. Proclamations had been circulated generally, headed, "The Netherlands are free, and William I. is the sovereign prince of this land of liberty." He, however, refused to assume any power till an assembly could be convened, which might properly be considered as a fair representation of the whole people. An assembly of notables, consisting of the most distinguished men of all parties and professions, was speedily called together. The number summoned was 600; of these, 125 declined attending, some on account of their age, others from ill health or personal reasons. With the dissent of only twenty-six voices, the prince was declared king, and a constitution decreed, which secured to him considerable power, limited, however, by two legislative assemblies.

When the French forces were compelled to abandon the ten ancient provinces of the house of Austria, these were considered as conquests made by the allied powers, who assumed the disposal of them. The congress of Vienna, of which Austria, the former sovereign of those provinces, was a member, resolved that they should be united with the seven provinces, and form together one independent kingdom, under a constitution, of which the princes of the house of Orange were to be hereditary monarchs. As an indemnification to the prince, now king, for the loss of his states in Germany, the duchy of Luxembourg, with the exception of the fortress, was given up to be added to this newly-constructed kingdom, and in it was included the ancient bishopric of Liège.

Before the complicated arrangements which the union of these parts required could be completed, the return of Bonaparte from Elba, and the revolt of the French army, created impediments to the settlement of in-

ternal affairs. But this newly-constructed kingdom, which was the first object of attack, entered with energy into the contest, and their troops, mustered as they had hastily been, took an honorable part, under the eldest son of the king, afterwards William II., father of William III., the present sovereign, in the grand events of that short but brilliant campaign of 1815, which ended in the decisive victory of Waterloo.

The consolidation of such heterogeneous bodies as the inhabitants of Belgium and those of Holland was a difficult task, owing to their differences of religion, of laws, of language, and of occupations. The Belgians were rigid Catholics, and their clergy strove to prevent the toleration of all other professions; their laws had all been founded on the system of the ancient Dukes of Burgundy, but altered to suit the Code Napoleon. The language spoken by the major part of the people, though it nearly resembled the Dutch, had considerably varied from it in the practice of two hundred years; and besides, a numerous portion of them spoke French almost exclusively, whilst another portion spoke the Walloon, and in Luxembourg the German language pre-dominated. The Dutch were principally conversant in trade, in the fisheries and in manufactures, whilst the Belgians were chiefly employed in agriculture.

The members of the legislative body contained nearly an equal division of the two countries; and as they acted rather with the feeling of delegates from the parts by which they were chosen, than as the representatives of the interests of the whole community, their decisions were subject to great fluctuations, according to the number of Dutch or of Belgian members who might happen, by sickness or by accident, to be prevented from being present when the votes on a particular proposition were taken. This inconvenience might have been removed by time, if other causes had not been in operation. The agriculturists wished to monopolize the whole supply of corn by means of a restrictive law; but the distillers, who used a great

quantity of Baltic corn in making gin, and the speculative merchants in grain, who were a medium for supplying that commodity to a great extent from countries in which it was cheap, to countries in which it was dear, claimed a continuance of the free trade which they had long enjoyed. Though this point was finally settled in favor of the Dutch party, it caused a rankling feeling in the minds of the Belgians. The assemblies, besides their ordinary occupations, had their attention constantly directed to the composition of a system of law, applicable both to civil and to criminal cases, and had made great progress in the work. After much opposition to religious toleration, in which the king displayed both temper and firmness, a concordat was made with the pope, which, if not quite satisfactory, would, if left to itself, have probably removed all existing obstacles. The difference of language, though represented by those who availed themselves of every pretext to produce mischief, as of importance, was not in reality of very great moment. The Belgic and the Dutch are scarcely more dissimilar than the English and the Scotch, and one or the other was the language of a vast majority. All the books of any value were in the Dutch dialect, but they were neglected by the Belgians, of whom the few that could and did read drew their ideas from French publications. By directing all law proceeding to be carried on in the vernacular languages, a body of impetuous young men, imbued with French principles, were inflamed against the government, and gained more influence than they could have obtained if the exclusion of the French tongue from the courts had been gradually and not suddenly attempted.

In spite of these obstacles to a more perfect union, no country ever made so rapid a progress in prosperity as was exhibited in Belgium. The products of its soil, the iron and the coals of Liège and of Luxembourg, found most beneficial markets in Holland. The corn was, in spite of that imported from the north of Europe, sold at profitable rates.



The trade with the Dutch colonies being opened to them, and the valuable port of Antwerp being no longer closed, Belgium made great progress in foreign trade. The effect of this was to create new manufacturing establishments of cotton, woolen and linen goods, and to extend those which had before existed. The advancement of the country was manifested to the most casual observer, and seen in the increase of private and public buildings, and in the improvement and embellishment of the old ones, in every city, town and village.

The state of ease and improvement so striking in Belgium was, however, no security against the union of opposite factions, who agreed in nothing but in the work of inflaming the worst passions of the most ignorant part of the community, who, though highly bigoted to their religion, were made tools to overturn the government, by those who avowedly hated it.

The Parisian revolution of July, 1830, quickly produced a similar one in Brussels. The events passed as rapidly as in the former city. There were a few or no troops, a negligent and inefficient police force, and no spirit amongst those who possessed property, to protect it against the plunderers. They prayed the king to send troops to protect them; but when these arrived, the inflamed Belgians, who were from policy mixed up in the same ranks with the Dutch, would not act, and they abandoned the city. The mob, thus triumphant, compelled the feeble but richer citizens to submit to their demagogue leaders. This produced a declaration of independence against the house of Orange.

In the mean time, the Dutch, who were not without causes of complaint of the greater favor shown to the Belgians than to themselves, were firm in their allegiance to the monarch, and wished for a separation of the two countries. This measure was proposed and discussed in the legislative assembly at the Hague, and ultimately, by a majority, but not a large one, determined upon.

Application was made by the king of the

Netherlands, to the several powers who had at Vienna sanctioned the union, and guaranteed to him the possession of his throne. This led to discussions and negotiations, during which a monarch was elected by the Belgians. They wished one from the family of Napoleon, or that of Orleans, but were not allowed a free choice, and at length Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg was placed on the throne.

The Dutch soon composed an army, which, though inferior in number to that of Belgium, invaded the country. The Belgians displayed neither courage nor discipline, but fled in all directions; and their new king would, but for an accident, have been made prisoner. A division of the French army advanced to the aid of the Belgians, upon which the Dutch retired.

The citadel which commanded the city of Antwerp was still garrisoned by a Dutch force. It appeared proper to England and France that this should be given up to Leopold; and as the Dutch refused to surrender it till all other subjects of contest between the two countries were arranged, it was resolved to compel its surrender by warlike measures. The ports of Holland were blockaded, and the fortress of Antwerp was attacked by a French army, and, after a gallant defence, compelled to capitulate. The embargo was then taken off, and all hostilities ceased in 1833.

The article BELGIUM contains a full statement of the political events connected with the separation of Belgium from Holland. The more recent history of Holland is one of progress and general prosperity without presenting any very striking events. In 1844, as a natural consequence of the Belgian Revolution, the public accounts of Holland showed a large deficit which the nation met with characteristic energy, by voluntarily subscribing a loan of ten millions sterling. In 1848, the revolution in France was followed in Holland by a judicious revision of the fundamental law, and extensive measures of reform.



The partitioning of England into Roman Catholic bishoprics, was followed in 1853 by a similar interference of the Pope with the Netherlands' territory. The adoption by Great Britain of the principles of free trade was highly acceptable to the Dutch merchants, and was followed by the government of Holland in 1854, abolishing the import duties on a great number of articles of merchandise. During the recent war with Russia, the Netherlands' government maintained a complete neutrality. The army and navy were kept on the peace establishment, and the trade and commerce of the country do not appear to have been greatly disturbed.

There have been several recent changes in the royal family. William I. abdicated the throne in favor of his eldest son, the Prince of Orange, in 1840, and died in 1843. William II. dying in 1849, was succeeded by the present sovereign, William III., born 19th February, 1817. He was married on the 18th June, 1839, to the Princess Sophia Frederiker Mathilda of Würtemberg. They have two sons, William Nicolas, Prince of Orange, born 4th September, 1840, and William Alexander, born 25th August, 1851.

In no country of Europe has the proportion of highly learned men to the whole population been so great as in Holland. Among many, including Thomas à Kempis and his pupil Agricola, whose writings exercised the most extensive influence, and who, by the wide diffusion of light, where precursors of the Reformation, Erasmus holds the highest place. He was born at Rotterdam, 1467, where a fine bronze statue of him, erected in 1622, still stands, and is accounted one of the chief ornaments of the city. Subsequently a great impulse to literature was communicated by William I., Prince of Orange, who, in 1575, founded the University of Leyden as a reward to that city for its brave defence against the Spaniards in the preceding year. Men like Scaliger, Lipsius, Heinsius, Gronovius and Spanheim, in an-

cient learning; Erpenius and Golius in Oriental literature; Gomarus, Arminius, Drusus and Cocceius, in theology, extended their own fame and that of their university throughout the whole of Europe. Soon afterwards the universities of Franeker, of Groningen, and of Utrecht, produced a rivalry highly advantageous to the diffusion of knowledge. In the seventeenth century, Huygens, Leeuwenhoeck, Zwammerdam and Hartsecker, were highly distinguished as astronomers and natural historians. In the eighteenth century Albert Schultens, Hemsterhuis, and the celebrated Boerhaave, with many others, extended the study of the Greek and of the Oriental languages, improved their own, and more especially diffused a more correct knowledge of the healing art. The science of the law of nations, as well as of law in general, owes much to eminent Dutch writers; and nowhere has the research into antiquities been more assiduously pursued, or with greater success. The celebrity of Dutch literature, combined with political and polemical reasons to attract able men from other countries; and their works, published in Holland, still farther extended the renown of the Dutch schools. Thus Scaliger and Luzac, were of French origin; Albinus, Vossius, Gronovius, Ruhnken and Vorstius, were Germans; and Wytenbach was a native of Switzerland. Most of the works of these earlier Dutch writers were published in Latin for the sake of greater circulation. But a vast number of other writers who published in Dutch, though little known for that reason, beyond the narrow limits of their own country, are well deserving of a European reputation. Vondel, born in 1587, not only merited, but obtained such a reputation in his own time by his dramatic poems, *Palamedes*, *Gysbrecht van Amstel*, and *Lucifer*, the last of which has been characterized as the precursor of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, which it preceded by fourteen years, and which bears a surprising resemblance to it. Contemporary with him was Jacob Cats, a truly national and popular poet, who has ad-

dressed himself to all the best feelings of his countrymen, and whose works are still highly prized by Hollanders of all classes. Elizabeth Hoofman, or, according to her marriage name, Koolaert, born in 1664, was one of the most learned women, not only of her own, but of almost any other age or country. Besides several poems in Latin, she wrote in Dutch the *Schouwburg der Verwoesting*, which has enjoyed a lasting reputation. Van Effen, who was born in 1684, is one to whom the prose literature of Holland is most highly indebted. He has deservedly been called the Dutch Addison, not only as being a distinguished essay writer, but on account of the terseness and elegance of his style. Jan de Marre, born in 1696, contributed to the Dutch stage one of its best and most popular tragedies; namely, *Jacoba van Beyeren*. In 1710 and 1713, were born William and Onno van Haren. The former, author of *The Frisco*, a romantic epopœia, possessing varied and distinguished merits. The latter, however, was of superior talents. He was author of *The Geuzen*, a cycle of national poems, celebrating the leading events in the history of the Netherlands. This is the chef-d'œuvre of the Dutch literature in the eighteenth century. In 1738 was born the Baroness Cornelia Juliana de Lannoy, who wrote excellent tragedies. Van Alphen, born in 1746, besides his poetry, has other claims to fame, as a moralist, a philosopher, and a critic. Admirable in themselves, his *Cantatas* have the further merit of being the first productions of the kind in the language, and are still unrivalled in it. P. L. van Kastele, a friend of Van Alphen, wrote good original poetry, and showed considerable talent by his transactions, among others his version of *Ossian* in hexameter verse. Arend Fokke, born 1755, stands without a rival in the language as a humorous and satiric writer. His "*Boertige Reize*" *Comic Journey through Europe*; and his *Ironical Comic Dictionary*, are celebrated. Feith Helmers and Bilderdijk, are writers who lived within our own time, and such as would do honor to

any country. Feith, born 1753, is entitled to admiration both as a poet and a critic. His *Grave* is a masterly production. His *Thirza*, *Inez de Castro*, and *Lady Jane Grey*, exhibit his powers as a tragic poet; while his *Letters*, his *Essay on Heroic Poetry*, etc., place him in a high rank as a prose writer. Helmers, a merchant, born 1764, composed poems which breathe the most noble and generous sentiments. Bilderdijk, born 1756, exhibited his varied powers with equal success upon the most opposite subjects. His *Ondergang der eerste Wereld*, is a very fine poem, but unfinished. Helmers and Bilderdijk both died in 1813. Kinker, born in 1764, is another excellent poet, and has produced admirable translations from Schiller. Loots, Loosjes, Tollens, Immerzeel, Van Hall, Da Costa, Van Lennep, Beets, all of them now, or till very lately, living, are writers who do honor to the literature of their country. We will not, however, conclude, without honorable mention of Van Kampen, who died in 1839, author of the *Beknopte Geschiedenis der Letteren*, etc., a most interesting work, from which much of the information above given has been derived.

It is matter of great regret, that the above notice of Dutch writers, short and imperfect as it is, will be found longer and more complete than all but a very small minority of our readers will require as a guide in the selection of authors for their own perusal, owing to the almost universal neglect of the Dutch language by our countrymen. On the subject of this neglect of the language of the Hollanders, the writer just quoted expresses himself in terms severe, but scarcely more so than the case demands. The Dutch is a language derived from the same source with the German, and resembles the Anglo-Saxon in its declension. As spoken indeed by the common people, it sounds rather harsh to English ears, but scarcely more so, we believe, than provincial English does to foreigners. As spoken by well educated persons, it is euphonious and agreeable. It is of homo-

geneous construction, having great power of forming compounds and derivatives from native words, and not requiring, as English, to borrow terms incessantly from foreign tongues. Its plastic elements have also been most carefully wrought up and polished; nor have any people paid greater attention to purity of style and elegance of diction than the Dutch writers of late years. That devotional fervor, and that regard for the hallowing influence of domestic life, together with nobleness and independence of spirit which generally pervade the poetical and imaginative writings of the Hollanders, ought to have gained for them the attention of other nations.

Amidst their fierce contests, and their eager pursuit of gain, the Hollanders have been munificent patrons of the fine arts, especially painting; and their artists have powerfully, but in a peculiar manner, rivalled those of Flanders and of Italy. The Dutch school of painting has been praised for the truth of its representation of natural objects, for its perfect finishing, its appropriate shading, and the coloring and delicacy of pencil; but it has been censured for its selection of unworthy objects. The founder of the school was Lucas of Leyden, born in 1494. His most eminent followers were, Van Been of Leyden, born in 1589, said to have been an instructor of Rubens; Bloemart of Goreum, who painted historical pieces landscapes and cattle, and died in 1647; Cornelius Poelenburg of Utrecht, born in

1586, and died in 1663, who was peculiarly happy in his landscapes with figures; and his two distinguished pupils, Bertange and Haensberge; also Rembrandt, who, by his exquisite coloring, was enabled to hide all his other faults. Without enumerating their peculiarities, and without extending the list, we insert the following names, most of which are well known to those who have paid any attention to the history of painting and painters: Zachtleven, Gerhard Terburg, Swanevelt, Asselyn, Gerhard Dow, Peter van Leer, Wouverman, Waterloo, Berghem, Paul Potter, Backhuysen, Mieris, Schalken, Dujardin, Ruysdael, Van der Werff and Van Hulst. To these we might add many even of recent date. Among the painters of the present day, Kruseman and Pieneman are highly celebrated. An extensive collection of modern paintings is kept in the palace called the Pavilion at Haarlem, itself a very beautiful work. Of ancient paintings there is one great national collection at the Hague, and another equally celebrated at Amsterdam, containing most beautiful specimens of Dutch painting, but also rich treasures of Italian art. Holland is throughout very rich in paintings. With these not only the halls of palaces are adorned in profusion, but also those of town-houses, hospitals and other public buildings, and the apartments of private houses even of middle rank. The Dutch have not equally excelled in statuary and architecture. These arts have been much cultivated among them, however, of late years.



## BELGIUM.

BELGIUM, as a united state, did not exist in the middle ages. The country of which that kingdom has been formed, was divided into a number of fiefs, independent of and frequently at war with each other. Amongst these fiefs may be mentioned the duchies of Brabant, Limbourg and Luxembourg; the counties of Flanders, Hainault and Namur; the bishopric of Liège; the lordship of Malines, and the principality of Stavelot. The Belgians took part in all the expeditions of those chivalrous times, and fought in the plains of the East. But in spite of the frequent wars in which they engaged, they enriched themselves by commerce and industry. Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, united them under his vast power, the bishopric of Liège and the principality of Stavelot alone maintaining a separate existence for more than four centuries. Under the Burgundian dominion, the Belgians became more and more prosperous; the brilliancy of their fêtes attracted numbers of cavaliers from all parts; whilst industry and commerce grew and prospered.

But the proper history of this country does not commence till the period when it came into possession of the house of Austria, by the marriage of the Archduke Maximilian, son of the Emperor Frederick III., in 1477, with Mary of Burgundy, only daughter and heiress of Charles the Bold.

Maximilian, when his son Philip had attained his twentieth year, resigned to him the government of the states; and at his

death the inheritance of the Low Countries devolved upon the Archduke Charles of Austria, afterwards Charles V. The religious movement which then agitated Europe convulsed this country, which suffered fearfully under the cruel persecutions and oppressions of Charles and his more bigoted son Philip II. The attempt to establish the inquisition at length roused the people to resistance, under the leadership of Count Brederode, a descendant of the ancient counts of Holland. The insurgents presented to Margaret, Duchess of Parma, to whom Philip had intrusted the administration of Belgium, a demand for a redress of their grievances and the restoration of their rights. To this document they gave the name of the *compromise*, which was signed by above five hundred of the nobles and principal men in the state. On the rejection of this, they drove back the inquisitors to Spain, and religious liberty was proclaimed. This drew down upon them the wrath of Philip, who sent the Duke of Alva, at the head of the Spanish troops, to reduce them to subjection. He devastated the country, erected scaffolds in every city, and perpetrated the most cruel atrocities upon the inhabitants. At length the confederates formed an alliance with the Prince of Orange. For many years the conflict was carried on between the states of the Netherlands, under the house of Nassau, and the house of Austria, with varying success.

The death of Charles II. of Spain in 1700 gave rise to a general war, which extended

to almost every part of the world. The dying king bequeathed his dominions to the Duke of Anjou, the grandson of Louis XIV., whose ambition had roused the jealousy of the other European states. This gave rise to the Grand Alliance. The Netherlands formed a part of the territory contended for, and again became the theatre of bloody battles and protracted sieges. The peace of Utrecht, concluded in April, 1713, terminated the hostilities. By this treaty the ten provinces of Belgium, which now assumed the name of the Austrian Netherlands, were assigned to the Emperor of Germany.

For a considerable time after this, in consequence of the weakness of the successors of Philip II., Belgium was in such a state of exhaustion, that Holland, to guard itself, occupied the greater part of her fortresses. The emperor had to treat with the states-general, and to accord to the Dutch advantages over the Belgians, which excited the murmurs and threats of the inhabitants both against the emperor and the states-general; and it was only by extreme severity and the greatest precautions that a general revolt was prevented. But the prosperity which accompanied the subsequent peace reconciled the Belgian people to the Austrian rule.

The tranquillity of the Netherlands was interrupted by the war which broke out in 1743; but the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 re-established Maria Theresa in her Belgian possessions. Her good sense and good feelings preserved her from overstepping the bounds of the ancient laws; and her government, which was mild and prudent, remained popular with the people. She died in 1780, and was succeeded by her son Joseph II.

Joseph was inaugurated with the ancient formalities, and commenced his reign under favorable auspices. Anxious to promote the prosperity of the country, he resolved to deliver it from the yoke of Holland, to open up the navigation of the Scheldt, and by the introduction of liberal commercial regu-

lations, to restore it to its ancient importance. By various edicts he announced his determination to curb the power of the priests and to resist the papal encroachments; and even ordered the suppression of some of the monasteries. These reforms, too abruptly proposed, roused the opposition of the priesthood and the superstitious inhabitants, but they were not excited to revolt till Joseph began to overturn the civil departments by a complete change of system. The assembly of the states of Brabant then offered a determined opposition to his measures. They refused to vote the supplies, and in 1789 published a manifesto declaring Joseph II. deposed from the sovereignty. During the contests that followed, which were strongly marked by religious bigotry and fanaticism, Joseph died on the 20th January, 1791, and was succeeded by his brother Leopold.

Leopold manifested much sagacity and moderation in his measures for the recovery of the revolted provinces. The states-general, on the other hand, occupied themselves almost exclusively in attempts to re-establish the monkish institutions; and having dismissed their able general Van der Mersch on account of his alleged heresy, their army became disorganized, and they had the temerity to reject with scorn the moderate overtures of the new emperor. The army of the imperialists advanced into the provinces; town after town opened its gates, and a short campaign gave the emperor quiet possession of the whole of the provinces. He revoked the ordinances of his predecessor which had given such offence to the clergy and bigoted inhabitants, and re-established the form of government on the footing on which it had existed under Maria Theresa. These arrangements were scarcely completed when he died, on the 1st of March, 1792. His son Francis II. succeeded to the throne, and under his reign the final separation of the Belgian provinces from the imperial family took place.

The new emperor, soon after his accession,

found himself involved in the war with revolutionary France, which ended in the conquest of the Netherlands by the French. See FRANCE. The Netherlands were formed by the French first into the Batavian republic, afterwards into the kingdom of Holland for Louis Bonaparte; and in 1811, on his abdication, they were annexed to the French empire.

In 1813, after the battle of Leipzig and Napoleon's evacuation of Germany, the Dutch threw off the French yoke, and recalled the Prince of Orange, who assumed the reins of government under the title of king. The Belgian provinces were soon after abandoned by the French, and fell by the right of conquest into the power of the allied sovereigns.

From its position Belgium had been the battlefield of Europe in former periods; and the possession of that country by France would be of vast importance as an advanced post, from which she might easily proceed to other conquests. The house of Austria, having always found the Belgian provinces a source of trouble and annoyance, was ready to abandon its claims; trusting thereby to secure some advantages nearer the centre of its power. The Netherlands, if united under one power, might be sufficiently strengthened to become a stronger barrier against France, and the means of securing the continuance of that general peace which was then so much desired, and indeed wanted. Belgium, and the other territories near it, the bishopric of Liège, and the duchy of Luxembourg, were considered merely as European objects, which were so to be disposed of as would best suit the purposes of the combined powers, particularly that of securing the tranquillity of the great community of nations. It was not, then, from any particular favor to Holland, or from any personal regard to King William, though his minister formed one of the assembly, that, in less than two months after the seizure of Paris, it was adopted as a principle by the representatives of all

Europe, and promulgated to the world, "that Holland, placed under the sovereignty of the house of Orange, should receive an increase of territory." This declaration was made on the 30th of May, and at the time received with general approbation, although at a subsequent period it was one of the principal grievances set forth by the Belgians in their declaration of independence. The principle thus announced received its final sanction by a treaty dated the 21st of July, in virtue of which Baron Vincent was to deliver over to King William the provisional power he exercised in Belgium, upon the following conditions: 1. That the two countries should form one state, governed by the constitution already established in Holland, to be modified by common consent; 2. That there should be no alteration in that part which assured to all religious sects an equal admissibility to public offices; 3. That the states should assemble in alternate years in a city of Holland and in one of Belgium; 4. That all the inhabitants of both parts should be alike in all commercial matters, without any restriction being imposed on one for the benefit of the other; 5. That the provinces and cities of Belgium should be admitted to the full enjoyment of commerce with the colonies; 6. That all expenses should be in common, and the debts of the two parts should be assumed by the treasury of the kingdom; 7. That the expense of maintaining and strengthening the fortresses should be defrayed from the common treasury; and, 8. That the cost of supporting the dikes should be borne by the districts more immediately interested in them; but in case of any great disaster, succors were to be supplied by the general government, in the same manner as had formerly been practised in Holland. The king of England, by a separate treaty, on the 13th of August, agreed to give up to the newly-created king of the Netherlands all the conquests made from the Dutch during the war, with the exception of the Cape of Good Hope, and



the settlements of Demerara, Essequibo and Berbice, on the continent of South America.

By the treaty of the 21st of July, the government of the Netherlands accepted, on the conditions therein stated, that sovereignty over the Belgian provinces which the allied powers had offered, not from any peculiar feeling of regard to the interests of King William or of Holland, but as a European benefit, "*de pouvoir à l'établissement d'un état d'équilibre en Europe, et en vertu de leur droit de conquête sur la Belgique.*" The duchy of Luxembourg was not a portion of Belgium, but a part of Germany; and that division was given up to the king of the Low Countries, by the German confederation, of which he was a member, not in his regal capacity, but in consequence of his transferring to Prussia the sovereignties, hereditary in his family, of Nassau-Dittgenburg, Sigen, Hademar and Dietz.

After the union of the two countries had been settled by treaty, and the whole delivered up to the government of William, it was thought necessary to submit, not the union itself, but the fundamental law or constitution, to the acceptance of the people. That constitution had already been accepted by an almost unanimous vote in the northern division, but it was deemed necessary to submit it also to the southern division. An assembly of Notables was accordingly convened in Belgium, on the same plan as had before been pursued in Holland. The number of the members of this assembly was 1600, but not more than 1325 attended. Upon the vote being taken, there appeared to be 529 in favor of accepting the constitution, and 796 against it; and thus, as far as that assembly was concerned, the acceptance of the proposed constitution was negatived. The government, however, took a different view of the subject, founded upon the assumption, that the union being adopted must be considered as a fact not to be questioned; and that this was a question for the united kingdom, which must be determined by a majority of the whole. For this purpose,

the statistical view given of the kingdom was thus represented: The inhabitants of the northern division, or what was before Holland, were, 2,071,181; those of the south part, or Belgium, 3,411,082; in all, 5,482,263. The votes in favor of the acceptance were stated to be the whole of the northern part, 2,071,181; two-fifths of the southern part, who voted by their 529 delegates, 1,364,432; in all, 3,435,613. The majority of the Belgian representatives, who voted three-fifths of that part, amounted to 2,046,650; thus giving in favor of the constitution, or fundamental law, a majority of 1,388,963.

We have given an account of this proceeding, because it was subsequently made one of the grievances complained of. The assembly had been chosen fairly, and consequently under clerical influence, which was decidedly opposed to the toleration of any other party than the Catholic religion. This was proved by a kind of protest issued under the title of "*Jugement Doctrinal des Evêques du Royaume des Pays-Bas, sur le serment prescrit par la Nouvelle Constitution.*" In an authoritative style it condemns the liberty given to appoint persons of any religious creed to offices of power and trust; and it reprobates the enactment that the Catholic church was to be submissive to the law of the state, that the other religious sects were to be protected in their worship, that the government was to have the power to regulate all the seminaries of the kingdom, and that the liberty of the press was recognized. This declaration was signed by all the prelates, the Archbishop of Malines, and the Bishops of Ghent and of Tournay, and the vicar-general of the chapter of Liège. It is natural to suppose that such a declaration must have had great influence with people so ignorant and superstitious as the lower classes of the Belgian population are universally allowed to be, and averse as they had ever been to a connection with the Dutch, who were represented to them as a combination of heretics. The nobles are also said to have been more attached to the

ancient Austrian government; but the middle classes were supposed to have more sympathy with the French than with the German nation, and to be peculiarly jealous of the Dutch.

Whatever may have been the common sentiment, of which it is always difficult to judge, not the least appearance of discontent was displayed at the promulgation of the constitution, or the public entry made by the king and his family into Brussels. His first efforts there, as they had been in Holland, were directed to the means of defence; and all due exertions were employed for the purpose of raising an effective and numerous army. In this much progress had been made when the intelligence arrived that Bonaparte had escaped from Elba, advanced in a sort of triumphal procession through France, and again assumed the imperial title, and all the power connected with it.

The alarm and terror created by this event had the effect of, in a great measure, disarming the power of the ecclesiastical fulminations, and uniting all classes with the new government in preparing for the contest which was evidently about to take place on the frontiers of the kingdom. The time spent by Bonaparte in Paris in organizing his recovered army, and in conciliating the several parties in his capital, was most actively employed by the king in strengthening his means of defence; and a great advance had been made in his military affairs, when it became evident that the first inroad of the French would be on the side of Belgium.

An army composed of Dutchmen and Belgians, but chiefly officered by the former, was collected and led towards the frontiers by the Prince of Orange. When the French entered Belgium, these troops formed the advance of the allied army. It encountered the French at Quatre-Bras, and, aided by the British, resisted during the whole day (the 16th of June) the attacks of the left division of the French army, commanded by Marshal Ney. The loss of lives on both sides was great; but that action had a power-

ful influence on the issue of the battle of the 18th, as it gave time to bring up the whole of the allied forces, and place them on the field of Waterloo, where the decisive conflict took place which decided the fate of the French empire, and gave a long peace to Europe. During the whole of that day the troops of the Netherlands sustained the character for courage which past centuries had established. There were probably a few instances of overpowering terror, and some solitary examples of disaffection, arising from past associations with the French; but the great principle of public duty pervaded the Netherland army, as was proved by the loss which they sustained in the battle. The victory was cemented by the blood of the Prince of Orange, who stood at the head of his troops throughout the whole of that arduous day, encouraging them by his cool and determined conduct. On one occasion he made a desperate charge on the enemy, and advanced so far that he was actually in the midst of the French, and in the greatest danger, when a Belgian battalion rushed forward, repulsed the enemy, and, after a desperate struggle, disengaged the prince. From the impulse of his gratitude, and his admiration of the bravery displayed, he tore from his breast one of the decorations gained by his conduct in some preceding action, and flung it amongst the battalion, calling out, "Take it, my lads; you have all earned it." This decoration was eagerly grappled for, and tied to the regimental standard amidst loud shouts of "Long live the Prince!" and vows to defend the trophy, in the utterance of which many a brave man received the stroke of death. A short time afterwards, towards the close of the battle, the prince was hit by a musket-ball on the left shoulder. He was carried from the field, and conveyed to Brussels the same evening in a cart, accompanied by two of his aides-de-camp, one of whom, like himself, was badly wounded; displaying to those near him as much indifference to pain as he had previously shown contempt of danger.



The battle of Waterloo appeared at the moment to have consolidated the establishment of the kingdom of the Netherlands. It seemed to have attached the military part of the Belgians to the prince who had been wounded at their head, and who had led them to that victory which they so mainly ascribed to their own exertions, as almost to forget that the troops of any other nation had contributed to it. Advantage was taken of this feeling to commence the working of the new constitution, which had been accepted, as before noticed, by a majority of the whole kingdom, though rejected by a majority of the Belgian portion. The solemn inauguration was held a few weeks after the battle, and much interest was excited by the appearance of the Prince of Orange, on the occasion, still wearing his wounded arm in a scarf, and with the pallid countenance of an invalid.

The constitution was then declared to have been accepted by the people, and no allusion was made to the irregularity of the decision, as the objections once urged had arisen from repugnance to religious toleration; those who had urged them being sensible that any allusions to the subject would have been unavailing amidst the prevailing military enthusiasm. None was made, but such were certainly nourished, to be brought forward at some moment more favorable for making the desired impression. No murmurs were heard, and Belgium became, or appeared to have become, reconciled to the arrangement which had been made by the allied powers.

The speedy concentration of the two divisions was a spectacle viewed with astonishment, whilst a thousand channels were opened for the egress of national industry, capital and enterprise. Every obstacle seemed to have vanished, asperities were softened down or concealed, faction seemed dead or paralysed, and a quiet enjoyment of the present formed the only public manifestation. The people of Belgium appropriated to themselves the glorious victory of which their country

had been the theatre. The king, by his love of peace, and by his activity in whatever could improve the institutions and the condition of the country, at first gained a high opinion amongst those Belgians who were able to endure the religious toleration he established; and amongst others his personal virtues, his domestic habits, and his unwearied industry, as favorable a view was taken of his character as could be formed of one who had the misfortune to be a heretic. This last party was soothed, if not reconciled, by the exertions which he made to recover and restore to their churches those pictures and other objects of value which had been pillaged by the French and carried to Paris.

The naval transaction of the following year, when a squadron of Netherland ships joined the fleet under Lord Exmouth in the attack on Algiers, was another circumstance favorable to the consolidation of the new kingdom; for, although the battle was gallantly fought by Dutchmen, yet the Belgians took care, in the exercise of their vanity, not to allude to the Hollanders; and as they had forgotten the English at Waterloo, so they now gladly assumed to themselves the glory of the united victory. The prosperity of Belgium made it the chosen residence of many respectable foreigners, as well as the place of refuge of others of the most opposite descriptions. The king busied himself less in projects to secure popularity, than in efforts to benefit the country; and it may here be proper to notice the institutions which were either established or ameliorated, and the beneficial consequences they produced.

Under the rule of France, Belgium, like the other parts of the Continent, had suffered severely from the operation of the conscription laws, which had deprived the country of those active laborers who were necessary to cultivate the fields. Although peace could not restore the great numbers who had perished, yet it stopped the farther progress of the evil in the Netherlands, by the establishment of a voluntary enrolment for a small



regular army, and of a militia, whose service was required only for one month in the year. The mines felt the benefit of this regulation. The minerals of Belgium consist of coal, iron and calamine. As soon as the union had been formed, and laborers became less scarce, a great impetus was communicated to this branch of industry; and companies were formed, who were most liberally repaid by the profits of their investments in this branch of industry, which was augmented from year to year as long as Belgium and Holland constituted one kingdom. By the excitement communicated to mining, the provinces of Liège and Hainault, and a part of Namur, were greatly enriched; and a company formed to exploit the mines of Luxembourg were amply rewarded in their labors and their profits, till interrupted by internal commotions. The various branches of manufacturing industry received a similar impulse, though at first they were checked by the peace. The continental system of Bonaparte had given a factious encouragement to some articles of manufacture, which ceased with the return of peace; and, till the formation of the kingdom of the Netherlands, many branches were depressed by the rivalry of foreign goods in the markets to which they had access. But as soon as the junction was completed, a stimulus was given to the manufactures, by opening to their goods the markets of the East and West Indies, and those of all countries with which the Hollanders had traded. The iron manufactures of Liège advanced rapidly in prosperity; the woollen manufactures of Verviers felt most powerfully a similar impulsion; and many large establishments were formed at Ghent and other places, where cotton goods were fabricated which rivalled those of England, and so far surpassed those of France, that much of the goods were sold by the contraband trade in that kingdom. The opening of the Scheldt was the necessary effect of the formation of the united kingdom. Merchants from various countries formed establishments with large capital at Antwerp; its docks

became crowded with ships from all countries; its warehouses were loaded with colonial and other produce; and it advanced rapidly to a rivalry with Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Hamburg, in the transit trade to the interior of Germany. The king directed his best efforts to the state of the roads, the greater part of which had suffered dilapidation, whilst the cross roads, so important in a country chiefly agricultural, were in many places scarcely passable. The management of the former was under the general government, whilst that of the latter was superintended by the local authorities; but in the first few years of the union the whole were repaired and placed in the most excellent state. The interests of internal navigation were sedulously watched over by the king. The old canals were repaired, the shallow parts of the rivers were deepened, and new and important water communications were formed. The chief of these, the Canal Guillaume, which extends from Maestricht to Bois-le-Duc, was an expensive but highly beneficial work; whilst that of Antoin in Hainault, that of Charleroy in the province of Namur, and that of Ternuse in Flanders, have been found in a very high degree beneficial. Though no longer of any importance to Belgium, it may not be quite out of place to remark, that the spirit of improvement which spread throughout the whole kingdom was to be seen in Holland in the Grand Canal of North Holland, which opens to Amsterdam a way for ships of the largest size to the ocean by way of the Helder, without incurring the risks arising from the shoals of the Zuyder Zee.

Some other plans of this kind had been decided on, when the disturbances broke out which ended in this disjunction of Belgium from Holland. One of these was to make the river Sambre navigable; the other was to form a canal from the Meuse to the Moselle, by means of which the prosperity of the Duchy of Luxembourg would have been greatly advanced.

The state of education, from the schools

for primary instruction up to the universities, was in a wretched state when the king ascended the throne. In Holland it had ever been an object of the greatest consideration; and it had received from Louis Bonaparte, during his short reign, a degree of perfection which fitted it for reception in Belgium. Normal schools for the instruction of teachers were early founded; and as soon as any were found qualified, they were fixed with moderate stipends in the rural districts where they could be most beneficially placed. To such an extent was this plan of organizing primary schools carried during the first ten years of the reign of William, that their number in 1826 was 3329, in which the pupils were taught reading, writing, arithmetic and the system of weights and measures. The numbers of pupils in the several schools of Belgium were 156,075 boys and 116,761 girls; in Luxembourg the numbers were 19,925 boys and 14,819 girls.

The schools for higher instruction were improved, and the number of students in them yearly increased. In ten years they had risen from 3400 to 7084. There were in general the institutions in which the youth were prepared for the universities. The king founded a new university at Liège, in addition to the two previously existing at Louvain and at Ghent. Great care was taken to procure the most able men in every branch of science; and as the country was rather deficient in such as possessed eminent qualifications, it was found necessary to repair to foreign lands for help. Several were invited from Germany, and others from France and Italy. No one establishment for education in Europe could boast of more distinguished names than those of the individuals who filled some of the professors' chairs, both in Liège and Ghent.

Whilst in the united kingdom the surface appeared smooth, and the vessel of the state seemed to be making a rapid progress, an under-current was perceived to be making its way in a direction not favorable to per-

manent tranquillity. At first William gained the highest applause from his Belgian subjects. The whole kingdom exhibited a show of bustling activity, if not of prosperity. Amongst the refugees from other countries, the king and people were spoken of as models of public and domestic happiness; the diplomatists joined in the flattery, and prided themselves on the skill with which they had accomplished the tranquillity of Europe, by founding the kingdom of the Netherlands; and all united in the assertion that the king was much too good for his Belgian subjects.

For several years this favorable or flattering state of affairs continued, though thoughtful people soon discerned, from events unnoticed by superficial observers, the prognostics of future disunion. At the earliest meeting of the representative house, the different languages spoken by the members caused some difficulties; a Belgian in the discussions speaking in French, and a Hollander replying in Dutch. Too many of the questions brought forward might be of a local nature; and in these, as the whole of the Hollanders voted on one side, and the whole of the Belgians on the other, the decision was often dependent on the accidental absence of an individual on the one side or the other. The equality of numbers between the Dutch and Belgians made it difficult to come to a settlement on such subjects as affected the interests of the two countries in a different or opposite way. This was first exhibited on the subject of a free trade in corn. The Dutch provinces had never produced sufficient corn for their consumption, but a free trade in it had always furnished them with a sufficient supply. The Belgian provinces grew more corn than they consumed. As in the other parts of Europe during the last years of the war, the prices of corn had risen to an enormous rate, and the Belgian proprietors of land had increased their rents in due proportion. With the return of tranquillity the prices of grain and the rents of land were much reduced; and the Belgian



members of the assembly desired to impose restrictions on the importation of grain. This was naturally opposed by the Dutch members, whose interest was engaged in favor of low prices, both as regarded the subsistence of the inhabitants, and the trade of the distilleries. The question was finally decided in favor of the freedom of the trade; but the contest gave rise to the formation of two parties, so equally balanced as to make the decision of many legislative questions dependent on accident.

As the royal authority had been established in Holland the greater part of a year before the union with Belgium, it had been organized without reference to that event. Holland had been a shorter period under French power; and during the prevalence of that influence when King Louis filled the throne, its government had been carried on upon the principle of nationality; the fittest men filled the offices in the different departments, and many of them remained unchanged when Holland became a French department. It was natural that King William should continue such men in their offices, and that in selecting officers for the new branches which were to be created, a preference should be given to natives, of whom there were numbers whose education, habits, and patriotism had well fitted them for the public service. At the union of Belgium and Holland the whole administration was in the hands of French functionaries, who speedily disappeared. Few men in Belgium had been brought up in such a way as to form them for official duties, and those who had sufficient information and capacity had been nominated to employments in the distant provinces of France. Under these circumstances, the greater number of officers was necessarily appointed from the northern division of the kingdom. Another cause of many offices in Belgium being filled by Dutchmen was, that some of those Belgians to whom offers were made declined to serve, on account of the influence of the priests, which prevented them from taking the oath

to a constitution, one of the first stipulations of which was an equal freedom to all religions.

When Louis Bonaparte became king of Holland, he sedulously attended to the formation of his army; and when he abandoned the throne the armed force was so well trained, equipped, and officered, that, on the annexation of Holland to France in 1810, it formed a military body equal to any other of the empire in its adaptation to the purposes of war. When that army was transferred to France, the different grades of officers retained their Dutch rank, and their former course of promotion. But when the people of Holland rose against France, and raised William to the throne, the Dutch resigned their posts in the French service, and repaired to their own country, where they were gladly received, and reinstated in the rank which they had attained during their service in France. All the generals were Dutchmen; but that rank had been acquired in the French service, where, by their military talents, they had gained high reputation, and had been honored and trusted by the French emperor. The names of the Dutch officers thus appointed generals by William are well known. Tindal had been raised by Bonaparte to the rank of general, and commanded a regiment of his body guard. Jansens had been distinguished as governor of Batavia, and in the army of the French emperor on the Ardennes frontier. Daendels was one of those Dutchmen who had been always placed in posts of the greatest danger, and had displayed the highest skill and valor. Dumonceau, though a Belgian by birth, had by his long service in the northern provinces become a Dutchman, and was highly esteemed in the French army. Chassé, an old officer of Holland when he was transferred to the French service, became known by the familiar title of *Général Baïonnette*, and afterwards distinguished himself by his gallant defence of the citadel of Antwerp.

When men like these returned to their



liberated country, and at a moment when their services were wanted, there were no rivals to compete with them in Holland, and they were necessarily placed at the head of their profession. Those of the successive ranks who also returned, as almost the whole did, were retained in those ranks in the army, formed first in Holland, and afterwards strengthened by the addition of Belgians. The Belgian officers serving in the French army had not been kept apart, but mixed up with the Frenchmen. They had formed a part of the general conscription; few had raised themselves to the rank of officers; and of these only three had attained the grade of colonel, no one having risen higher. Being thus insulated, they had nourished little or no national feeling; some few tardily returned to their native country after the occupation of Paris; but many of them remained in the service, and fought against their country at Waterloo.

The other charge of partiality on the part of the king, which ultimately became one of the grievances, was, that, in the legislative body, the number of deputies was as great from the northern as from the southern division of the kingdom, although the number of inhabitants in the latter was so much greater. The foundation of this settlement of the relative numbers was based upon the principle of giving legislative power according to the rate of revenue to be extracted from each division, rather than according to the number of the population. The proportion of revenue raised in Holland was nearly equal to that raised in Belgium; indeed it was shown, at a subsequent period, to be as fifteen to sixteen. The rate of revenue per head in Holland was sixteen florins, and in Belgium ten florins. Whether the rate of revenue or the number of inhabitants be the proper scale for regulating the proportion of legislators, is not a subject to be discussed here.

In the distribution of the higher civil offices of the government, complaints were urged and magnified into weighty grievances by the Belgians.

It may fairly be presumed, that in the appointment of officers in the several civil departments, the king had been mainly influenced by his view of the capacity of the persons selected to discharge the necessary duties; for at a subsequent period, when the most scrutinizing activity was exercised to discover grounds of complaint, no accusations were made of any other fault in the appointments than that which related to the portion of the kingdom to which the functionaries belonged. The king himself was active and regular; and being in a great degree his own prime minister, he must have been peculiarly anxious that the persons under him should be adapted to their several stations, and certainly under no government was more industry exercised or more regularity preserved.

The subject of religion was one which, above all others, served to produce discontent. A set of writers who neither had, nor pretended to have, any religious principles, encouraged the government at first in measures of toleration, according to the fundamental law, and were, or affected to be, vehement against the Jesuits, who opposed it. William was no bigot in religion, but it was his desire to raise the character of the Catholic clergy, by imparting to them a more extensive and better education than had previously been necessary before entering on their office. With this view he framed regulations which offended the clergy and the ignorant party who submitted to them, and who were at length joined by those who distinguished themselves as liberals, as soon as they saw that some advantages could be drawn from that union to forward their own republican views.

The Catholic clergy in Belgium had submitted to the regulation of their affairs which French subjugation had imposed. The vicar of the diocese of Ghent has indeed been unwilling to allow this; but Baron de Keverburg, himself a Catholic, and under the French regime governor of West Flanders, asserts most positively that the imperial in

stitutions were observed in Belgium as elsewhere; that the catechism of the empire was taught to almost every one; and that the four articles of the clergy of France formed a part of the religious instruction in all the Belgian departments. As soon as the kingdom was established, they brought forward claims to power which they dared not even to whisper under Napoleon, and even carried those claims to an extent beyond what they had been urged for the last three or four centuries, and beyond what are acknowledged in the Catholic kingdoms of Europe.

This extraordinary claim of the church to a power independent of, and in fact governing the state, would not, on its own account, have deserved the notice here taken of it. It was at least quieted by the prudent conduct of the king, who suffered the Count Mean, one of the prelates, upon his nomination to a seat in the council of state, to swear to the tolerating constitution under a protest, that if the pope should declare the oath to be contrary to the rights of the church, it should thereby cease to be binding. The king, whilst he adhered to the constitutional principle of tolerating other sects, extended his liberality to the Catholic clergy, by increasing the stipends of the inferior orders; by making provision for those who, from age or infirmity, were incapable of performing their duty; and by contributing liberally to the erection or repairs of churches where the communal funds were inadequate to the purpose. The opposition of the clergy was for a time dormant; but it was again roused, when, at a subsequent period, the leaders of the church formed a junction with the leaders of the French party, and thus placed the lower classes, who could not read their effusions, but were under the influence of the priests who spoke to them in Flemish, in a state of hostile excitement towards the government. The hostility of the clergy was much aggravated by the attempts made to improve the education of the priests. The king had determined that no priest should

be inducted who had not passed two years in the study of the *literæ humaniores* before his ordination, and appropriated a college at Louvain for that purpose, to which was given the unfortunate name of the *philosophical* college, a name with good Catholics almost equivalent to infidel or heretic. The prelates, to counteract this, established seminaries connected with the cathedrals, in which the pupils were instructed in their humanities. These contravened the design of the king, and were forcibly shut up. It was an objection to the philosophical college that the professors of history were not priests, but laymen, and some Protestants. This may not seem a solid ground of declining to attend lectures on history; but it was so with the Catholics; for, as their doctrines rest quite as much on tradition as on the Holy Scriptures, it was of vast importance that history should be taught by those alone who were orthodox in their opinions. In truth, the critical spirit of some of the German professors would make sad work with many parts of the traditions held sacred by the Catholic church. The prelates, in the discussions on this subject, indulged in language of a violent kind, and were prosecuted. A law enacted by Napoleon was made the instrument of condemning one or two of them to banishment, and excited no small degree of hatred amongst their adherents, who, if not the most enlightened, were the most numerous, portion of the inhabitants. These mortifications were increased by circumstances of inferior importance. Some of the religious festivals were curtailed, certainly with no views inimical to religion, but to benefit the morals of the people, by lessening the number of days that were devoted to idleness and drunkenness. The architecture of the national schools was similar to that of the reformed places of worship, and the youth of the country were forbidden to be educated out of the kingdom. These trifles were magnified into matters of plain evidence of a regular system to proselytise the whole of the Netherlands. Whilst these



controversies respecting religion and education were carried on, the conduct of the king was applauded and encouraged by the active party of the liberals, who represented them as proper steps to secure the people from the insidious attempts made by the Jesuits to blind and cajole them. There was no evidence of any plan of the kind on the part of the Jesuits, and it was only affectation in the liberals to insinuate it. It served their turn for the time, but was soon forgotten, when it appeared advantageous for their party purposes to join with the most bigoted of the Catholics against the government of the house of Orange.

During the whole of the period from 1815 to 1829 the popularity of the monarch was very variable. After the uttering of some loud complaints, as alleged grievances arose, they seemed to die away and be forgotten; and, till some new cause supervened, the king was as much respected as his best friends could wish. At no time, indeed, was his personal character assailed; and the general feeling in Belgium was, that he always meant well, but gave too ready an acquiescence to what they tauntingly called the schemes of their *Dutch cousins*.

The king, attacked by two parties, by the priests, and their bigoted followers on one side, and by the republicans on the other, avowed his intention to act with indifference to all parties in the pursuit of what he deemed for the general advantage. In conformity with this disposition a *concordat* was in 1827 entered into with the pope, by which the right of nomination to the bishoprics was settled. It was provided that each should be selected by the pope out of three individuals to be nominated by the king, and that the education of the priests should be under the control of the prelates; but that in the seminaries professors should be appointed to teach the sciences, as well as what related to ecclesiastical matters. This arrangement was highly satisfactory to the cool and thinking part of the community, out was far from pleasing to the extravagant

partisans. The clergy thought that too little had been granted to them, and the liberals that too much power was conferred on their order. Conciliatory as this measure was intended to be, it thus proved nugatory; and several nominations of Belgians to offices before filled by Dutchmen had no better effect.

Brussels at this time contained a most heterogeneous foreign population, consisting of the intriguing and discontented subjects of almost every country of Europe. There were of Frenchmen, regicide conventionalists, exiled Napoleonists and proscribed constitutionalists, besides Italian carbonari, expatriated Poles, Spanish liberals, disgraced Russians, English and Irish radicals, and visionary students from the various parts of Germany. As the greater part of these had but insecure means of subsistence, and for the most part understood the French language, the press groaned with libels, not more against the Belgian than against all other governments, and thus contributed towards the production of a high state of political excitement. The press of the capital also furnished cheap editions of such works as, either from their irreligious, immoral, or democratic tendency, were prohibited in France; and thus became a nuisance to the regular governments of Europe. The great mass of the population could not be inflamed by these fire-brands; few of them could read, and fewer still could read French. They were, however, acted upon by other means. The Flemish preachers, school-masters and confessors, in their several spheres, were ready to join in any movement, and were sure to be supported by the idle, the dissolute and the indigent, with which the cities and large towns abounded. To bring the whole body of discontent to bear upon the same point, it was found advisable to form the two parties into one; and this was achieved by the liberals affecting a zeal for the Catholic faith, which they had before treated with contempt and ribaldry. The union thus formed, meetings of the parties were



held, the junction was openly announced, and threatenings were promulgated tending to give confidence to the confederacy, as well as to excite apprehension in the king and his ministers.

This system of agitation was carried to an extent which no government could behold with indifference, however confident in the rectitude of its measures. It was attempted to oppose the calumniating writers by employing others to counteract their influence; but the attempt was far from successful, as in that kind of warfare the assailants have almost always the advantage on their side. The avowed object of the liberal writers was to urge the clerical party to make such extravagant demands of extensive power as they knew, if granted, would be the ruin of the royal authority, and if refused, would increase the agitation they had already created. Although the whole of the Dutch members of the representative assembly, and several of the most respectable of the Belgian members, gave a majority in favor of the royal party, yet many of the latter adopted most inflammatory language, and, as far as the rules of debate allowed, seconded the views of the united party of the liberals and bigots.

As the union openly flung defiance at the government, it appeared necessary to bring before the courts of law the most notorious of the inflammatory writers; and two were selected as subjects for prosecution before the court of assizes of South Brabant. These individuals are thus described by the Baron de Keerbergh. Of the first, Louis de Potter, he says: "He had attracted attention long before the Belgian agitation by writings, which, in the eyes of the church, were considered very impious, and by all men endorsed with the least delicacy of feeling, in very bad taste. What I have to say of the second, is still less honorable. M. Francois Tielemans, before the time just mentioned, was known only by the benefits which he had received, and was still receiving from the king, and later, was noxious for his ingratitude towards his benefactor."

These men, with two others, likewise editors of journals, were sent to the tribuna, in which Van Maanen filled the office of presiding judge. The prosecution terminated in a sentence of banishment from the kingdom for the period of eight years; a sentence which brought on the judge the execrations of the libellous journals, and elevated the prisoners to the rank of martyrs. The sentence was put in force by sending the culprits to the frontiers, where they were detained, as neither of the neighboring states would admit them. The revolution of July occurred in Paris whilst they were in this state; and the party which prevailed in that city allowed them to enter France, and they were received in the capital with great applause by the propagandists.

The popular mind in Brussels was highly agitated by these trials, which did not operate to restrain the indignant language of the journals, nor the distribution of the most vehement placards, many of them in the Flemish tongue, in which the minister, Van Maanen, and the editor of a royalist journal entitled the *National*, were held up to the public indignation, and threatened with vengeance. In this state of public feeling, the news of the success of the Parisian people in overturning the throne was received with enthusiasm. Numbers of the young propagandists from Paris reached Brussels. Assuming to themselves the character of heroes of the revolution, and with feelings of disappointment at the tranquil issue at which it had so soon arrived, these young men displayed the three-colored cockade in the streets and public places; talked loudly in the theatres and coffee-houses; sang the Marseillaise and Parisienne hymns in chorus with impassioned groups; and dwelt with enthusiasm on the glories of the republic and the empire, and the future destinies of their "young France." Some of the more active of the Belgians repaired to Paris, and are said to have sounded the new government on the subject of the re-union of their country to France, in the event of the disso-

lution of the monarchy of the Netherlands. These last were, however, mere adventurers, who had little or no power over, or intercourse with, those who were destined to influence the fate of Belgium.

The disturbances which followed at first may be easily concluded to have been the result of mere popular excitement, such as is often seen in large cities. The first symptom of outrage was presented by the audience of the theatre, on the 25th of August, 1830, after the representation of a piece, the *Muette de Portici*, which abounded with passages well calculated to kindle a flame amongst materials well charged with inflammable particles. When the curtain fell, the excited audience rushed into the street, exclaiming, "To the office of the National." They ran thither, soon forced in the doors and windows, and began the work of destruction. They then rushed into the dwelling of the editor, which was speedily demolished, though the obnoxious individual, whose life was threatened, made his escape unhurt. The house of Van Maanen was that next assailed. It was plundered, and then set on fire, and the populace stopped the fire-engine from playing till everything in it was consumed. The police-office was then attacked; the books, furniture, pictures and plate of the chief magistrate were brought out and burnt in the street; and the hotel of the provincial governor shared the same fate; whilst some private-houses and several manufactories were pillaged, and otherwise much damaged. Fury, confusion, or terror were visible in every countenance, before the civil and military powers made any attempts to stop these disorders; and those which were made showed a want either of the courage or the coolness necessary to act with decision. "From this conduct," says an eyewitness, "before ten o'clock on the morning of the 26th, the guards and posts in the centre of the city had been overcome, or had tranquilly surrendered; and the troops who had been drawn out either retreated to their barracks, or were withdrawn to the upper

part of the city, where they piled their arms in front of the king's palace, and renounced all attempts at suppressing the tumult."

By the operations of these two days, the multitude had in fact gained the mastery of the city, and every one in it felt himself exposed to whatever private malice, political fury, or the love of plunder, might induce the populace to inflict. This moved a few of the more influential inhabitants to take up arms, and to enrol themselves into a burgher guard, for the protection of their lives and property. Within three days, not less than as many thousand persons, chiefly heads of families, had enrolled themselves in this corps, and under chiefs of their own selection, paraded the streets; so that, if they did not put a stop to plunder and destruction, they at least contributed in some degree to contract the extent of the mischief. In such circumstances, the actual power within the city devolved on those who obtained the direction of these hastily organized and scarcely armed citizens. They determined on resisting the troops, which were advancing; and the general who commanded them having no precise orders from the king to act, readily agreed to suspend the march, and entered into a kind of treaty of neutrality with the burghers, till they could receive directions from the Hague, where the king and his family had that year their residence. The intelligence of these events in the capital soon spread throughout the provinces, and in all the large towns, excepting Antwerp and Ghent, similar scenes were exhibited, commencing with plunder and outrages by mobs, and settling down into an uneasy but rather more secure state by the institution of burgher guards.

The intelligence from Brussels was quickly communicated to the Hague, but the royal councils were divided in opinion. The only positive demand in Brussels was the dismissal of the minister Van Maanen and he offered to resign his post. The king is said to have refused accepting his resignation,



whilst the Prince of Orange urged the acceptance of it, and the adoption of some other measures of a conciliatory kind. The result of the decision can only be known by the events which followed; and they show that neither the adoption of concessions, nor the positive use of force, was resolved upon, but a course was pursued which, being some undefined medium between the two different paths, ended, as was natural, in converting a mere popular riot into a confirmed revolution. It was determined by the council that the Prince of Orange should proceed to Brussels on a peaceful commission; whilst the command of the army was conferred on his brother, and the troops advanced with alacrity from the various parts of Holland, where they were quartered, and where the most astonishing zeal was displayed in support of the royal authority.

The prince, however, departed for Brussels, but only furnished with such limited powers as, in the actual circumstances, were utterly ineffective. On his arrival at Vilvorde, near the city, he was waited on by a deputation from the city, composed of some of the most respectable inhabitants, who had been nominated at a public meeting of the householders. After some preliminary discussions, the prince courageously resolved on entering the city with no other suit than a few officers of his staff. His passage through the streets, crowded with the irregular burgher guard, and a ferocious mob, was attended with imminent risk; but at length he reached his own palace, and commenced a conference. Discussions were continued for several days between the prince on one side, and respectable citizens on the other, which were conducted with firmness and in a conciliatory spirit by both parties. The substance was not a rejection of the royal authority, or of the reigning dynasty, on the part of the citizens, but a separation of the administration of Belgium from that of Holland. They all declared that no wish prevailed for any union with France, but only for such a kind of independence for both countries as had been

fixed between Sweden and Norway, with which both countries were satisfied and benefited. It was more than intimated to the prince that the wishes of all Belgium would be fulfilled if he were elevated to the throne; but in answer to such suggestions he firmly asked of one of the most influential men at that time, "What opinion would you entertain of me were I to sacrifice the interests of my father to my own? What confidence could you repose in a man who could cast off his allegiance to his king, and that king his father, merely to gratify his own ambition? I also am a father," added the prince with deep emotion, "and am bound to show a proper example to my children. Posterity shall not revert to my name, and revile me as that disloyal Nassau who tore the diadem from his father's brow to place it on his own."

At a final meeting held on the 3d of September, when many members of the states-general attended, it was so fully obvious to the prince that nothing but a separate administration of the two countries would restore tranquillity, that he resolved to use his influence with his father to accomplish that object; and he received the fullest assurance from the persons present, that they would unite in the most efficacious measures to assure the dynasty of the house of Orange, and to protect the territory of Belgium against any attempts to subject it to France, or any other foreign power. The prince expressed his determination to use his most powerful arguments with his father to obtain his assent to this proposal; but expressed his apprehension that he should be unable to succeed in his endeavors. The prince then quitted the city, carrying with him the respect of all those with whom he had communicated, for the courage he had displayed, for the knowledge of public affairs which he discovered, for the cool judgment which he exercised, and, above all, for the sense of parental duty which he had manifested. Whilst these transactions were passing in Brussels, the whole country was in a flame;



in every town the populace were triumphant, and indulged unrestrained in plunder, to which, especially in the important city of Liège, was added the conflagration of several valuable manufacturing establishments. The officers of the army, with no definite orders how to act, were paralyzed in some places, in others gave up their arms, and in others engaged to be neutral.

The king, amidst the general disorder in Belgium, and the most fanatical attachment to the royal cause in Holland, had summoned the states-general from both divisions to assemble at the Hague. The members from Belgium, with some slight hesitation, resolved to repair thither, and the assembly was opened on the 13th of September, by a speech from the king, which was firm and temperate, but by no means definite. The proceedings of this body were dilatory; the Belgium members were treated with indignity and insult by the populace; and the language of some of the Dutch members expressed vengeance rather than conciliation.

The accounts received at Brussels from the Hague, and the warlike demonstrations made by the troops, rekindled and accelerated the preparations for defence, and induced some approaches to organization. The burgher guards had become tired of military duty, and being mostly tradesmen living on their business, which had now being ruined, they were anxious for the return of the tranquillity upon which their existence depended. The leaders of the opposition, however, drew fresh recruits of a more determined and more reckless description from the rude population of the Walloon provinces, from the men employed in the coal and iron mines, and from the iron forges and other works which had been destroyed or shut up in and around Liège. These were, in a great measure, old and hardy soldiers, who had served in the ranks of Bonaparte's army, and fought in Germany, in Russia, or in Spain. Their arrival in the capital spread terror amongst the peaceable inhabitants, and kindled alarms lest they should be again exposed to the

outrages which had marked the first days of the explosion. The defenders were thus divided into two parties; but, as usual, the most violent soon prevailed; and the council of the rabble soon dispersed that of the burghers (for both had their separate assemblies), seized the arms of the latter, and added to them others which had been collected in different parts of the country.

Although the states were still sitting at the Hague, the king's army was gradually drawn around Brussels. It consisted of 14,000 well appointed troops, under the command of Prince Frederick. But the motions of this powerful body were so dilatory, and its whole operations so unmilitary, that they are difficult to be accounted for, unless on the supposition that the conduct of the king was too conciliatory when force should have been applied, and too hostile when conciliation would have been of most advantage to his cause. On the 20th of September the council resolved to take possession of Brussels, and orders were sent to Prince Frederick to that effect. This resolution was taken at the Hague in consequence of the information of numerous emissaries from Brussels, who represented the inhabitants as eager to receive the troops, and to assist in putting an end to the anarchy and oppression which the mob were exercising. The most respectable names in the city were appended to these representations, which were doubtless sincere, but came from such as were more prepared to enjoy the return of peace and good government than to contribute any share of their personal services to secure these blessings.

On the 25th the troops advanced towards the city, and with little opposition occupied the upper portion or court part of it, which is situated on a hill, by which the whole of the rest of the town is commanded. The opponents in the lower part of the city were dispirited and disunited and most of the more violent leaders had fled. But the commanders of the army seem to have been seized with a panic, or to have dreaded doing too much mischief to the houses and property

of the more wealthy inhabitants. In the square, where the troops had been drawn up, they were exposed to a galling fire from an invisible enemy, who, from the roofs of the houses, and from the cellars, picked off the officers and men without being much exposed to any return from the troops. Instead of destroying the houses and buildings which concealed the assailants, the prince had recourse to unavailing negotiations, and, after three days of most harassing service, determined to withdraw his troops. He had the means of stopping all supplies from entering the city, and thus effecting a surrender by starvation; or by a bombardment, he might have easily enforced submission. Why neither of these means were adopted cannot be certainly known; but the friends of the royal party attribute it to humanity alone. The loss of lives was not very great on the side of the king's troops, considering their exposed situation, and the number engaged. It is stated in the returns as 138 killed, and 650 wounded; whilst of the defenders of the city, though far inferior in numbers, the casualties were acknowledged by themselves to be 450 killed, and 1250 wounded. This disparity must be considered as one of the many extraordinary circumstances of the transactions, and renders the result utterly incomprehensible. The incredible intelligence of this repulse was rapidly conveyed to the provinces, with great exaggerations; and disaffection, anarchy, and demoralisation were spread everywhere. The army retreated towards Antwerp, which in spite of the force near it, soon became involved in confusion. Ghent, Bruges, Ostend, and the other towns in that direction, immediately became a prey to the revolutionary party, and experienced the horrors of anarchy in the destruction of some of their most extensive manufacturing establishments. The universal rejoicing of the Belgians did not prevent some measures from being adopted to restrain outrages. In a few days some individuals, with the general acquiescence, formed themselves into a provisional government.

They were for the most part men of character and property; but amongst them was De Potter, who had returned as soon as the danger was over, and had been placed by the popular feeling at the head of the body. His power was but of short duration, and he soon fell into utter insignificance, if not contempt, as did others of the original leaders of the insurrection. When those of the representatives who had assembled at the Hague returned home, and their conduct was reviewed in dispassionate manner, the weight of their character gave them an influence which proved favorable to the return of order. Some of them were added to the body forming the provisional government, and they exercised their influence with prudence, firmness, and integrity.

In the provisional government the state of parties was singular, from the variety of opinions. De Potter, who looked forward to the dignity of president, advocated a republican form of government; Gendebeer, a decided advocate of democracy, preferred a union with France; whilst Van de Weyer wished for an independent government, on a monarchical basis, with the Prince of Orange at the head, if he would consent to withdraw altogether from his Dutch obligations, and become exclusively the sovereign of Belgium. The plan of Van de Weyer was known to be favored by all the kings of Europe; and even France, at that moment under the pilotage of Lafayette, was averse to the entire exclusion of the Nassau dynasty, and sent an agent to Brussels to forward his views. Gendebeer had visited Paris, and there found little or no disposition amongst the leading people to agree to a union with the Belgians, which, they were aware, would involve them in a war with all those powers that had founded the kingdom of the Netherlands in 1815, solely as a European object and a barrier against France.

It soon became evident in Belgium itself that republicanism had made little or no progress. The prevailing opinion was strong in favor of the Catholic religion, with all its an-



cient powers and observances, but stronger still in favor of a nationality independent of all foreign control. This latter spirit contributed to increase the number of those who had taken up arms; and by such persons the repulse of the Dutch at Brussels was vainly considered as an evidence of the military power of the people. Many of the privates, and a few Belgians of distinction, had been in the army of Prince Frederick; but they soon left his colors and entered the ranks of their countrymen. The Belgian colors waved on every tower in the country, except those of Antwerp and Maestricht, when the Dutch army, greatly reduced in numbers as regarded subalterns and privates, but with the artillery in complete order, withdrew into their own territory.

The council of the king at the Hague resolved on the separation of the two governments into different administrations; but it was then too late to produce reconciliation; and an attempt made by the Prince of Orange to procure for himself the supremacy of Belgium had no other effect than to beget contempt in that country, and to draw upon himself the temporary suspicion of double dealing towards his father and his countrymen in Holland.

The transactions which took place at Antwerp in October had the further effect of rendering the Belgians still more adverse to the Orange dynasty than they had before been. That city was invested by a Belgian force, whilst within, notwithstanding the resistance of the armed burghers, the populace became masters of the place; and the citadel was occupied by a garrison of 8000 good troops commanded by the bravest of the Dutch officers, General Chassé. A truce had been concluded between the adverse parties, and a white flag hoisted from the fort; but the Belgian officers were unable to maintain it, the populace having begun an attack on the citadel, though with no other arms than muskets. This was not returned, but a cannon was brought forward by the populace, and a fire opened on the gates of

the citadel, which as the Belgian officers asserted was without their approbation or knowledge. On this infraction of the truce, Chassé ordered two or three guns to be fired from the bastion facing the arsenal. This being found ineffectual, the white flag was taken down; a signal was made to the fleet, consisting of eighty vessels of war, in the Scheldt, close to the town; and a cannonade and bombardment commenced. It was more terrific than injurious, the fire being chiefly directed against the arsenal and the entrepôt, where all the military and naval stores in the former were destroyed; whilst in the latter large quantities of sugar, coffee, hides, cloths, silks, and spices, were burned and buried in the ruins of the storehouses. The firing had continued some hours when a deputation from the city made their way to the citadel, and proposed a suspension of hostilities, which was instantly agreed to, and the firing ceased. Never, perhaps, was exaggeration or misrepresentation carried farther than on this occasion, in the reports printed and circulated through Belgium; and the effect which they produced destroyed the last hope of those who wished well to the Orange dynasty. Since that event, official accounts made out by the Belgian custom house show, that the whole loss of goods in the stores amounted to 1,888,000 florins, or £157,200; whilst the damage done to private buildings, and the furniture in them, amounted to 679,466 florins, or £59,450. In this the loss of the public buildings was not included. The number of the killed was only sixty-eight, of whom seventeen were military men, and the others those of the populace who had caused the calamity. The Dutch asserted that the fire was confined almost wholly to the spot where the munitions of war were stored, and that the rest of the city was designedly spared.

As all hope of conciliation was thus destroyed, the court of the Hague made pressing solicitations to the four powers who by treaty had formed the kingdom of the Netherlands, to fulfill the obligations imposed



upon them by the treaty of Vienna of 1815. But it was soon seen by the answer of Lord Aberdeen, the British secretary of state, and by those of the ministers of the other powers in succession, that none of them was disposed to make use of any other than pacific measures. This proceeding gave rise to negotiations between the allied powers, which were chiefly carried on in London, out of which proceeded numerous protocols, which had no decisive influence on the course of events. The public affairs of Europe favored the independence of Belgium. All the other powers were in alarm at the recent events in France, and all feared, not that the scarcely seated king would willingly commence a war of aggression, but that the democratic party might become sufficiently powerful to compel him to associate himself with the Belgians, and to bring that country under the power of France. The obvious interest of the four great powers was tranquillity, and the securing of the Continent against Flanders becoming the base of military operations towards the centre of Europe. If these could be obtained, it mattered little whether they arose from the junction or the separation of the two portions which had formed the kingdom of the Netherlands. The first meeting of the ministers of the great powers showed that they merely considered themselves as arbitrators between the northern and southern divisions of the newly-dissolved kingdom; and their first measures were addressed to the object of a suspension of hostilities, which was to a limited extent acquiesced in by both parties.

To settle the internal government now became the first object of the Belgians, who considered their independence as firmly assured. A national congress was accordingly assembled at Brussels, consisting of two hundred deputies, chosen in the several provinces, from all tax-paying persons above twenty-five years of age, without exception as to religion. The qualification for the electors and the elected was the paying of taxes, which varied in the several provinces according to their

estimated wealth. Thus, in Luxembourg the poorest province, the qualification was the payment of taxes annually to the amount of twenty-one shillings and sixpence; but from this the required rate was gradually raised, till, in Flanders, the richest of the provinces, the tax paid required to be six pounds five shillings. The assembly was a fair representation of the people of Belgium; for scarcely any proprietor was excluded from voting, whilst in the larger towns and cities the mere populace, from the qualification being higher, had not the means of introducing their favorites. As soon as the assembly met the demagogues, who had contributed to the revolution, became insignificant. De Potter, Thielman, and others who had been martyrs and heroes with the mob, sunk into insignificance.

The assembly proceeded to business in a regular manner. Three important propositions were presented to the congress. The first was the declaration of independence, which was voted unanimously; the second, proposed on the 22d of November, decided against a republic, and in favor of a constitutional hereditary monarchy, by a majority of 174 against thirteen votes, but it did not fix on the title of the future chief of the state; the third proposition, brought forward on the 23d, was for the perpetual exclusion of the Orange Nassau family. This was debated during two days, and at the close was agreed to by a majority of 161 against twenty-eight. The object of the minority was to delay the proposition till a more cool and distant period, and till it could be known whether the revolution which had taken place would lead to a war against Belgium. Mr. Van de Weyer had, however, returned from a mission to London, and it was commonly believed he had ascertained that the sentiments of Lord Grey and the new ministers were as averse to any warlike interference as those which had been previously expressed by the Duke of Wellington and Lord Aberdeen.

It seems probable, that at the period in question the governments of England and

France were co-operating in endeavors to place the Prince of Orange on the throne of Belgium; even if it could be accomplished in defiance of the positive declaration of the king his father, who did not scruple to assert, "that he would rather see De Potter placed on the throne than the Prince of Orange." But if such was the desire of the two kingdoms, it was soon discovered to be utterly impracticable, though much time was spent under the impression of its feasibility, and much suspicion excited amongst the Belgians against the sincerity of France.

Whilst the plenipotentiaries were settling the most equitable plan for separating the two countries, and had given their views with respect to the boundaries of each, they also adjusted what portion of the debt of the Netherlands should be assigned to Belgium, and what to Holland, fixing the former at  $\frac{1}{2}$  parts, and the latter at  $\frac{1}{2}$  parts. These discussions led to others; and it soon became known, that however independent Belgium might become as regarded Holland it was too dependent on the superior power of the European kingdoms to be permitted the spontaneous nomination of the individual who was to become its sovereign. At that time a large, perhaps a predominant, part in the assembly would have preferred one of the Bonaparte family; but this, it soon appeared, would not be permitted by France. Another part were inclined to select a son of Louis Philip, the king of the French; but intimations had been communicated to the prince, that England would consider an acquiescence in the project as a sufficient cause of war; and he agreed to the exclusion of his son, but so privately that it was only known to a few individuals beyond the diplomatic circles. The partisans of the house of Orange took no open and avowed part in these discussions.

The inefficiency of this representative assembly to the real purposes of a government was speedily shown in the long and bombastical speeches of the members; in the absolute confusion in every department, whether civil, military, or judicial; and in the

mobbing and plundering which prevailed in all the provinces. The necessity for an executive power was so strongly felt by the more reflecting members of the assembly, that after several days' preparatory debate, it was resolved, on the 19th of January, 1831, to proceed to the election of a chief on the 28th of that month. The election of a sovereign, or rather of a dynasty, was enough to kindle agitation and intrigue; but perhaps less of these than might have been expected was discoverable, from the great number of the candidates whose pretensions were urged. On the day before the election, petitions were presented to the assembly in favor of Lafayette, Fabvier, Chateaubriand, the Prince of Carignan, the Archduke Charles; Surlet de Chokier, Charles Rogier, and Felix de Merode, private Belgians; Prince Otho of Bavaria, John, duke of Saxony, a prince of Salm, the Pope, the duke of Nemours, second son of Louis Philip, and the Duke of Leuchtenburg. Besides these, the Duke of Luca, the Duke of Reichstadt, the son of Napoleon, and the Prince of Capua, brother of the king of the Two Sicilies, were suggested. The choice of the last was seriously contemplated by the French, through Talleyrand; but the Belgians showed no predilection for him, although he was not objectionable to any of the four powers. Had the Belgians showed any decided eagerness for Prince Otho of Bavaria, it was known that he would have been recognised by England, France, and Prussia; and that he would then have obtained the hand of the Princess Mary, third daughter of the king of the French. But his age, for he was only fifteen, formed an objection with the Belgians. The popular press, decidedly democratic, was most united in favor of the Duke of Leuchtenburg; but its power had been used till it was exhausted; and, besides, the choice was in better hands than those who are influenced by its inflammatory declamations. It is remarkable, that amongst the long list of candidates the name of Prince Leopold was never once mentioned. It has been suggested that England had not



even then abandoned the hope of fixing the Prince of Orange on the throne. This would have been approved of by Russia, Prussia, and Austria, and by the nobles and wealthier part of the Belgians, but not by France, as Louis Philip was disposed to fear that the example of enthroning the son of the deposed monarch might hereafter have been taken as a precedent in favor of the Duke of Bordeaux against his son in France.

At the eve of the election, however, by some strange caprice of circumstances, all the names were withdrawn excepting the two, who, all intelligent persons knew, could not be allowed to rule. It was remarked of them by Northomb, one of the most respectable of the democratic members, that "the Duke of Leuchtenburg was essentially anti-French, without being European, whilst the Duke of Nemours was so exclusively French as to be directly anti-European." It is singular that both these personages had been declared inadmissible by the conference of the representatives of the great powers. The name of the Archduke Charles of Austria was then brought forward; but he could only be considered as a cloak for the partisans of the Prince of Orange, and for other members, who knew he would not accept the dignity, for the purpose of reducing that absolute majority of the whole voters which was necessary to the choice. The votes were taken by ballot, and the following result appeared when the names were drawn from the urn:—The total number of voters was 191, and consequently the required absolute majority was ninety-six. Nine members being absent, there appeared for the Duke of Nemours eighty-nine, for the Duke of Leuchtenburg sixty-seven, and for the Archduke thirty-five, so that, in fact, there was no election. A new voting then became necessary, and the second scrutiny gave a definite result. Another member had entered, making 192, and consequently the absolute majority required was ninety-seven. The state of the voting then appeared to be, for Nemours ninety-seven, for Leuchtenburg seventy-four, and for the

archduke twenty-one. This announcement was received with acclamation by the populace, and with expressions of joy by the partisans of the successful candidate, who well knew his father would not permit him to accept the offered crown. A deputation was despatched to Paris to announce the choice. But the throne was refused, and the deputies returned after paying and receiving some unmeaning compliments.

The moment was seized by the partisans of the Prince of Orange in order to raise a commotion in his favor. It was a wild project, confined to Ghent, Bruges, and Antwerp, where his adherents were numerous, especially amongst the lower class, who had been thrown out of employment by the cessation of commerce and manufactures. The attack on Ghent was speedily quelled, and the leader fled; but he was seized on his way to France, and on his person were found letters from the Prince of Orange, then in London, encouraging the project. This unsuccessful effort, and the evidence of the prince's participating in it, proved very injurious to his cause; and even sober men who had favored him, were disgusted with what appeared to them to be an attempt to involve the country in a civil war.

On the refusal of France, the assembly, still feeling the want of an executive power, passed an act that the throne was vacant, thereby establishing the monarchical principle, and then proceeded to the election of a regent as a temporary measure. The choice fell upon Baron Surlet de Chokier, a worthy, well-meaning man, of no great abilities, who showed little solicitude for the dignity; and on the 25th of February he was installed with some parade. Plots and conspiracies were forming around him in every direction, and the demon of civil war was urging on the people to mutual destruction. The feeble government of the regent could produce neither obedience nor tranquillity within the country; and it was threatened by the Dutch, who adhered to their king and his purposes with equal union and ardor. It was



reported, during the regency, that schemes for the dismemberment of Belgium were contemplated by some of the continental powers. According to this project, two-thirds of Flanders, the province of Antwerp, and the northern half of Limburg and Brabant, including Brussels, would have fallen to Holland; the eastern part of Luxembourg, with Liège and other territories upon the left bank of the Meuse and the Moselle, would have been transferred to Prussia; and Namur, Hainault, and the west part of Flanders, would have been ceded to France. If this project was seriously entertained, it received such discouragement from the British government, that it was speedily abandoned. About the same period, that is, about a month after the instalment of the regent, extensive plans were formed for a general rising amongst the Orange party, in connection with some of the chief officers of the army and the most influential leaders of the burgher guards of Brussels. But this came to nothing, having, it is said, been discountenanced by the British minister at Brussels, who saw no other effect that could arise from it but a general European war. It is said that after some discussion respecting Luxembourg, and checking the petty hostilities on the frontier, the British government in April gave up all hope of establishing the Prince of Orange on the Belgic throne. On the 12th of that month a kind of proposition was made by some of the influential members of the assembly, and privately communicated to Sir Edward Cust, one of the equerries of Prince Leopold, with the design of ascertaining whether the prince, if chosen, would accept the crown. Leopold answered in the affirmative, but strictly abstained from giving any authority to make exertions in his favor. He was, however, convinced, before the election, that a vast majority of the electors would vote in his favor; and that he should have all the aid of the clergy and the high Catholic nobility, with no opposition but from the French and movement party, and the few Orangeists that had seats in the assembly. A deputation of four

members repaired to Claremont, and had an interview with the prince. They explained their object, and the conditions upon which they were authorized to offer the crown, and awaited his reply. It manifested a noble, simple, and frank disposition, and concluded thus: "All my ambition is to contribute to the happiness of my fellow-creatures. When yet young, I found myself in so many difficult and singular situations, that I have learned to consider power only with a philosophic eye. I never coveted it but for the sake of doing good, durable good. Had not certain political differences arisen, which appeared to me essentially opposed to the independence of Greece, I should now be in that country; and yet I never attempted to conceal from myself the difficulties of my position. I am aware how desirable it is that Belgium should have a sovereign as soon as possible. The peace of Europe is deeply interested in it."

The deputation returned, and many stormy discussions ensued. Attempts were made to defer the election till all differences with Holland were settled; but these were overcome by the votes of 137 to 48. The election took place on the 4th of June, when 152 votes out of 196, four only being absent, determined that Prince Leopold should be proclaimed king of the Belgians, under the express condition, that he "would accept the constitution, and swear to maintain the national independence and territorial integrity."

This choice, though not expressly unanimous, was such in reality; for of the minority of forty-three, nineteen voted on the ground that the election was premature, fourteen voted for Baron Surlet de Chokier, solely on account of private friendship, and thus the real opposition to Leopold consisted only of ten. Though the voting was by ballot, yet the vote of every man was known; and all who dared gave reasons for it, except the ten, who were well known as terrorists.

Leopold lost no time in repairing to the post to which he was appointed, and, with only one aide-de-camp and a few domestics,

landed at Ostend on the 17th of June, and proceeded directly through Ghent to the palace of Lacken, near Brussels. He made his public entry into that city on the 21st, and was received with cordiality by the higher classes, and by the populace with loud acclamations. The king took the oath to the constitution; the regent delivered up his power; and the congress was dissolved, to make way for the election of the members who were to form the two legislative chambers, as prescribed by the fundamental laws.

The first chamber, or the senate, was to consist of fifty members, chosen for eight years, but one half of them was to be renewed at the end of four years. The qualifications were to be, having attained the age of forty years, and paying direct taxes to the amount of 1000 florins, or £84 yearly. The second chamber was to consist of 101 members, being at the rate of one for 40,000 inhabitants. They were to be of the age of twenty-five years, to pay annual direct taxes to the amount of £8, and to be paid at the rate of 200 florins, or £16, each month during the session. They were to be renewed by one half retiring at the end of two years, but they might be again elected.

After a few formalities, and appointing the ministers to compose the cabinet, on the choice of which much judgment was exercised, the king left the capital to visit Antwerp, Liège, and other parts of the new kingdom, and was everywhere received with demonstrations of respect and of loyalty. But whilst the proceedings just narrated were passing in Belgium, a storm was gathering on the side of Holland, which had not been anticipated, and to meet which no adequate preparations had been made. The Belgians relied on the armistice which the conference of the ambassadors had established, and the few measures which were taken by them discovered only the confusion and disorder inseparable from all popular movements. In Holland, every thing betokened tranquillity, order, and loyalty. The different orders of the government and the people were more

eager for punishing what they denominated the rebellion, than even the king and his family. A powerful army was quickly assembled. It was well disciplined, officered, and appointed, and furnished with an ample train of artillery; and yet all was done with so much secrecy, that till that army was ready to advance beyond the frontiers, no preparation was made to resist it.

Much dispute has arisen relative to the right of Holland to commence hostilities without due notice of the cessation of the armistice; but, on the other hand, Holland maintained that the due notice had been given. The whole turned on the precise sense of the words "*ses moyens militaires*," in a note delivered by the Dutch ministers to the conference of ambassadors. The king was certainly encouraged in the enterprise by the stormy scenes exhibited in the Belgian assembly between the period of Leopold's election and the time of his arrival. By the noxious influence of the press, such angry passions had kindled in every division of society, as seemed to threaten internal war; but happily a most powerful speech of Mr. Lebau in favor of union, and urging the importance of rallying round their new monarch, had the effect of producing feelings of tranquillity; though no language had power to produce order or infuse energy, when the time approached for the exhibition of the one and the exercise of the other.

The Prince of Orange having assumed the command of the Dutch army at Breda, on the 1st of August, the order to advance was instantly given; and the march of the several divisions commenced the next day. This was a complete surprise to the Belgians, who were unprepared at every point to resist a disposable army of more than 40,000 men. It is not necessary here to describe the position and the movements of the various corps on both sides. It was, however, remarked by military men, that the Prince of Orange advanced more deliberately than the occasion required. Leopold collected his forces, such as they were, near Louvain, in order to



cover his capital. In this position the Dutch army, having seized the road which led to Brussels on the 9th of August, advanced to attack him. The Belgian troops could not stand for a moment against their opponents, but instantly fled, throwing away their arms, and escaping in disorder; and a neglect of the Dutch, who thoughtlessly left open a road behind Louvain, alone prevented Leopold and his whole staff from becoming prisoners of war. He, however, made good his retreat to the capital, upon which all hostilities ceased. As soon as the movements of the Dutch were known, Leopold appealed to France for assistance. A French army was cantoned on the frontiers, which, by telegraphic communications, was instantly set in motion; and intelligence of their advance was formally announced to the Prince of Orange by Lord William Russell, coupled with an intimation, from the French marshal, Gerard, of the determination of the two powers to enforce the abandonment of all military operations. As the French army rapidly entered the country, the Prince of Orange soon saw the necessity of retreating; and a convention was concluded between him and the French general, in consequence of which he returned to Holland, and the French repassed the frontier; so that by the 1st of September both armies had left the Belgian territory.

The cowardly and disgraceful conduct of the Belgic troops was of great benefit to the new government. It showed the reflecting part of the community the folly of trusting the defence of their country to a host of popular partisans, too ready to destroy or to plunder, but too much inflated by the flattery they bestowed on themselves to become efficient defenders when steadily opposed. All saw the necessity of confiding in their chief, and became convinced that a regular army must be formed, in which the men should be compelled to obey their officers. The formation of an army was therefore determined on; but Belgium could not furnish officers. Most of those appointed had been

placed in stations of which they were unworthy, because they had been what was called distinguished patriots, that is, leaders of the revolutionary movements; but those active disorganizers were found worse than useless when energy against an enemy required order, discipline and obedience. By the interference to protect Belgium against Holland, this farther advantage was gained, that the protecting powers were placed in a position to obtain more weight in the negotiations carried on in the conferences of the ambassadors, and both parties were more disposed to leave the contested points respecting boundaries to their arbitration.

In forming an army, Leopold was assisted by the French, who, as far as could be done, furnished it with able officers; a want which Belgium could by no means supply from the natives of that country. The partisans of the Orange family, on this occasion, justified the conduct of King William previous to the revolution, in having selected few of his officers from the Belgians. The selection of Frenchmen, they contended, proved that William was right in not trusting to officers taken from that division of his kingdom.

After the Dutch irruption, Leopold proceeded with coolness and vigor to restore order and gain confidence. He kept on the best of terms with the most important party, the Catholic clergy and the Catholic nobility, and avoided any nearer contact with the French party than politeness and civility required. He knew who were the real friends of monarchical government, and his best supporters. His marriage with a daughter of the king of the French, who was a Catholic, and the contract that the children of the marriage should be educated in the Catholic faith, were powerful means of attaching to his throne all those of his subjects who were under the influence of the clergy. The Belgian army, under the French officers, soon attained considerable advancement in organization and discipline. The undisciplined free troops were disbanded, and the best of the men incorporated in the regiment of chas-



seurs. Some superior officers were superseded, and many of the subalterns dismissed. A military school was established, and a corps of sappers and miners with a pontoon brigade raised.

The civil list was arranged with economy and order, and the other branches of the public service reformed, and others newly arranged. The talents and the integrity of Leopold, and his benevolent disposition, made a very favorable impression on all that approached him.

Whilst affairs were thus proceeding within, the great work of general pacification was attended to by the members of the conference in London. A final decision was come to on the 15th of November, expressed in twenty-four articles. These settled the great point of boundaries, and placed the question of Luxembourg in a way the most favorable, as was thought, for future pacific arrangement; but, above all, it expressed a determination "to oppose, by every means in their power, the renewal of hostilities between the two countries." This arrangement was ratified by the Belgian and French sovereigns on the 20th and 24th of November, by the British on the 6th of December, by Austria and Prussia on the 18th of April, 1832, and by Russia on the 4th of May.

It was important to the allied powers that the throne which they had established in the person of Leopold should be strengthened in the views of his subjects, who had sometimes manifested dispositions to democracy, and at others strong inclinations for a union with France, neither of which were deemed compatible with the interests of the European commonwealth. But it could not retain respect if the conditions framed by the founders were to be impugned by the Dutch holding the citadel of Antwerp, whilst they were still in possession of Maestricht. These considerations had their due effect on the conference, who, on the 1st of October, unanimously resolved that forcible means were necessary. They differed in regard to the means, the northern courts wishing to adopt

pecuniary coercion, by deducting from the debt due from Belgium to Holland a sum weekly till the fortress was delivered up; but to this France and England objected, as leading only to future and tedious negotiations, during which Rotterdam and Amsterdam might enjoy those exclusive commercial advantages which Antwerp was entitled to share with them.

Belgium, being wearied with these entangled negotiations, and having now created an army of more than 100,000, gave notice that, unless their territory was evacuated before the 3d of November, they would use force to compel it. But this would have created a war, which all the powers were anxious to prevent. On the 22d of October, a convention was therefore entered into between England and France, which was forthwith communicated to the three other powers, of whose passive adhesion they were assured.

By this convention it was determined, that if the places assigned by the former resolutions to the respective parties were not given up before the 12th of November, France and England would enforce the delivery of these places. This determination was communicated to both nations. Belgium was ready to give up Venloo, which she held; but Holland positively declined surrendering the citadel of Antwerp. The result was, that a combined fleet of English and French proceeded to blockade the ports of Holland, and detain the merchant-ships, whilst France prepared an army to besiege the citadel, without allowing the Belgians in any way to interfere in the military operation. The siege of Antwerp by the French, as a fine practical exemplification of science, became an object of great interest to the military amateurs of all Europe, who repaired thither as spectators. But this is not the place for recording the history of that warlike spectacle. It was vigorously and skillfully attacked; and the defence, which was altogether passive, exhibited a conspicuous example of fortitude and endurance. The first works

of the besiegers were opened on the 30th of November, and on the 24th of December the citadel capitulated, when the garrison marched out, and the French took possession of the battered fortress, which, on the 1st of January, they delivered up to the Belgians. The city of Antwerp was not in the least injured, as the approaches were carried on upon the opposite side. The French army shortly afterwards withdrew from Belgium to its own territory. The Dutch garrison was marched into France as prisoners, on the ground that two forts on the river Scheldt, those of Lillo and Liefenschoeck, were still retained by the Dutch. This led to long and complicated diplomatic negotiations, which were at length adjusted, when the captured garrison returned to their own country. On the 16th of May, 1833, an indefinite armistice was agreed upon, and on the 21st a provisional convention was signed, which preserved the liberty of the Scheldt, regulated the tolls of the Meuse by the tariffs of Mayence, maintained the existing territorial arrangement, including therein Luxembourg, raised the embargo on the Dutch ships, and set at liberty all the Dutch prisoners kept in France since the siege of Antwerp. Nevertheless, the house of Orange still numbered many partisans among the people, and when the government sequestered its possessions in Belgium murmurs were heard in many towns, chiefly at Ghent, Liège, Antwerp and Brussels. The people thus irritated became violent; at Brussels they pillaged the houses of the principal Orangists, and were appeased with difficulty. All the attention of the government of King Leopold was given to the encouragement of Belgian commerce, which the revolution had almost annihilated. In 1838 a financial crisis endangered the bank, which was constrained to suspend its payments. The government however, came to its aid, and soon restored public confidence.

On the 14th of March of the same year,

Holland signified readiness to accept the treaty of the twenty-four articles. This announcement produced an extraordinary movement in the kingdom, for since the year 1830 Luxembourg and Limbourg were identified with Belgium, and sent representatives to both chambers; addresses were sent to the government from all parts of the country, the Brabant colors were hoisted, and the people were roused by protestations of the most energetic kind. Leopold was in the meanwhile obliged to yield to the representations of Prussia and Austria, and in 1839 the Belgians had to abandon more than one-third of the provinces of Luxembourg and Limbourg. A subsequent treaty was formed on the 19th of October, 1842, which had for its object the settlement of the debts chargeable against Holland and Belgium. By this it was agreed that Belgium should only be liable for an annual payment of five millions of florins, instead of eight millions four hundred thousand florins, which had been imposed upon it by the treaty of November 15, 1831.

In the same year was discovered a conspiracy to place the Prince of Orange upon the throne. The generals Vandermeer and Vandersmissen were at the head of this movement. They were tried before the tribunals, and condemned to death, but the king commuted their punishment to twenty years' imprisonment. Vandersmissen effected his escape, and Vandermeer was afterwards pardoned on condition of retiring to America.

During the revolutions and insurrections of 1848, Belgium was one of the few European kingdoms in which tranquillity was maintained, for which it was mainly indebted to its constitutional government and the wisdom and liberality of its sovereign. On the 11th of October, 1850, the Queen Louise died, leaving two sons and a daughter.

King Leopold died on the 9th of September, 1865, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Leopold II.



## S W I T Z E R L A N D .

THIS country was anciently called Helvetia, from its first known inhabitants; its more modern name is supposed to be derived from the canton of Schwytz, the cradle of Swiss independence. Little is known of the inhabitants of Switzerland till about one hundred years before Christ, when the Cimbri, a race of barbarians inhabiting the northern regions of the Chersonnesus Cimbrica, now known as North and South Jutland or Schleswig, crossed the Rhine, and extended their conquests into Gaul. Several of the Helvetian tribes, tempted by the immense spoils gained by the Cimbri, entered into an alliance with them, and carried their united ravages nearly to the mouth of the Rhone. In this extremity, the Gauls applied for assistance to the Romans, who speedily sent a powerful army to their assistance, under the command of the consul Lucius Cassius. This force, however, was suddenly attacked on the banks of the Lake of Geneva by the Tigurini, a tribe of the Helvetii, led by a young general named Divico. The Romans were totally defeated, the consul and his lieutenant, Piso, left dead on the field, and the survivors only permitted to retreat after they had given hostages and marched under the yoke. Emboldened by this success Divico rejoined the Cimbri, and with their united forces, crossed the Alps and entered Italy itself, where, however, they were defeated by Marius with tremendous slaughter, and the few who escaped sought refuge among the fastnesses of the Helvetian mountains.

For nearly half a century after this decisive defeat, the Helvetii confined themselves to their own country. But the recollection of rich pastures and fertile plains outlived the terror of the Roman arms, and made them resolve once more to quit their rocky fastnesses. After spending three years in preparation, they set out with their wives and families, cattle and possessions, led by the same Divico who had commanded their fathers fifty years before. The number who marched out on this expedition is computed at 368,000 souls, of whom 92,000 were able-bodied warriors.

The Roman province of Gaul was at that time under the government of Julius Cæsar, and that consummate general no sooner heard of the emigration of the Helvetians, than he took effectual measures to defeat their plans. After some abortive attempts at negotiation, he attacked and defeated them in two engagements, with tremendous slaughter. Their strength and spirit were completely broken, and, overwhelmed with shame and grief, their numbers reduced to scarcely 100,000, they returned to their desolated country and rebuilt their ruined habitations. In order to watch and overawe them, Cæsar erected a fortress at Noviodunum (Nyon), on the banks of the Lake Geneva, and established several other garrisons in different parts of the country.

The Helvetii were at first the allies of the Roman people, but in the reign of Augustus they were reduced to complete subjection.



and their country remained in the condition of a Roman province for upwards of three centuries, and underwent various reverses of fortune, according to the prosperous or adverse fortune of the empire to which it was subject. When the innumerable swarms of barbarians, issuing from the unknown regions of the north and east, overran Italy and destroyed the Roman empire, Switzerland also became their prey. The Goths established themselves in that portion of the country which bordered on Italy; the Burgundians, a tribe of the Wendes, from the shores of the Baltic, fixed their residence on both sides of the Jura, on the Lake of Geneva, and in the Lower Valais, as far as the Aar; and the Allemanni took possession of the country to the eastward of that country, and of great part of Germany.

The Burgundians having been defeated by the Huns under Attila, about the year 450, allied themselves with the Visigoths, a Scandinavian tribe, and adopted the Visigoth chief as their king. They afterwards extended their dominion into Gaul, along the banks of the Rhone and Saone, and gave their name to the fine country which still bears it. After having located themselves in Gaul and in Western Helvetia, a more regular system of society can be clearly traced among them.

The Allemanni more ferocious than the Burgundians, devastated the valleys of Helvetia, and reduced the country to a wilderness, so that, gradually, vast marshes and forests overspread those parts, at present so beautiful, around the Lakes of Constance and of Zurich.

After this state of affairs had continued some time, a new swarm of adventurers obtained the ascendancy. These were the Franks, another race from the north, who, after traversing the Netherlands, gained possession of the whole of Gaul, and pouring their resistless myriads into Switzerland, forcibly dispossessed the inhabitants, and at length, after various changes, succeeded in obtaining exclusive dominion over the whole of

Rhætia and Helvetia. The Franks introduced into Helvetia the feudal system and other peculiar institutions and laws of the Teutonic tribes. To them also, under Clovis, the inhabitants were indebted for the adoption of Christianity, which contributed powerfully to the progress of civilization, and the revival of the country from its waste and desolate state. Switzerland remained subject to the Franks till after the death of Charlemagne, when, in consequence of the feuds of that monarch's successors, the vast empire which he had founded was entirely dismembered, and Switzerland was portioned out between France, Italy, and Germany. Rhætia and the country between the Lake of Constance and the Rhine, the Aar and St. Gothard, in which German was the current language, were united to Suabia; while Geneva, the Valais, Neuchâtel, and the present country of Berne, Soleure, Fribourg, and Vaud, the districts in which Romance was the prevailing language, were united to Savoy, under the denomination of Little Burgundy. But this arrangement was of short duration, for the disorders and confusion produced by the continued wars enabled the provincial governors to throw off all allegiance to their feudal superiors, or to secure real independence while yielding nominal obedience. Switzerland was thus divided in to a great number of petty states, generally engaged in hostilities with each other, and seldom uniting among themselves unless when menaced by some great and common danger. Such a case presented itself in the reign of the Emperor Henry I., surnamed the Fowler. An immense horde of barbarians, known by the name of Hungarians, issued from the east and the shores of the Black Sea, and overran Germany and Italy, burning and destroying wherever they came. In order to protect the inhabitants from the fury of these ruthless invaders, Henry built walls around a number of defensible places, to which all, in case of need, might fly for the security of their lives and property. In this manner, Zürich, St. Gall, Basle, and

various other places, rose from petty hamlets to towns of considerable strength and numerous population. About the same period, the bailiffs of the emperor built and fortified Berne, Fribourg, and various other towns. A ninth of the free and nobler class of inhabitants were required to occupy these national fortresses, and they received the same political organization and rights as the more ancient cities of Germany. This was the first foundation of the class of burghers, who in process of time came to be a third estate in the kingdom. In proportion as the wealth and importance of the towns augmented, the citizens were eager to extend their rights and privileges. They availed themselves of every opportunity to purchase their emancipation from the feudal dominion of the bishops, abbots, and monasteries, to whose authority they had long been subjected; and in a short time the burghers were able to bid defiance to the nobles, and even to balance the political weight of the clergy.

The affairs of Switzerland continued in this state, without any material alteration, until the year 1273, when Rudolph of Hapsburg, whose castle was situated in the canton of the Aar, and who besides possessing manorial rights and great influence in Schwytz, had held the office of imperial bailiff of several towns, was elected Emperor of Germany. This prince, though inhabiting a distant country, continued throughout his life to be strongly attached to Switzerland. He conferred new honors on its nobles, and granted additional privileges to its towns, or confirmed those which they already enjoyed. Rudolph was succeeded by his son Albert, whose ambition and rapacity soon alienated the affections of both his German and his Swiss subjects. Two of the imperial bailiffs, Hermann Gessler and Beringar of Landenberg, who were appointed over the Waldstätten (the three cantons of Schwytz, Unterwalden, and Uri), subjected the inhabitants to every species of insolence and oppression. Gessler, in particular, was guilty of so many acts of wanton cruelty, that he was at length

shot through the heart by the famous William Tell, who thus paved the way for the deliverance of his countrymen. The common account of his story is, that Tell and his boy passing one day through the market-place of Altorf, in which was erected by order of Hermann Gessler, one of the bailiffs of Albert I., the ducal hat of Austria, that every Swiss who passed by might show the tokens of his surrender, it was observed that Tell neglected to uncover his head as he passed beneath the imperial symbol of submission. He was seized and taken before Gessler. The German tyrant having learned that Tell was an excellent bowman, ordered him to shoot an apple from his own child's head under penalty of immediate death. He performed the feat. Disappointed and chagrined at his success, Gessler demanded why a second arrow was still in his quiver. "Had the first hit my boy," replied Tell, boldly, "the second was designed for thy heart." The offender was at once seized, bound, and preparations made to convey him in a boat across the lake of Lucerne to the Castle of Küssnacht, where Gessler resided, and whither he was himself proceeding. One of those sudden squalls, which are so apt to vex inland lakes, overtook the boat, unmanned the rowers, and rendered the craft quite unmanageable. Tell, who was known to be an experienced boatman, was unfettered, the rudder put into his hand, and immediately, as by magic, the little ship wore round, and stood steadily for a flat shelf which jutted forth on the rocky margin of the lake. As she neared the shore Tell started to his feet, clutched his trusty bow, and by a nimble spring gained the rock, and pushed back the boat into the surf. The storm was steadily abating, and Gessler and his men got safely landed. Tell selected a narrow defile where he knew Gessler must pass, and, true to his resolution, shot the tyrant through the heart. This occurred in 1307, and the wars of the Swiss and the Austrians did not terminate till 1499. Tell sinks from view with this event, and nothing more is heard of him, save that he fought at the



battle of Morgarten, and was drowned in 1350 while fording the swollen river Schächen.

Many modern historians, while admitting the unquestionable picturesqueness and beauty of Tell's story, feel bound to reject it as an authentic historical record. In proof of their position, they allege that a similar story is told in the *Wilkins Saga*, and by Saxo Grammaticus, of a Danish king Harold and one Toko. They affirm that substantially the same story occurs in Swiss history as early as the twelfth century. And to crown the pile of counter argument, it has recently been found, they aver, in 1835, that the name of Gessler does not occur as an Austrian bailiff in the records of that age. In the face of all this scepticism of Grimm, Ideler, and others, there are nevertheless a number of facts of undoubted genuineness regarding Tell still left, on which the poetical and patriotic, with Johann von Müller among their number, may erect as trustworthy a belief as almost any which is disclosed to us by the stern historical muse. Foremost of those facts is this, that no later than 1388, when the celebrated Tell chapel was built, some hundred and fourteen persons visited the place who had known the hero himself. Add to this, that all the chroniclers of the time allude to Tell's adventures as something of quite notorious occurrence. The story has no doubt received a few embellishments and perhaps inconsiderable alterations, as it has floated down the stream of centuries. All the essentials of the Swiss hero's adventures are very likely to have transpired upon Swiss soil. In truth, the narrative is (like many other traditions found in the page of history) properly representative, and as such it may well take its place among the semi-fabulous, semi-historical traditions, of which early history is in a great measure composed.

Three patriots, whose names are still revered throughout the republic, Werner Stauffacher, from the canton of Schwytz, Walter Furst of Uri, and Arnold Melchthal, from

Unterwalden, had formed a conspiracy against the Austrian governors; and their measures were concerted with such wisdom, and executed with so much courage and intrepidity, that they obtained possession of every fortress of any considerable strength or importance. Shortly after this revolt of the forest cantons, the Emperor Albert was murdered by his nephew and some other nobles; but his son, Duke Leopold, marched against the cantons with a powerful army. The Schwytzers waited his arrival at Morgarten, on the slope of the mountain Sattel, and notwithstanding the disparity of their forces, routed the Austrians with great slaughter on the 15th of November, 1315; and it was with no small difficulty that the duke himself escaped, leaving most of his officers, and an immense number of his soldiers dead upon the field.

The three cantons of Uri, Unterwalden, and Schwytz, having thus by their courage and virtue, achieved their independence, held a meeting on the 8th of December, 1315, at which they entered into a solemn compact, and thus laid the foundation of the Swiss Confederation.

In 1332, the inhabitants of Lucerne formed a perpetual league with the Waldstätten; and in 1351 the citizens of Zürich, having thrown off the yoke of the aristocracy, joined the Swiss republic; and, on account of the power and wealth of the town, it was promoted to the chief rank. Glaris came next; Zug joined the confederation in 1352; and Berne in the following year. To the latter, in consideration of its importance, was assigned the second place of precedence.

The above mentioned eight cantons, Schwytz, Uri, Unterwalden, Lucerne, Zürich, Glaris, Zug, and Berne, remained for more than a century the federative republic of the Swiss. With few interruptions, the republic enjoyed tranquillity until the year 1375, when a mixed English and French army of adventurers, under a French nobleman, Enguerrand de Coucy, a cousin of Leopold of Austria, and married to the English princess



Isabella, advanced on the Limmat as far as Wettingen. Surprised, however at night by the Swiss, they were dispersed, and the Lord de Coucy retreated into Alsace.

Duke Leopold III. of Austria viewed the extending confederation with jealousy and alarm, and various quarrels having taken place between him and the cantons, hostilities were at length commenced. The duke with a numerous force, chiefly composed of cavalry, marched rapidly towards the interior of the country, and on the 9th of July 1386, encountered the Swiss in the neighborhood of Sempach. The battle was long and fiercely contested, but at length the Swiss patriots gained a complete victory: the duke himself was slain, and more than 600 of the higher and lower nobility, with about 2000 of their less distinguished adherents, were left dead on the field.

Two years after the battle of Sempach, the Austrians took Näfels, a small town in the canton of Glaris. The garrison retreated from the town as far as Mount Rute where they took up a strong position, and awaited the approach of the enemy on the 9th of April. The Austrians maintained the fight for some time with great ardor, but were in the end overthrown and put to flight. The bridge of Wesen, on the Linth, was broken down by the weight of the fugitives, and above 3000 common soldiers, and 183 knights, were slain in the battle, or drowned in the lake and in the river. These defeats induced Duke Leopold IV., in 1389, to enter into a truce with the cantons for seven years, during which the Swiss contrived by various means to extend their territory and to increase their power.

This truce was renewed in 1394 for twenty years more, and was faithfully kept on both sides until 1415. At the commencement of the fifteenth century, the house of Austria possessed yet in Switzerland, Aargau, Fribourg, Rapperschwyl, Thurgau, and Winterthur. The house of Savoy owned the Pays de Vaud. The Valais and the valleys of Rhetia belonged to their feudal nobles. The

Abbot of St Gall and the Counts of Toggenburg in the east, and the Bishop of Basle and Counts of Neuchâtel in the west, were powerful neighbors of the eight Swiss cantons. In the north existed still the independent imperial towns of Basle, Schaffhausen, and Soleure. The year 1415 was famous for the celebrated Council of Constance. About this time the Swiss Cantons carried their arms across the Alps into Italy; but the troops of Savoy, crossing the Simplon to Domo d'Ossola, drove the Swiss garrison away. The cantons of Unterwalden and Uri having next purchased the town and valley of Bellinzona, the Duke of Milan sent the celebrated condottieri Pergola, who, after an obstinate fight at Arbedo, in June 1422, obliged the Swiss to recross the St. Gothard. In 1444, Charles VII. of France sent the Dauphin Louis, at the head of the Armagnacs, composed of soldiers of fortune of all nations, against Basle. The two armies met outside that town, when, after a most desperate fight, in which out of one Swiss division of 1200 men only ten remained alive, the dauphin struck with surprise at the conduct of the Swiss, concluded a truce and sought their alliance. The house of Austria had, however, gradually lost nearly all their possessions in Helvetia, when in 1467, Duke Sigismund sold his last remaining property, Wintherthur, to the Swiss, and the patrimonial estates of that house, even the castle of Hapsburg itself passed into the hands of the stranger.

With the exception of the disputes which took place between the people of the canton Appenzell, and of the Valais and Rhetian Alps, with their lords, and of the civil war which arose between Zürich and Schwytz relative to the right to some lands, no other event of great importance occurred in the history of Switzerland till the year 1474, when Louis XI. of France induced the Swiss to make a diversion in his favor, by falling on the territory of Charles the Rash, Duke of Burgundy, who had advanced to the very walls of Paris, and threatened Louis

with the loss of his throne. This unprovoked attack induced the duke to offer terms of peace to the King of France and the Emperor of Germany, with whom he was at the same time at war; and these monarchs accepted his offer, leaving their late allies to meet his whole vengeance as they best might. Peace was no sooner concluded, than Charles determined to inflict condign punishment on the Swiss for their unjustifiable aggression, and in the spring of 1476 he crossed the Jura with an army of 60,000 men. He encountered the army of the confederates near the town of Grandson, and after a desperate conflict on the 3d of March, was totally defeated with the loss of a thousand men. His camp with an immense booty, fell into the hands of the Swiss. A few months after, on the 22d of June, he was defeated, with prodigious slaughter, in a second action, near the little town of Morat; and on the 5th of January 1477, when the duke was slain in the battle of Nancy, the states of Upper Burgundy agreed to pay the confederates the sum of 150,000 florins to make peace with them.

These repeated victories procured for the Swiss the reputation of being the best soldiers in Europe; and a considerable number of them were hired to fight the battles of foreigners. The sudden wealth acquired by plunder and pensions excited its possessors to profusion and extravagance; their morals became corrupted, and the simple republican honesty almost disappeared. A spirit of cupidity and pride displayed itself among the rulers, and dissipation and love of plunder among the people; and the Swiss became notorious throughout Europe as the hirelings of any potentate who had battles to fight and gold to squander. Domestic troubles and feuds generally prevailed; the peace and security of the country were disturbed to such a degree by an armed and desperate banditti of disbanded soldiers and idle vagabonds, that in 1480, during the short space of three months, nearly 1500 assassins and robbers were condemned to death.

The confederates had been faithfully supported in their wars by the towns of Fribourg and Soleure, and in 1481 these requested to be admitted into the confederation. Their request was warmly supported by the town cantons; but the mountaineers of the forest cantons objected to it, and the dispute ran so high that, at a general congress of all the confederates, the deputies were at the point of coming to blows, and the confederation was threatened with dissolution. This catastrophe was happily averted by the eloquent remonstrances of a pious hermit, called Nicholas Löwenbrugger. His simple but pathetic appeal had the effect of removing their differences, and Soleure and Fribourg were received into the Swiss confederation.

Upon the death of Louis XI. of France, Charles VIII. renewed the alliance with the Swiss cantons, and received permission to recruit soldiers among them in exchange for subsidies. The friendship of the confederation was now sought by many sovereigns, among whom the Pope, the Duke of Milan, the house of Austria, and even Mathias of Hungary were prominent. During the Italian wars for the possession of the Milanese and of Naples, Swiss volunteers were extensively used. So great became the importance of the confederation, that their offer of mediation between Charles VIII. and Maximilian of Austria was accepted, when, by the treaty of Senlis, in 1493, the county of Upper Burgundy was ceded to Maximilian. Ludovico Sforza, having usurped the Duchy of Milan, the Swiss were offered the districts of Bellinzona, Locarno and Lugano by Charles VIII. to obtain their assistance in the conquest of the Milanese. The cantons, with the exception of Berne, having accepted the offer, 20,000 Swiss troops joined the French army in Italy.

In the year 1497, the Grisons entered into a treaty offensive and defensive with the confederate cantons. This alliance gave great offence to the Emperor Maximilian, who immediately collected his troops, and



marched both against the Grisons and their Swiss allies. Battle after battle took place, in all of which, more particularly at Bregetz, Frastenz, Malserheyde and Dornach, the Austrians were defeated; and the Emperor, having lost 20,000 of his troops in eight months, and finding further exertions useless, concluded a peace with the Swiss at Basle in September 1499, by which he acknowledged their unconditional independence as a nation. This war, called the Suabian war, was the last the Swiss had to sustain for their independence. For three centuries after this date no farther attempts were made against the liberties of the Swiss cantons, which assumed their station as an independent power in Europe. The towns of Basle and Schaffhausen were received into the confederation in 1501, and Appenzell was added in 1513, and completed the number of *thirteen cantons*, which have constituted the Helvetic body till within our own times—namely, Zürich Schwytz, Uri, Unterwalden, the three Waldstätten or forest cantons, Lucerne, Glaris, Zug, Berne, Fribourg, Soleure, Basle, Schaffhausen and Appenzell. Besides these there were various confederates and associates who were in alliance with the cantons, and entitled to assistance in case of foreign attack. These were the Abbot of St. Gall, the city of the same name, the Pays de Vaud, the towns of Mulhausen and Bienne, the Grisons and the Valais, the republic of Geneva, and the county of Neuchâtel.

In 1513 the Swiss defended Sforza, whom they had the year before installed as Duke of Milan, against France at the battle of Novara, and another Swiss army invaded Burgundy. After the death of Louis XII. of France, Francis I. invaded Italy, and at the battle of Marignano, called the *battle of giants*, defeated the Swiss, who retired across the Alps into their own country, and concluded peace the next year with France. In the subsequent wars of Francis I., in Italy, Swiss troops fought in his ranks, and at the disastrous battle of Pavia, in 1525, the Swiss lost no less than 7000 men.

Switzerland had scarcely obtained rest from her political wars, when religious disputes arose among the cantons, and converted into fierce enemies those who had lately fought side by side in defence of their liberties. The unscrupulous sale of indulgences by the agents of Pope Leo X., in Germany, Switzerland and the other countries, led to a searching inquiry into the whole of the papal system, and caused vast multitudes to renounce altogether the authority of the Church of Rome. In no country did the doctrines of the Reformation create a greater excitement, or meet with more zealous supporters, than in Switzerland. The inhabitants of Zürich, Berne, Schaffhausen, Basle, St. Gall and the Grisons, as well as of many parts in the neighborhood of Geneva and Neuchâtel, eagerly adopted the opinions of Calvin and Zwingli; while the people of the Waldstätten, and of Soleure and Fribourg, being more secluded and ignorant, and more under the control of the priests, continued staunch in their support of the papal authority. Fierce animosities speedily arose between the reformed and the papal cantons, and various sanguinary wars were carried on for many years. During these internal broils, the territory of the confederation was violated, and their rights infringed without remonstrance; and such was the divided state of the cantons, that Austria, their ancient enemy, might perhaps have subdued them but for the jealousy of the other great powers. To prevent this danger, they, in concluding the treaty of Westphalia in 1648, formally recognized the independence of the Swiss confederation. But though Switzerland was thus secured against the invasion of any of the greater powers, it continued to be torn by internal dissensions. The arbitrary manner in which the large towns levied taxes upon the people of the country, and of the smaller towns and villages, caused great dissatisfaction, especially in the territories of Berne and Lucerne, and at length the peasantry rose up in rebellion against their rulers; and it was not until after considera-



ble bloodshed that the revolt was quelled, and several of the chiefs who were taken alive were tried, condemned and executed. Scarcely had this insurrection terminated, when religious quarrels again broke out between the Protestants and the Romanists. Till near the close of the seventeenth century, Switzerland was distracted by the dissensions arising from this cause; and in 1703, the whole of the Protestant and of the Catholic cantons were openly arrayed against each other, and a civil war of several years duration ensued. The immediate cause of the war was a quarrel between the people of Toggenburg and their superior the Abbot of St. Gall, who had endeavored in a fraudulent manner to deprive them of their privileges. Zürich and Berne took part with the people, while the Catholic cantons espoused the cause of the Abbot. Several battles were fought, and at length, in 1712, an army of Catholics, 12,000 in number, encountered 8000 Bernois at Vilmergen. The conflict lasted six hours, and in the end the Catholics were completely routed, leaving 2000 of their number dead upon the field. A peace was soon after concluded at Aarau, on terms advantageous to the victors.

From this period till towards the close of the eighteenth century, the state of Switzerland underwent no material alteration; and their internal discords paved the way for external aggression, and rendered them an easy prey to the grasping ambition of the French republic. In 1797, the French government, which had previously interfered in the affairs of Switzerland, manifested a determination to take possession of that country, and evidently sought for a pretence to come to an open rupture. The Swiss government placed their only hope in a passive neutrality, which in the end proved their ruin. For the sake of peace, they submitted with the utmost servility to the imperious and insulting demands of the Directory; but their humiliation did not save them from destruction. The emissaries of France labored but too successfully to incite dissensions among the

people, and the French rulers made these dissensions a pretext for their interference with the constitution of the country. In this way the bailiwicks of Valtelina, Chiavenna, and Bormio, which had been for centuries dependent on the Grisons, but whom the Grisons had obstinately refused to admit to a community of civil and political rights, were incorporated with the Cisalpine republic. Insurrections broke out in several of the cantons, and were rendered triumphant by the assistance of the French arms. Geneva and the Pays de Vaud placed themselves under French protection, and at length the French armies under Brune and Schauenburg, having defeated the Bernese army under D'Erlach, in 1798, united Geneva to the French republic, and established the "*Helvetic Republic*." The inhabitants of Berne, Soleure, Freiburg, and especially of the Waldstätten, made a brave but ineffectual stand in defence of their rights and liberties. The most horrible excesses were committed by the French soldiers; the towns were successively rifled of their public property, and great part of the country was laid waste, and many of the inhabitants reduced to utter destitution. A new constitution was framed by the French directory, which provided that Switzerland should form a single republic, one and indivisible, under a central government, to be established at Aarau. The country was divided into twenty-two cantons, and the supreme authority was committed to two councils and an executive directory, in whom was vested the appointment of prefects and other authorities for the various cantons, which were thus transformed into departments, with the loss of their independence as separate states. After this new constitution was established, a treaty was made with France, by one of the articles of which the Swiss republic was bound to furnish to its new ally a force of 16,000 men. Great miseries were suffered by the people, from the excesses of every kind committed by the French troops, and their heavy requisitions and exactions. The small canton of Unterwalden refused

to swear fidelity to the new constitution of the Helvetic republic; but after a desperate struggle it was subdued; the inhabitants were massacred without distinction of sex or age; and that district, once peaceful and happy, was left a scene of horrible desolation. During the campaign of 1799, Switzerland was the theatre of the struggle between the armies of Austria, Russia and France; the Austrians under Hotze; the Russians under Suwarrov and Korsakov; and the French under Massena, Molitor, Soult and Lecourbe. The mountain cantons were in consequence utterly ruined, a considerable part of the country rendered uncultivated, and the population reduced to little short of actual starvation. The Helvetic directory was suppressed in 1800, and an executive commission substituted in its room; and about seven months after, this commission dissolved the councils and convoked a new legislature. A general diet was called in September, 1801, for the purpose of re-organizing the constitution of the country. Meanwhile the treaty, which was signed at Luneville between France and Austria, guaranteed the independence of the Helvetic republic, and the French troops were consequently ordered to evacuate Switzerland. Their departure was the signal for a general revolt. All the old factions were awakened afresh. The Pays de Vaud formed itself into a single republic; Uri, Schwytz and Unterwalden took up arms against the Helvetic government; and the towns of Zürich, Basle and Schaffhausen renounced their allegiance. A civil war appeared inevitable, when Napoleon Bonaparte offered himself as arbitrator between the contending parties, and ordered Marshal Ney to advance with a body of troops to the frontiers of Switzerland to enforce compliance with his mandates. The existing government was dissolved, a provisional government was established, and deputies from all the cantons were ordered to assemble at Paris, to deliberate upon a constitution for their country. Several months were spent in debates; and Napoleon, after he had heard

and reflected on their representations, promulgated an act of mediation, which was drawn up with a view of reconciling opposite factions, and of fairly meeting various interests. It restored the old federative system, but introduced very considerable improvements. The act of mediation was promulgated 19th February, 1803; and the Helvetic general government having been dissolved, and the new constitution put in force, the French troops finally evacuated the country.

When the treaty of Presburg transferred the Tyrol from Austria to Bavaria, the Tyrolese had every variety of insult and outrage to endure from the Bavarians and their French allies. The consequence was, that when war again broke out in 1809, between France and Austria, the Tyrolese rose to a man in the cause of the House of Hapsburg, and, putting themselves under the command of Hofer, an inn-keeper of St. Leonard, in the valley of Passeyr, defeated the allied French and Bavarians in repeated engagements, and at length drove them out of the Tyrol. Till the close of the war Hofer administered the internal government of his native country with much ability and integrity. When the fortune of war again laid Austria prostrate at the feet of Napoleon, the Tyrol was once more made over to the Bavarians; but it was only after the most heroic resistance on the part of the mountaineers that they were able to make good their footing in the country. Hofer was obliged to fly, and a price was set upon his head; but though he contrived to elude the search of his enemies for some time, he was at length taken, January 27th, 1810. He was sent to Mantua for trial by court-martial, and was condemned and ordered for execution within twenty four hours. He died, as he had lived, a hero; and the spot where he fell is still visited by his countrymen as a sacred spot. The Austrian Emperor Francis testified his gratitude to Hofer, by ennobling his family, and erecting a splendid monument to his memory in the church of Innspruck.

From that time till 1814, Switzerland enjoy-



ed internal peace; and during the gigantic wars, which at that momentous period raged throughout Europe, this country rested in security amid the din of battles and the crash of falling empires, and made rapid progress in the arts of industry, and in the career of intellectual and social improvement. On the downfall of Napoleon, the act of mediation was dissolved; but the integrity of the country was guaranteed by the Congress of Vienna, in 1815. The territories formerly dependent on the Bishop of Basle, which had been annexed to France, together with Valais, Neuchâtel and Geneva, were ceded to it as new cantons, and a constitution, based on the act of mediation, was framed for the whole cantons, now amounting to twenty-two. On the 7th of August, 1815, the federal compact was finally signed by all the deputies in the diet assembled at Zürich. The deputies then repaired in procession to the cathedral, where they bound themselves by a solemn oath, and in the name of their constituents, to the faithful observance of its enactments.

During the fifteen years which elapsed from 1815 to 1830, Switzerland enjoyed profound tranquillity. The general condition of the country was prosperous, and education was improved in several districts; but the civil and criminal laws remained in a defective state; the press was under a strict censorship, and various anomalies existed in the institutions of many of the cantons. Petitions were from time to time presented for the revision of the constitution of 1814, but were everywhere rejected by the councils. The first alteration of this state of things took place in the canton of Ticino, in May and June 1830, and the example was speedily followed by all the other representative cantons of Switzerland. A new constitution established equality of political rights among all the citizens of the state; the direct system of electing all the members of the legislature, the elections to take place every four years; separation of the three powers, legislative, executive and judicial; publicity of

debates; liberty of the press, subject to fixed laws against libels; inviolability of person and property, and the right of petition. No tax to be imposed unless sanctioned by a majority of two-thirds in the great council. The constitution not to be modified until twelve years shall have elapsed from its enactment; and then any alterations proposed in it must be submitted to the approval of the primary assemblies of the people. These alterations in their constitution were peaceably adopted by the most of the cantons; but in some of them popular tumults arose, which were speedily suppressed by the firmness and prudence of the Diet.

In 1834, the tranquillity of Switzerland was endangered by a considerable body of Polish, German and Italian refugees, who had taken up their residence in Switzerland. In the month of January, some hundreds of these refugees made a sudden attack on the dominions of the king of Sardinia, in expectation of combined attacks and insurrections in other parts of the Sardinian monarchy. The Sardinian government made strong remonstrances to the confederation concerning this violation of the neutrality of the Swiss territory; and the courts of Austria, Prussia and other German states, whose territories border on Switzerland, joined in these remonstrances. After some negotiations, the matter was brought to an amicable termination by the Swiss governments, promising in future to send away from their territory all those who should attempt to disturb the tranquillity of other states.

The new law establishing a system of education for the clergy, in 1839, was opposed at first by the Protestants, and the government at Zürich was dissolved. Aargau, in 1844, demanded the expulsion of the Jesuits; and in 1848, in order to effect this, bodies of armed men, called the Free Corps, were organized in several cantons. The Free Corps under Colonel Ochsenbein, having invaded Lucerne, were defeated, and in 1846, a separate league, termed the Sonderbund, was formed by the seven Catholic cantons



for a defence against the Free Corps. In 1847, the Diet passed a resolution declaring the illegality of the Sonderbund and the expulsion of the Jesuits. The Federal army, under General Dufour, having, in November of that year, defeated the forces of the Sonderbund at Fribourg and at Lucerne, the Catholic cantons submitted, the Jesuits were expelled, and monasteries suppressed. On the twelfth of September, 1848, the new constitution was promulgated. With the exception of the attempt of a small aristocratic party, to separate Neuchâtel from Switzerland, and to incorporate it with Prussia—an attempt which at once called forth the strong opposition of the united cantons, and which led to the entire separation of Neuchâtel from Prussia, and its incorporation into Switzerland—the cantons have since maintained their internal tranquillity and external independence. During the war in Italy, in 1859, between Austria on the one hand and France and Sardinia on the other, Switzerland maintained the strictest neutrality.

Switzerland forms the centre where three great continental races meet; the Teutonic Swiss occupy the northern cantons, the French the western, and the Italians the canton of Ticino and the southern valleys of the Grisons; while those speaking the language called *Romansch*, a dialect somewhat similar to Latin, occupy half the Grisons.

Before 1798 Switzerland consisted of a confederation of states of three very different kinds:—1, thirteen cantons; 2, the subjects or vassals of these cantons; and 3, the allies of these cantons. The federal bond uniting the various cantons was very loose, and there was no permanent sovereign body, or central government, equally acknowledged by all. No important question could be decided in the general diets, unless it had been previously debated and decided on in the councils of each of the cantons. The subjects of the Swiss were either subjects of certain particular cantons, or common bailiwicks subject

to all the cantons. The whole population of the thirteen cantons at the close of last century, was about 1,000,000; that of their subjects was about 250,000; and that of their associates and confederates, and the subjects of these confederates, amounted to nearly half a million more. Altogether, the territory belonging to the Helvetic Federal Body contained a population of about 1,700,000.

By the present constitution, promulgated in 1848, the general affairs of the Confederation are intrusted to a National Council, the members of which are elected for three years, and in the proportion of one to 20,000 inhabitants; and the council of the states, composed of forty-four deputies, two for each canton. Formerly these used to assemble at Berne, Zürich and Lucerne alternately, but Berne is now fixed upon as the regular place of meeting. A president of the Federal Council and six members, to form an executive government, are chosen by the national council and the council of the states together every three years. The two councils also elect the Tribunal Federal, consisting of eleven judges, for three years; and conflicts between the cantons, and between them and the Federal council, are decided by this high court. Each canton has sovereign authority in its own affairs, with the exception of certain rights which are vested in the federal power, such as the declaration of war, the conclusion of peace, custom-house duties, post-office, telegraphs, &c. The form of government is *republican*, and is vested in assemblies elected by the people, all the male population, above a certain age, having a vote, without respect of property qualification. The cantons are subdivided into 177 districts and 3059 communes. The general desire seems to be towards a greater amount of centralization than formerly, but it is still thwarted by the private interests and jealousies of separate cantons. They have, however, recently adopted a national coinage and system of measures; the coinage being the same as that of France.

## SPAIN.

THAT the Spanish Peninsula was peopled at a very early period seems abundantly certain, but by whom it would be vain to inquire. The earliest inhabitants whom history makes known to us were the Iberians, a race probably of Asiatic origin. At some period lost in the depths of antiquity, the Celts, amid their wide-spread migrations, penetrated into the peninsula; and although they seem at first to have contended with the Iberians for the sovereignty of the soil, the two races at length amalgamated, and assumed the common name of Celtiberians. They were split into numerous tribes or clans, each of which occupied its own particular territory.

The fertility and mineral wealth of the country led the Rhodians and Phœnicians to establish colonies here at a very early period; but the Carthaginians were the first to obtain a firm footing in it. Under the pretext of commerce, they established themselves on the coast of Cadiz, whence they pushed their conquests into the interior as well as along the coast, till they at length made themselves masters of the whole of Bætica or Andalusia. The Spaniards were roused to resistance, but it was too late. Hamilcar, the father of Hannibal, succeeded in overrunning a considerable part of the country, and bringing it, at least nominally, under subjection to Carthage, 238 B.C. He extended his conquests towards Murcia, Valencia, and Catalonia, in the latter of which provinces he founded the city of Barce-

lona. This conqueror having perished in a battle fought with some of the native tribes, was succeeded by his son-in-law Asdrubal, who built the port of New Carthage, now called Carthagena. The rapid strides which the Carthaginians had made towards the total subjugation of the Peninsula aroused the fears of the Greek colonies situated on the coast of Catalonia and Valencia, and alarmed those tribes in the interior who still stoutly maintained their independence. Too weak to make head against Carthage themselves, they applied to the Romans for assistance. This great nation had long regarded with a jealous eye the growing prosperity of its rival, Carthage, and eagerly embraced the cause of the discontented states. In the character of ally and protector, Rome sent a deputation to Carthage, and obtained from its senate two important concessions; that the Carthaginians should not extend their conquests beyond the Ebro; and that they should not disturb the Saguntines and the other Greek colonies. These conditions, however, did not correspond with the gigantic designs of Asdrubal, whose purpose was to subdue the whole of Spain before Rome could send succors to the confederates; but when marching against Saguntum, one of the most flourishing cities of the Peninsula, and an ally of Rome, he was assassinated by a slave; and the chief command passed into the hands of Hannibal, then in his twenty-fifth year, and greatly esteemed for his valor and his talents. After having conquered the kingdom of



Toledo, this renowned general laid siege to Saguntum with his whole force, which is said to have amounted to 150,000 men. The Romans lost much time in fruitless attempts at negotiation, and failed to send prompt succor to its faithful ally. The consequence was, that after a vigorous defence, the Saguntines were so reduced by hunger and fatigue, that they retired from the walls into the centre of the city, where they amassed all their valuable effects, and everything combustible, into one vast pile. Placing their wives and children around it, they themselves issued from the gates, and plunged, sword in hand, into the midst of the Carthaginians. The slaughter was prodigious on both sides, but in the end the Saguntines were cut off almost to a man. No sooner was their fate known in the city than their wives set fire to the pile, and precipitated themselves and their children into the devouring element. Thus perished Saguntum, one of the largest and most flourishing cities of Spain; and its destruction may be regarded as the opening of the second Punic war. Of the contests carried on between the Carthaginians and the Romans, till the final subjugation of the former, and the consequent incorporation of its territories with the Roman empire, an account will be found under the articles *CARTHAGE* and *ROME*. We shall here only notice such leading events as are necessary to give connection to our narrative.

Two centuries were required by Rome to effect the total subjugation of Spain, that is, from the first invasion of the country by Cneus Cornelius Scipio, in the year 218 B.C., till the last tribes, the Cantabrians and Asturians, laid down their arms to Augustus in the year 19 B.C. No other conquest had cost Rome so much. The numbers who perished in the field of battle, and the amount of treasure sacrificed, are not to be calculated. At the same time, scarcely any other acquisition was productive of so much advantage to the state from the inexhaustible riches of the country. After the destruction of the Carthaginian power in Spain, this country was

regarded as a Roman province, received the name of *Hispania*, and was divided by the senate into *Citerior* and *Ulterior*, or *Hither* and *Farther*, the *Ebro* serving as a boundary between the two. Each of these was governed by a prætor annually appointed by Rome. The extortions of these functionaries very soon became so oppressive to the natives, that they at last resolved on attempting to rid themselves of their unprincipled rulers. Viriathus, a native of Lusitania, the most remarkable man in the ancient history of Spain, collected a considerable body of malcontents, and took the field against the Romans. Not only by stratagems and sudden surprises, but in regular pitched battles, he succeeded in foiling the most valiant officers of the Roman legions. For above eleven years he bade defiance to the formidable hosts of the invader. To subdue him by force of arms was found impossible, and the base spirit of Q. Servilius Cæpio had recourse to treachery. The offer of a magnificent recompense stimulated three of the followers of Viriathus to assassinate him, which bloody deed they accomplished whilst he lay asleep. It is some consolation to record, that the murderers were disappointed of their reward and dismissed from the Roman camp with insults and contempt. The indomitable spirit of independence which animated the Spaniards was not, however, broken by the death of their great leader. The Numantians, in particular, still remained fiercely hostile to the Romans, and the destruction of Numantia was decreed by the senate. Scipio Æmilianus, the conqueror of Carthage, was appointed to the command of the legions destined for this service, and the city was closely invested by a powerful army. While food was left to the besieged, they defied all the efforts of the Romans to take their city. Famine however humbled them into submission, and they sued for mercy, but in vain. Driven to desperation, the wretched remains of the defenders issued from the gates, and fell with fury upon the Roman intrenchments; but they were forced back within the walls. Æmilianus had



formed the cruel resolution of starving them into an unconditional surrender. Rather than yield to this, the Numantians determined, in imitation of the Saguntines, to make a sacrifice of themselves, and of all that was valuable which they possessed. This resolution they carried into effect under circumstances even more shocking than those which accompanied the destruction of Saguntum. When the victor entered the city, not a human being remained alive to grace his triumph; nothing met his eyes but smouldering ruins and a horrible solitude. This event took place in the year 133 B. C.

After the destruction of Numantia, three fourths of the Peninsula submitted to Rome; and nothing very remarkable occurs in its history till the time of the civil war between Marius and Sylla. The latter having crushed the Marian faction, proscribed those who had taken a part in it, whom he could not immediately destroy. Among these was Sertorius, who had previously served in Spain as a tribune; a man of great bodily and mental endowments, of consummate valor, and experience in the art of war, but whose ambition was equal to his nobler gifts. Having escaped to Spain, he there succeeded in gaining over to his interest several of the native tribes, raised a considerable army, and routed the Roman legions in repeated engagements. He introduced a strict order of discipline among his troops, founded public schools, constituted a senate in imitation of that of Rome, and attempted to establish in Spain a rival sovereignty to that of Italy. But, in the midst of these brilliant though ambitious undertakings, Sertorius was basely assassinated by his subaltern Perpenna, in the year 73 B. C. With the death of this great captain expired the last faint glimmer of national independence. Pompey, and afterwards Julius Cæsar, reduced most of the native tribes to subjection. After the fall of Pompey in Africa, his eldest son selected Spain as the fittest scene for opposing the dreaded dictator. For the fourth time, Cæsar hastened to the Peninsula, and, on the

plains of Munda, gained a bloody but decisive victory over the younger Pompey, who was slain in attempting to effect his escape from the country. Augustus, the successor of Cæsar, effectually secured the dominion of Rome over Spain, having reduced the Asturians, Galicians, and Cantabrians, the bravest and most warlike of the native tribes. Spain now began to rest from the continual wars with which it had been devastated from the period of the Carthaginian conquest, and quietly submitted to the domination of Rome, from which it received its religion, its laws, its manners, and its language.

It has already been noticed that the country was at first divided into two provinces, Citerior and Ulterior, between which flowed the Ebro as the natural boundary. With the advance of the Romans the size of the provinces increased, but it is impossible to define their exact limits before the time of Augustus. This emperor less desirous of effecting new conquests than of securing the old, made arrangements for improving the condition of the whole Peninsula. Out of the two provinces he formed three, and gave them the names of Tarraconensis, Lusitania and Bætica. Under the pretext of saving time and trouble to the senate, but really for the purpose of retaining power over the whole army in his own hands, he undertook the management of two of the provinces, in which, on account of the pretended insecurity of their situation, a considerable number of troops was maintained. Only Bætica came under the direct control of the senate. A proconsul, who had his seat at Hispalis, was installed governor of this province, but without any military power; whilst in the imperial provinces, a legatus Augustalis in Emerita, and a legatus proconsularis in Tarraconensis exercised complete civil and military authority. Subsequently the province conceded to the senate fell entirely under the sway of the emperor, when the governor received the name of præses or president. The districts been very extensive, it was found necessary to appoint inferior officers; under the legate of

Lusitania was placed a vice-legatus militaris, and there were three placed under the consular legates of Tarraconensis. A legate and a quæstor were subject to the proconsul of Bætica. In this manner the country as a whole was divided. Let us now take a glance at the constitution and condition of the towns.

After the complete subjugation of the Peninsula, the cohorts, composed principally of the natives of the country, were transplanted to the most distant part of the empire, while Roman legions were sent into Spain to supply their place. No arrangement could have been made that was better calculated to give a Roman impress to the character of the people, and to their manners, customs, and establishments. In the interior of the country, towns purely Roman sprung up, small tracts of country having been conferred on soldiers as a reward for their services. Thus the town of Leon is indebted for its name and origin to the seventh legion, which settled there; and in the same manner arose Emerita Augusta (Merida), Pax Julia (Beja), Cæsar Augusta (Saragossa), and many others. Originally, most of the cities managed their own affairs; but when Caracalla declared all his subjects throughout his vast empire Roman citizens, the constitutions of the cities of Spain were made uniform with those of the other cities of the empire. Rome, the capital, was the great type to which they all conformed. For purposes of general police, and for the superintendence of public works, fortresses, entertainments, and the like, ædiles were appointed in provincial towns, whose office, however, was one more of pomp and honor than emolument. The affairs of the cities were universally administered by a council of curia, the members of which, called *decuriones*, were chosen from among the richest and most respectable of the inhabitants. As advocates or defenders of the people, there were the *defensores civitatum*, who neither belonged to the body of the decurions nor to the army, but formed rather a sort of check upon these,

and resisted the encroachments of power on the rights of the citizens. We pass over a number of other subordinate functionaries, whose duties are either imperfectly known, or, where known, of minor importance.

All matters not cognizable by the legal tribunals, nor affecting the interest of the emperor, were discussed in the assembly of the decurions. For all important affairs, such as those affecting the welfare of the whole district, the decurions of the principal city of a province could call a general assembly, *concilium*, to which the other towns sent plenipotentiaries. Long after the comitia had ceased to exist in Rome, the province enjoyed the privilege of calling together such meetings; and they served at the same time as a means of making known their wants to the emperor.

Of all the provinces incorporated with the Roman empire, there was not one productive of so much gain, not one in which such inexhaustible sources of wealth were discovered, as the Pyrenean Peninsula. Mines, rich in the precious metals, satisfied the thirst of the Romans for gold; and a soil nowhere surpassed in productiveness filled their granaries with corn. During the republic the peninsula was laid under the obligation of supplying the capital of the empire with the twentieth part of its corn harvests. The price paid for the grain was fixed by the Roman senate itself, a convenient way of obtaining cheap provisions.

While Spain continued to be ravaged by war, the Romans did not in general bind themselves to a regular system of taxation, but only drew as much from the peninsula as it was convenient for it to pay at the time; but when the conquest of the country was completed, a fixed rate of taxation was introduced. Consequently, after Augustus had divided Spain in the manner which we have described, the senate sent quæstors into the provinces to collect the taxes. In those provinces placed under the immediate control of the emperor, there were procurators employed; and functionaries of this class



were also appointed to look after the moneys received by the officers of the senate, the application of the whole being under the entire management of the emperor. These procurators were likewise extremely useful in preventing the subordinates from defrauding the emperor. By degrees their number increased, so that ultimately there came to be procurators, not only for the collective income of a province, but for separate branches of the taxes.

In Spain, as well as throughout the whole Roman empire, the taxes consisted of a capitation and a land tax; but by degrees, more from the extravagance of the emperors than from the necessities of the state, the people came to be burdened with a multitude of other imposts. The towns had their own particular estates and incomes, independent of those of the government, and which were managed by the civic authorities themselves. These served to defray the expenses of erecting public establishments, building fortresses, and instituting games. The contribution to the state taxes paid by the towns was levied by the magistrates from the inhabitants, in exact proportion to their wealth; hence the taxes, although they continued to rise, did not press with unequal and crushing weight upon individuals and classes. Never was Spain so wealthy, so populous, and so industrious, as during the first centuries of the empire. Aqueducts, bridges, amphitheatres and other magnificent structures, even the ruins of some of which posterity surveys with wonder, still bear testimony to the flourishing condition of the country during that period.

When Constantine the Great assumed the purple, important changes were introduced into the empire. From the province of Tarraconensis he separated the governments of Carthageria and Galicia, thus making five provinces in the Peninsula,—Tarraconensis, Carthageria, Galicia, Lusitania and Bætica. Theodosius the Great erected the Balearic Isles into a province, and the African district of Tingitania was also reckoned another, so

that there were seven in all. The principal cities of these provinces were as follows: of Bætica, Hispalis; of Lusitania, Emerita; of Galicia, Bracara; of Tarraconensis, Cæsar Augustus; of Carthageria, New Carthage; of the Balearic Isles, Palma; and of Tingitania, Tingis. The first three were placed under consuls, and the others under presidents (*præsides*). Spain was subject to the prefecture of Gaul, and over these local governors was placed a vicar (*vicarius*), whose administration was chiefly confined to civil affairs, and the count (*comes*), whose functions were of a military nature. Sometimes, however, both the civil and military departments fell to the vicar. We have yet to mention one important event connected with the Roman conquest of Spain, namely, the introduction of Christianity into the Peninsula. This took place so early that the unanimous voice of tradition has ascribed it to St. James the elder; and from the same authority we also learn that St. Paul preached "Christ crucified," to the idolators of Spain. Of course little or no reliance is to be placed on such statements; but whether the apostles or their successors propagated the gospel in these regions, certain it is that Spain can adduce her martyrs as early as the second century. There is abundant evidence to prove the antiquity of the persecutions sustained by the Christians of Spain, but our limits prevent us from entering into details.

The prosperity of the peninsula began to decline after the death of Constantine, A. D. 337. A species of tax, introduced by Diocletian, which was made to fall with paralyzing weight on the middle or industrious classes, proved so pernicious in its operation, that in a short time the country presented the melancholy picture of deserted towns, fields lying waste, fruit-trees uprooted from the soil, that the possessors of the ground might lessen the value of their property, and thus escape the taxes; trade and manufactures at a stand; in short, nothing but desolation, poverty and misery, everywhere presented themselves. It only required a strong impulse from with



out to overwhelm the whole country in ruins. The last day of the year 406 marks the passage of the Vandals, Alans, Suevi and other Teutonic tribes, across the Rhine. From this river to the Pyrenees, terror and dismay announced their approach, death and destruction marked their progress. For a time this great barrier of nature and of nations restrained the roving bands, and the mountain-passes were at first well guarded. But the prolific fields and wealthy mines of Spain were too rich a prey not to be reached at all hazards. Finding an opportunity, when negligence had weakened the line of defence (409), they burst like a torrent through the Pyrenean chain, and poured the tide of destruction from its base to the Pillars of Hercules. Native historians of the Peninsula describe the ravages committed by these barbarians as dreadful and revolting almost beyond parallel. The very wild beasts quitted their lairs to prey upon the human species, too emaciated by famine and pestilence to drive them back. In a word, the country was turned into a desert; and, satiated with carnage and rapine, the barbarians sat down amidst its ruins and divided it by lot. Bætica fell to the Vandals, Lusitania to the Alans, and Galicia, with a great portion of Leon and Castile to the Suevi. Tarraconensis alone seems still to have been retained by the Romans.

But a fourth people, more formidable than all the rest combined, came to disturb the new settlers in their possessions. These were the Goths under Ataulphus, to whom Honorius, the Roman emperor, had ceded the fertile provinces of Southern Gaul and the Peninsula. The Gothic monarch espoused Placidia, the emperor's sister, in 414, and immediately proceeded to Barcelona, where, however, he was shortly afterwards assassinated. His successor, Sigeric, a detestable monster, shared the same fate; and the election of the Goths now fell upon Wallia, a chief every way worthy of their choice. Peace being made with Rome, hostilities were vigorously commenced against the kin-

dred barbarians (418). The result of the war was the subjugation of the Suevi, the total destruction of the Alans, and the expulsion of the Vandals from Spain (427). But the restless and powerful Suevi were scotched, not killed. During the reign of Theodoric, Wallia's successor, they became formidable alike to the Romans and the Goths, and made many important conquests in the neighboring provinces. Theodoric might easily have subdued them, had he not been summoned to encounter a far more terrible antagonist, the renowned Attila, with his half million of mounted Huns. The death of the Gothic monarch on the plains of Chalons (451), the elevation of his son Thorismund to the vacant throne, his assassination by his brothers, and the elevation of the elder of the fratricides, Theodoric, were events which closely followed each other. The reign of the last-named prince was diversified by alternate success and disaster. The Peninsula, become one great battle-field to three contending hosts, the Goths, Romans and Suevi, was plunged in misery, and, from the Pyrenees to the sea of Africa, was overspread with innumerable swarms, which, like so many locusts, utterly destroyed the spots on which they settled. While Theodoric was preparing to conduct an army across the Pyrenees against Remismund, king of the Suevi, he was assassinated by his brother Euric, in his capital of Toulouse (466).

The reign of Euric was unusually brilliant and successful. He rendered himself absolute lord of the country, by extinguishing the dominion of Rome in it, and completely subjecting the Suevi. Euric was the first legislator of his nation, and the founder of the Gothic kingdom of Spain; for hitherto the country had rather been overrun than subdued. This prince died at Arles, the capital of his empire, A. D. 483. He was succeeded by his son Alaric, a weak sovereign, who, after submitting pusillanimously to many indignities, was overthrown in battle, and slain by Clovis, king of the Franks (506).

Amalaric, the son of Alaric, being a minor, was for a time superseded by his natural brother Gensaleic, but ultimately ascended the throne (522). He was the first Gothic king who established his court in Spain. He fixed on the city of Seville. From the death of this prince (531), till Recared I. became king of the Goths (587), a few obscure royal names occur, regarding whom it would be a mere waste of space to enter into details. The chief act of this sovereign was to reclaim his subjects from the heresy of Arianism to orthodox Catholicism. He died in 601. Of eleven monarchs who followed, occupying a period of seventy years, none is in any way remarkable. In 673, Wamba, a man distinguished alike for wisdom, valor and virtue, was raised, by the unanimous voice of the Gothic electors, to the throne, left vacant by the death of Receswind (672). The early part of his reign was spent in quelling intestine war. During the latter part of it he successfully cultivated the arts of peace, and built a fleet for the protection of the coast; a very wise precaution, for the Saracens had already begun to swarm all over the sea of Africa. Had Wamba been succeeded by monarchs of equal prudence and activity, the Saracenic domination would probably have been for ever averted from Spain. In consequence of having sunk into a death-like trance, in which state he was apparelled in the garments of the grave, Wamba was compelled to relinquish the crown (680).

One of the most celebrated names in the line of Gothic princes, is that of Roderick, who ascended the throne in 709. He owed his elevation to a party which rose against his predecessor Witiza, whose two sons, with their relations, Count Julian, governor of the Gothic possessions in Africa, and Oppas, an archbishop, are supposed to have aided the Saracens in their design of conquering the Peninsula. At all events, the party which they formed against Roderick weakened the Gothic monarchy, and thus gave encouragement to the Moors to make a

descent on the country, which they effected in 711. Roderick marshalled a large army, amounting, it is said, to 90,000 men, and advanced against the infidel. The hosts met upon the plains of Xeres, where was fought a battle, so bravely contested on either side, that it seems scarcely unworthy to have decided the fate of a kingdom. For three days, from sunrise to sunset, the embattled squadrons fought with equal ardor and obstinacy, till victory at last declared for the Mohammedans. Roderick himself is believed to have perished in the conflict, as he was never heard of more. By this decisive battle, the Moors made themselves masters of nearly the whole of Spain. The wretched remains of the Goths retired into the mountainous parts of Asturias, Burgos and Biscay, where they maintained their independence, and perpetuated their monarchy. In a few years their power began to revive under the renowned Pelagio or Pelayo, a prince of the royal blood. But before noticing the exploits of this warrior, we shall take a brief view of the political, civil and religious condition of the people subject to the Gothic monarchy.

The local divisions of Spain, as already laid down, underwent little or no change until some time after the descent of the Mohammedans. The power possessed by the Gothic kings was considerable; but its exercise was greatly controlled by the nobles, in general a fierce, turbulent and haughty body. The jurisdiction of the monarch was not confined to affairs purely temporal. He nominated bishops, presided, if he chose, at ecclesiastical tribunals, convoked national councils, and regulated the discipline of the church. Next to the king in civil dignity were the dukes, who appear to have been governors of provinces. After them came the counts, whose jurisdiction is supposed to have been confined to particular cities. A number of other functionaries were subordinate to these; and besides the officers of the crown, each city or town had its municipal council. Of course there were regular courts of law instituted throughout the country, where jus



tice was administered; the forms of procedure in these tribunals being much the same as those practiced in the Spanish courts at the present day, but less tedious. There was a Visigoth code of laws, partly of Gothic, partly of Roman origin. If we pass from the civil to the military state of the country, we find that the Goths were a nation of soldiers, the obligation of service being imperative on all freemen. After the Gothic power was established in Spain, the constitution of the church underwent important changes. The pope was acknowledged as supreme head, and metropolitan sees were formed, which exercised an ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the suffragan bishops. The bishops possessed an irresponsible power over the rectors, displacing or removing them at pleasure. The cathedral and parish churches were in general well endowed; lay patronage existed, and monasteries were introduced. As in other countries, the ecclesiastical councils were of a threefold description, diocesan, provincial and national, convoked respectively by the bishop, the metropolitan, and the king. The Goths present nothing of literature worthy of particular notice. If we pass to the domestic arts, we find still less to admire; in every thing they consulted the useful in preference to the beautiful or magnificent. It is therefore to be concluded, that however devout, temperate, honest and sincere the Goths might have been, as many historians attest, yet Spain, under their dominion, made little advancement in civilization and the elegant arts.

The Moors under Tarik and Musa subdued the fairest portion of Spain, including the largest and strongest cities of the kingdom, with a rapidity which shows how completely the power of the Goths was broken. Still many of them preferred independence under severe privations amidst the wild rocks of the Asturias, to abundance and plenty on the fertile plains of Murcia. At the head of those who sought a refuge in this mountain sanctuary was Pelayo, a prince of royal Gothic blood, and who is recognized by

Spanish historians as having acceded to the throne in 718; Theodomir, the legitimate monarch, having ingloriously submitted to the yoke of the infidel. Numbers of his countrymen flocked to his standard, and his force became at length so formidable as to create alarm in the Saracens. A large army was despatched to the Asturias to crush the rising insurrection; but in attempting to gain the position where Pelayo and his resolute followers were strongly posted, the Moors were repulsed with a slaughter so terrible, that for some years they showed no inclination to assail their formidable neighbors. Various successes followed, and the Asturias, now left in the undisturbed possession of Pelayo and his band, became the asylum of the liberty and the religion of the Christians in Spain. It formed the nucleus of a kingdom, which was destined slowly but surely to increase in size from century to century, until the invaders were finally expelled from the Peninsula. Little more is known of Pelayo, than that he gained repeated victories over the Moors, and died in peace, in 737. He was succeeded by his son Favila, whose reign was brief and his end tragical, he having been killed by a wild boar, in 739. The subsequent history of Spain is rendered so confused by the numerous kingdoms established by Christians and Moors, that some chronological guide is necessary to render it intelligible. We shall therefore present a chronological list of the various sovereigns who reigned over different parts of the country, which had been erected into distinct and independent sovereignties. The dates given mark the years in which the sovereigns acceded to the throne; the intervening periods, of course, indicate the duration of their respective reigns. We shall commence with the Mohammedan succession, as during the earlier centuries the greater part of Spain was subject to the Moors.

#### MOHAMMEDAN RULERS OF SPAIN.—CORDOVA.

1. *Emirs*.—Tarik ben Zeyad and Muss



ben Nozeir, 711. Abdelasis ben Musa, 714. Ayub ben Habib and Alhaur ben Abderahman, 715. Alsama ben Meik, 721. Abderahman ben Abdalla, 722. Ambisa ben Sohim, 724. Hodeira ben Abdalla and Yahia ben Zulema, 726. Othman ben Abi Neza, Hodeira ben Alhaus and Alhaitam ben Obeid, 727. Mohammed ben Abdalla, 728. Abderahman ben Abdalla (second time), 729. Abdelmelic ben Cotan, 733. Oeba ben Albegag, 736. Abdelmelic ben Cotan again, 741. Baleg ben Bakir, and Thalaba ben Sulema, 742. Husam ben Dhizar, 743. Thueba el Ameli, 744. Yussuf el Fehri, 746.

2. *Kings*.—Abderahman I. ben Moawia, 755. Hixem I. Abderahman, 787. Alhakem ben Hixem, 796. Abderahman II. ben Alhakem, 821. Mohammed I. ben Abderahman, 852. Almonahir ben Mohammed, 886. Abdalla, brother of the former, 888. Abderahman, III., grandson of Abdalla, 912. Alhakem II. son of Abderahman III. 961. Hixem II. ben Alhakem II., dethroned to make way for his cousin Mohammed, but restored in 1010; in 1012 finally removed, 976. Suleyman, 1012. Ali ben Hamud, 1015. Abderahman IV., 1017. Alcaassim ben Hamud, brother of Ali, 1018. Abderahman V. and Mohammed II. cousin of Hixem II., 1023. Hixem III. brother of Abderahman IV., 1026. Gewahr ben Mohammed, 1031. Mohammed ben Gewahr, 1044. Mohammed Almoateded, 1060. Mohammed Almosstadir, 1069. *Dynasty of the Almoravides*.—Yussuf ben Taxfin, 1094. Ali ben Yusef, 1107. Taxfin ben Ali, 1144. *Dynasty of the Almohades*.—Abdelmumen, 1147. Yusef Abu Yacub, son of Abdelmumen, 1163. Yacub ben Yusef, 1178. Mohammed, son of Yacub, 1199. Abu Yacub, 1213. Abulmelic, and Abdelwahid son of Yacub, 1223. Almamon and Abu Ali 1225.

#### KINGDOM OF GRANADA.

Mohammed I. Aben Alhamar, founder of the kingdom, 1238. Mohammed II. ben Mohammed, 1273. Mohammed III. Abu Ab-

dalla, 1302. Nassir Abul Giux, brother of the preceding, 1309. Ismail ben Ferag, nephew of Nassir, 1313. Mohammed IV. ben Ismail, 1325. Yusef Abul Hagiag, brother of the former, 1333. Mohammed V. ben Yusef, 1354. Ismail II. brother of Mohammed, 1359. Abu Said, brother-in-law of Ismail II., 1360. Yusef II. Abu Abdalla, son of Mohammed V. 1391. Mohammed VI. son of Yusef II. 1396. Yusef, brother of Mohammed VI. 1408. Muley Mohammed VII. son of Yusef III. 1423. Mohammed VIII. cousin of Muley Mohammed VII. 1427. Mohammed VII. restored 1429. Yusef IV. Aben Alhamar. Mohammed VII. restored a second time, 1432. Mohammed IX. Aben Osman (nephew of Mohammed VII.), 1445. Mohammed X. nephew of Mohammed VII. 1454. Muley Ali Abul Hassan, son of Mohammed X. 1463. Abu Abdalla, son of Abul Hassan, 1483. Abdalla el Zagal, brother of Abul Hassan, 1484. Both princes survived the fall of Granada, which took place in 1491.

#### KINGDOM OF THE ASTURIAS AND LEON.

Pelayo, 718. Favila, son of Pelayo, 737. Alfonso, son-in-law of Pelayo, 739. Fruela I. son of Alfonso, 757. Aurelio, nephew of Alfonso, 768. Mauregato, bastard of Alfonso, 774. Bermudo I. nephew of Alfonso, 788. Alfonso II. son of Fruela, 791. Ramiro I. son of Bermudo, 842. Ordoño I. son of Ramiro, 850. Alfonso III. son of Ordoño, 866. Garcia, son of Alfonso III. 910. Ordoño II. brother of Garcia, 914. Fruela II. son of Alfonso III. 923. Alfonso IV. son of Ordoño II. 925. Ramiro II. brother of the same Alfonso, 930. Ordoño III. son of Ramiro II. 950. Sancho I. brother of the same Ordoño, 955. Ramiro III. son of Sancho I. 967. Bermudo II. grandson of Fruela II. 982. Alfonso V. son of Bermudo II. 999. Bermudo III. son of Alfonso V. 1027. With this sovereign the male line of the house of Leon terminated. Leon and Castille now formed separate kingdoms, the contemporaneous sovereigns of which were:—

## LEON.

## CASTILLE.

1037. Fernando I. king of Castille; king of Leon in right of his wife.  
 1065. Alfonso VI. son of Ferdinand I.  
 1126. Alfonso VIII. (the emperor), son of Urraca.  
 1137. Fernando II. son of Alfonso the emperor.  
 1158. Alfonso IX. son of Ferdinand II.  
 1230. Ferdinando III. son of Alfonso IX. (also king of Castille).
1028. Sancho el Mayor, king of Navarre; first king of Castille in right of his wife.  
 1085. Fernando I. son of Sancho.  
 1065. Sancho II. son of Ferdinand I.  
 1072. Alfonso I. son of Ferdinand I. (also VI. of Leon.)  
 1109. Urraca, daughter of Ferdinand I. and Alfonso VII. (also sov. of Leon.)  
 1126. Alfonso II. (the emperor) son of Urraca.  
 1157. Sancho III. son of Alfonso the emperor.  
 1158. Alfonso III. son of Sancho III.  
 1214. Enrique I. son of Alfonso III.  
 1217. Fernando III. son of Alfonso IX. of Leon, afterwards king of Leon.

## KINGDOM OF LEON AND CASTILLE UNITED.

Alfonso X. son of Fernando III. 1252.  
 Sancho IV. son of Alfonso X. 1284.  
 Fernando IV. son of Sancho IV. 1295.  
 Alfonso XI. son of Fernando IV. 1312.  
 Pedro the Cruel, son of Alfonso XI. 1350.  
 Enrique II. bastard son of Alfonso XI. 1369.  
 Juan I. son of the former, 1379.  
 Enrique III. son of the former, 1390.  
 Juan II. son of the former, 1406.  
 Enrique IV. son of the former, 1454.  
 Isabel, daughter of Juan II. and her husband Ferdinand V. (the II. of Aragon), 1474.  
 Juana, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabel and Philip I. of Austria, 1504.

## KINGDOM OF NAVARRE.

The first independent count of Navarre was Sancho Inigo, 873. The kings reported to have reigned prior to this period are entirely fabulous. Garcia I. (Iniguez), son of Count Sancho, and the first king, 885.  
 Sancho I. (Garces Abarea), son of Garcia I. 905.  
 Garcia II. (el Tremblos), son of Sancho I. 924.  
 Sancho II. (el Mayor), son or grandson of Garcia II. 970.  
 Garcia III. son of Sancho 1035.  
 Sancho III. son of Garcia III. 1054.  
 Sancho IV. (also I. of Aragon), 1076.  
 Pedro I. son of Sancho IV. (also king of Aragon), 1094.  
 Alfonso I. brother of Pedro (also king of Aragon), 1104.  
 Garcia IV. 1134.  
 Sancho V. son of Garcia IV. 1150.  
 Sancho VI. son of Sancho V. 1194.  
 Thibault I. nephew of Sancho

VI. 1234. Thibault II. son of the former, 1253.  
 Henri, in right of his wife, who was daughter of Thibault II. 1270.  
 Jeanne, queen of Philip IV. king of France, 1274.  
 Louis Hutin, (king of France), son of Jeanne, 1305.  
 Philip, brother of Louis (also king of France), 1316.  
 Charles I. brother of Philip (also king of France), 1322.  
 Jeanne II. daughter of Louis Hutin, married to Philip count of Evreux, 1328.  
 Charles II. son of Jeanne, 1349.  
 Charles III. son of the former, 1387.  
 Blanche, daughter of Charles III. and Juan her husband, son of Ferdinand I. king of Aragon, 1425.  
 François Phœbus de Foix, in right of his grandmother, daughter of Juan, 1479.  
 Catherine de Foix, sister of Phœbus, and her husband Jean d'Albret, 1483.  
 This kingdom united with Castille in 1512.

## KINGDOM OF ARAGON.

Aragonese independence is to be dated from 1035, when Sancho el Mayor, king of Navarre and Castille, divided his states among his sons. Aragon fell to the lot of Ramiro I. 1035.  
 Sancho I. (afterwards IV. of Navarre), son of Ramiro I. 1063.  
 Pedro I. son of Sancho I. (also king of Navarre), 1094.  
 Alfonso I. brother of Pedro (also king of Navarre), 1104.  
 Ramiro II. brother of Alfonso, 1134.  
 Petronilla, daughter of Ramiro II. 1137.  
 Alfonso II. son of Petronilla, 1163.  
 Pedro II. son of Alfonso II. 1196.  
 Jayme I. son of Pedro II. 1213.  
 Pedro III. son of Jayme I. 1276.  
 Alfonso III. son of Pedro III. 1285.  
 Jayme II. brother of Alfonso, 1291.  
 Alfonso IV. son of Jayme II. 1327.  
 Pedro IV. son of Alfonso IV. 1336.  
 Juan I. son of Pedro IV. 1387.  
 Martin, brother of Juan I. 1395.  
 Fernando I. brother of Enrique III. king of Castille, elected 1412.  
 Alfonso V. son of Ferdinand I. 1416.  
 Juan II. (also king of Navarre), brother of Alfonso V. 1458.  
 Fernando II. (the V. of Castille), son of Juan II. 1497.  
 This kingdom united with Castille in 1516.

## COUNTS OF BARCELONA.

During the early period of Mohammedan



domination in Spain, Barcelona and all Catalonia were subject to it. In the year 810, however, the Moors were expelled from Barcelona, and a count named Bera, a native of Gothic Gaul, was nominated head of the independency. The names of his successors eleven in number, are too insignificant to require mention individually. Alfonso Raymond, the last count, acceded to power in 1131. On his death Barcelona was united with Aragon.

To give a connected history of these various sovereigns is quite incompatible with our limits. We can only briefly describe those more important transactions affecting the whole country, in which the Christians, by wresting portions of soil from the Moors, compelled them to retire within narrower limits, and thus circumscribed their power. Alfonso and Fruela, the sovereigns who immediately succeeded Pelayo's son, inflicted several severe blows on the Moors, and overran a considerable portion of the flat country. But what proved a more effectual check upon the Saracens than the arms of the Christians, were their own domestic quarrels. So mutable had been the government, that in the space of only forty years from the period of their first landing in Spain, no less than twenty emirs had been called, or had raised themselves, to the seat of power. On the establishment of a monarchy under Abderahman, intestine revolt was quelled for a time; but a more formidable foe from without made his appearance. This was no other than the celebrated Charlemagne, who poured his legions over the Pyrenees into the valleys of Catalonia. We shall not discuss the much agitated question as to the motives which brought this emperor into Spain. He appears to have received an invitation from some discontented Moorish governors; and in acceding to their request, he probably also listened to the dictates of his own ambition. Certain it is that he entered Spain with a powerful army, and, if we can trust his historian Eginhard, sub-

jected the country from the Pyrenees to the Iberas. But he was soon recalled from the Peninsula by the revolt of the Saxons. In his passage through the mountain defiles, the rear of his army was attacked by the Navarrese, and cut to pieces.

It seems certain, that from the period when Charlemagne poured his legions into Navarre, he considered the country as a fief of his crown, and thus gave great umbrage to the Asturian kings. But the inhabitants of the province, averse to the sway of either, longed for independence, and this they succeeded in achieving about the year 885. The rise of this kingdom was another blow to the Saracens. So signal was the successes gained over them by the Christians of Navarre, that in the year 920 not a Mohammedan remained in the whole kingdom north of the Ebro. The kings of Asturias and Leon also rapidly extended their dominions. Ordoño II. invaded the Mohammedan possessions, and gained many advantages. In 932, Ramiro II. made an irruption into the states of the enemy, and ruined Madrid. Arabian writers boast of terrible reprisals having been made on the Christians, and assert that Ramiro himself was defeated. The Saracens having invested Zamora, Ramiro approached with a formidable army. The combatants met, and a battle ensued, more obstinately contested and bloody than any that had been fought since the days of Roderick. There can be no doubt that victory shone on the banners of the Christians, but the success was less splendid than their writers assert it to be. The accounts of all the battles fought between the Moors and the Christians in Spain are to be received with caution. The Arabian writers to exalt the prowess of their countrymen, exaggerate mere skirmishes into great battles, and temporary and partial checks into decisive victories. In equivocal cases, they seem invariably to claim the advantage; and where they were defeated, they either obscurely hint the fact, or diminish the loss which they sustained. It is to be feared,



that in many instances Christian chroniclers are chargeable with similar partiality.

The reign of Abderahman III. (912) has been extolled as the most brilliant period in the history of the Spanish Arabs. Commerce flourished, and riches were accumulated to an unexampled extent. A powerful navy was formed, and maintained in full activity; the arts and sciences were cultivated with ardor, because their professors were rewarded with princely liberality; many splendid works were undertaken in the towns of Mohammedan Spain; and the king himself was the friend of industry and of merit. Still none of the territories which had been lost in previous reigns was recovered, and the Christians were gradually becoming more and more formidable to the Moors, when Mohammed, better known as Almanzor, appeared to restore the glory of the Saracen arms. He was an eminent general and an enlightened statesman, and a patron of the liberal arts. His campaigns against the Christians proved most fatal to them. The towns were ruined, the open country was ravaged, and once more the mountains of Asturias became the inaccessible asylum of the native monarchy. At length the three powers, Navarre, Castille, and Leon, entered into a confederacy to repel the common foe. The armies met at a place situated between Soria and Medina Celi, where a drawn battle was fought. This check, and the fearful loss which he had sustained, so mortified Almanzor, that he sunk under the weight of his despair, and died, some assert by voluntary abstinence from food, in the year 1001. An event of some importance to the Christian cause was the erection of Castille into a distinct kingdom, by Sancho el Mayor, king of Navarre, the most powerful prince of his age and country. Besides Sobrarbe, he held the lordship of Aragon; and in 1026, in right of his wife, a princess of Castille, he became king of that country. By his conquests he considerably extended his dominions; and the marriage of his son Fernando to the heiress of Leon gave him influence in the affairs of that kingdom;

so that at the period of his death, in 1035, he was virtually master of all Christian Spain except Catalonia. Before his death he divided his states among his sons, and Aragon fell to the share of Ramiro. The independence of Aragon as a separate kingdom is therefore to be dated from 1035, the year in which Ramiro I. obtained possession of the throne.

About the middle of the eleventh century Spain may be said to have been divided into two unequal parts by a straight line drawn from east to west, from the coasts of Valencia to a little below the mouth of the Douro. The country north of this belonged to the Christians, who as yet had the smallest and least valuable portion, while all the rest belonged to the Moors. In point of wealth and real power, both by land and sea, the latter were much superior to the former; but their perpetual dissensions materially weakened them, and every day facilitated the progress of the Christians. Indeed, had either party been united, the other must soon have been quelled; but the Christians, although they did not constantly make war upon each other like the Moors, continued from time to time to be so embroiled by domestic feuds, as to be unprepared for striking a decisive blow with the combined armies of all the kingdoms; while the same evils, existing to a still greater extent amongst the Mohammedans, rendered it impossible for their monarchs to take advantage of the untoward state of the affairs of the Christians. Among the Moors almost every city was a kingdom; and as these petty sovereignties supported one another very indifferently, they, one after another, fell a prey to their enemies. The rapidity with which the kingdom of Cordova fell to pieces has few examples in history. Alfonso I. king of Aragon, also of Navarre, and for some time of Castille and Leon, is reckoned among the most valiant princes of Spain. From his warlike habits he was surnamed *El Batallador*. He conquered Tudela, Saragossa, Tarragona, Calatayud, Daroca, Mequencia, and much of the

country south of the Ebro. Since the conquest by the Arabs, he was the first who carried the Christian ensigns into Andalusia. In 1134, however, he lost a great battle, and either perished in the conflict or died of grief shortly afterwards. This was a misfortune, but the misfortunes of the Christians were in general soon repaired, although for nearly a century their conquests were less brilliant than those achieved by *El Batallador*. At the commencement of the thirteenth century, indeed, the Moors gained some decided advantages, and reduced several important towns. But the balance was restored on the celebrated plains of Tolosa, where an enormous army of Moors from Africa was nearly annihilated. Alfonso of Castille having made some destructive inroads into Andalusia, Mohammed Abu Abdalla, emperor of Barbary, prepared to punish his audacity. It is related, on credible authority, that one of the five divisions of the army which he assembled mustered 160,000 combatants. To meet this overwhelming host, the Christian kings, fortunately at this juncture brought to terms of amity with one another, united their armies at Toledo, where they were joined by numerous volunteers from Portugal and France. On the 16th of July, 1212, the Christian army descended the mountainous chain which divides New Castille from Andalusia into the plains of Tolosa, where the Mohammedan army was drawn up in battle array. The conflict which ensued was obstinate and bloody, but victory at length declared for the Christians, and its immediate consequences involved the ruin of the Mohammedan empire in Spain. The thirteenth century is distinguished by other important advantages gained by the Christians. Ferdinand III. king of Leon, afterwards of Castille, by his numerous victories made himself lord of Spain, from the Bay of Biscay to the vicinity of the Guadalquivir, and from the confines of Portugal to those of Aragon and Valencia. In 1233 he triumphed over Aben Hud, king of Murcia, Granada, Cordova,

Merida, and Seville; and from that year to 1248, he successively obtained possession of Toledo, Cordova, the whole of Murcia, Jaen and Seville. The loss of the city of Cordova, which in the eyes of the Mohammedans was sacred alike from its magnificent mosque, and from its having been so long the seat of their caliphs, was a severe blow to their power. About the same time King Jayme, the greatest name in the ancient history of Aragon, and surnamed the conqueror on account of his victories, reduced the Balearic Isles, and obtained other important victories. At this period Mohammedan Spain obeyed three sovereigns, who hated each other as cordially as they were all detested by the Christians. Mohammed, who ruled in Jaen, was the least powerful, but the most successful, of these petty kings. He successively got rid of his two contemporaries, and fixed his court in Granada, resolving if possible to extend, or at the worst to preserve, his new states against the independent walis or local governors on the one hand, and the Christians on the other. Thus the celebrated kingdom of Granada was founded in the year 1238, for that of Cordova no longer existed. During two centuries and a half, this Mohammedan state withstood the hostile attacks of its Christian neighbors, and only fell when all Spain became united under one sceptre, and was consequently rendered irresistibly superior to the kingdom of the Moors.

The first king of Granada was equally valiant in war and wise in council, but he was not in a condition to contend with Ferdinand of Castille. He submitted to do homage to him as his vassal; and during the lifetime of Ferdinand a good understanding subsisted between him and Mohammed. But in succeeding reigns war again broke out between the Moors and Christians. In 1303 the strong fort of Gibraltar was reduced by Ferdinand IV. king of Castille and Leon. But the reign of this prince was mostly one of disaster. An iniquitous league was formed by two native princes, who proposed to



share the kingdom between them. The kings of France, Portugal, and Granada, were not ashamed to sanction this unhallowed compact. The king of Portugal invaded Castille, the king of Granada spread his ravages into Andalusia, and the fate of Ferdinand seemed on the point of being sealed, and his kingdom partitioned among the combined robbers. But dissensions among the confederates, and the want of money, dissolved the league, and saved Spain. The greatest battle which had been fought between the Moors and Christians since the mighty African host was destroyed on the plains of Tolosa, took place in October, 1340, on the banks of the small river Salado. The Christians under Alfonso of Castille were a very small band compared with the enormous host led by the king of Granada; but the former gained a brilliant victory, the loss of the Moors having been immense. The consequence was the surrender of several fortresses; and in the following year the destruction of the Mohammedan fleet was effected by the Christians.

It is now necessary to mention some circumstances in the history of Navarre, relative to the intimate connection which so long subsisted between that kingdom and France, and which had a material influence on the destinies of Spain. The male line of the house of Sancho Inigo, founder of the sovereignty, having ended in Sancho VI., who died in 1234, leaving no issue, the Navarrese elected as their future king Thibault, a French prince, and nephew to the deceased Sancho. Of this monarch we know little beyond an expedition to Palestine, which he undertook along with several princes of France. His two sons, who successively occupied the throne of Navarre, espoused French princesses, and thus an intimate connection with France was established. The relationship between the two kingdoms became still more close when Queen Jeanne gave her hand to Philip the Fair of France. In short, Navarre became a province of France, and for four reigns has no distinct

history. In 1328, however, the kingdoms were again separated, though the sovereigns of Navarre were closely related to those of France. Charles II. surnamed the wicked, ascended the Navarrese throne in 1349, and shortly afterwards married Jeanne, daughter of King John of France. His reign is one of perfidy, intrigue, and dishonorable alliances. Events which belong more immediately to the history of France, led to the arrest of Charles by the French monarch, and his detention in prison for several years. He effected his escape, and again resumed his old practice of intriguing, particularly against the king of France. In 1366, he entered into a league with the celebrated Black Prince of England, for the restoration of Pedro, surnamed the Cruel, who had been driven from the throne of Castille on account of his many enormities. The expulsion of this detestable monster was the act of an indignant nation, which immediately elevated his bastard brother Enrique, or Henry, count of Trastamara, to the throne of Castille. The elected king himself appealed in person to the generosity of the English hero, and the consequence was that the Black Prince led a powerful force across the Pyrenees. In his combined army of English and Normans were some of the flower of English chivalry. Henry made every disposition in his power, resolving to hazard all in a battle. The recollection of the cruelties and oppressions of Pedro's government were a strong stimulus to his followers, and might have insured success had he only been opposed by Pedro the Cruel and Charles the wicked; but he had to contend with the victor of Cressy and Poitiers. The battle which decided the fate of the two kings was fought near Logroño, a few miles south of the Ebro, on the 3d of April 1367. Henry nobly contested the day, as also did his antagonist, who was as brave as he was cruel. The conflict was for a short time desperate, but it terminated in the complete discomfiture of Henry, an event followed by the immediate restoration of Pedro to the Castilian throne. His gallant



ally had soon reason to regret his connection with a prince equally perfidious, debauched, and bloody. Edward quitted him in disgust, without receiving payment of the sum promised to the English troops. Pedro, no longer overawed by the Black Prince, who was as humane as he was valiant, immediately set about punishing those whom he either knew or suspected of having been zealous in the cause of Henry. His late disgrace had sharpened his naturally keen appetite for blood; but we pass over the revolting details of the enormities which he committed. They produced their usual effects, the complete alienation of the minds of his subjects from him, and then a conspiracy to put an end to such barbarous tyranny. Henry, who had fled to France, entered Spain with a small force, which, however, soon became augmented to an army. Tyrants have few friends in the hour of adversity, and those who have been bribed by gold or overawed by authority to become their pliant tools, are too easily seduced from their allegiance to be trusted when the day of trial comes. Mohammed V., king of Granada, was induced to take the field in behalf of Pedro; but it was less to aid his ally than to take advantage of the confusion of the times. Pedro's army gradually melted away, and he himself, compelled to flee for shelter to a fortress, and nearly deserted by his followers, was there shortly afterwards slain by the hand of Henry. Although, as we have already noticed, this prince was a bastard, yet he quietly ascended the Castilian throne, which he bequeathed to his posterity.

For nearly a century after these events took place, the history of Spain presents little or nothing that is remarkable. The continued and petty hostilities between the native princes, or between any or all of them and the Moors, merit but slight attention. Henry IV. surnamed the Impotent, ascended the throne of Castile in 1454. The misconduct of this prince, a frivolous and contemptible debauchee, produced a conspiracy amongst his turbulent nobles, to re-

sist his weak and flagitious administration. He was formally deposed at Avila, in a very extraordinary manner; an effigy which represented him being solemnly degraded from the royal dignities, while at the same time his brother Alfonso was proclaimed king of Castille and Leon. Henry was naturally anxious to punish the rebels, but they assumed an attitude too formidable for him. Civil war produced a total relaxation of the laws, and let loose bands of robbers, who pillaged the open country, and not unfrequently attacked and plundered the towns. In the midst of these troubles the Infante Alfonso died, an event for the present highly favorable to the king. Some attempts to raise the Infanta Isabella, his sister, to the throne, proved at first abortive; but she was the person upon whom the nobles had set their eyes as the only legitimate successor to Henry. In 1469, was laid the foundation of a union which was to prove of such unbounded advantage to Spain. Juan II. of Aragon solicited the hand of Isabella of Castille for his son and heir Don Ferdinand, king of Sicily. By distributing largesses amongst the Castilian nobles, and firmly attaching the archbishop of Toledo to his interest, Juan succeeded in his object. On the 25th of October, 1469, the royal pair received the nuptial benediction in the cathedral of Valladolid. The negotiations had been secretly conducted, and the whole affair was brought to a conclusion without the knowledge of Henry or his queen, a princess as licentious as himself. She had borne a daughter, the Infanta Juana, whom the whole kingdom supposed, on pretty good grounds, to be the fruit of her intrigue with Don Beltran de la Cueva, count of Ledesma, one of Henry's favorites. No sooner was Henry made acquainted with this precipitate marriage, than he resolved to leave no measure untried for securing the crown to Juana. He caused her to be proclaimed heiress of his dominions, and in his last will declared her his successor. But popular opinion is too strong even for princes. The country believed her illegitimate, and on

the death of Henry, in 1474, Ferdinand V. and Isabella were elevated to the throne of Castille and Leon, it being stipulated that the king and queen should reign conjointly. The king of Portugal at first espoused the cause of Juana; but the alliance was productive of no event of importance, and peace was restored between Castille and Portugal in 1479. The very same year, Ferdinand, by the death of his father, Juan II., was called to the throne of Aragon. Having received the homage of his Aragonese subjects at Saragossa, of the Catalonians at Barcelona, and of the Valencians in the capital of that province, he returned into Castille.

The reign of Ferdinand and Isabella is distinguished by great events, events of the highest importance, not only to Spain, but to mankind. It was under their auspices that Columbus brought a new world to light, and it was by their arms that the power of the Mohammedans was forever extinguished in the Peninsula. Their first object was the regulation of the government and the enforcement of the laws, which, from the license of preceding reigns, had fallen into desuetude, or were openly defied. The king and queen were noted for a rigid administration of justice; neither for money nor favor would they spare the guilty; and there was too much to punish and correct not to give their administration a character of severity, which would have had no existence had the country not fallen into a state of civil and political disorganization almost unprecedented. The local judges were overawed by the nobles, and extraordinary judges or corregidores were appointed to see that they did their duty. This not being found sufficient to eradicate an evil which had existed for centuries, the aid of the Holy Brotherhood was sought and obtained. This association, which had existed since the middle of the thirteenth century, consisted of a number of confederated cities and towns, which maintained a considerable body of troops, in order to protect travellers and pursue criminals, and took cognizance of all violent offences against the

laws, appointing courts and judges in various parts of the kingdom. New powers were reposed in this association, so that it became a powerful instrument in the hands of government, and alike terrible to robber and rebel. By this means the territorial jurisdiction of the seignorial nobles was materially abridged, while the royal prerogative was greatly extended. The prompt and impartial administration of justice restored tranquillity and order; and it had been well for the fame of these sovereigns if their salutary severity had been only directed against the disturbers of the public peace. But unfortunately they were equally severe against all who ventured to differ from the established faith. Against apostates, all converts who, after baptism, reverted to Judaism, or the faith of Islam, their hatred was implacable. Their intemperate zeal led them to establish, or rather to re-organize, an ecclesiastical tribunal, which became proverbial throughout the civilized world for its enormous cruelties and injustice. This was the court of inquisition.

We now approach what is not only an important event in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, but an era in the history of Europe, namely, the conquest of Granada, the last possession of the Mohammedans in Spain. A sovereign so zealous for the Catholic faith as Ferdinand proved himself to be, was not likely to allow such enemies of Christianity to remain long in the Peninsula, if by force of arms he could expel them; and accordingly he early turned his attention to the subject. Every thing conspired to favor his designs; the Moorish kingdom was distracted and disunited by a civil war between father and son; and Ferdinand having obtained the bull of Sixtus IV. authorizing a crusade, put himself at the head of his troops, and entered Granada. He continued the war with rapid success; Isabella attended him in several expeditions; and they were both in considerable danger at the siege of Malaga, an important city, which was defended with great courage, and taken in 1487. Baza was re-



duced in 1489, after the loss of 20,000 men. Gaudix and Almeria were delivered up to them by the Moorish king Alzagel, who had first dethroned his brother Alboacen, and afterwards been chased from his capital by his nephew Abdali. That prince engaged in the service of Ferdinand and Isabella, who, after reducing every other place of eminence, undertook the siege of Granada. Abdali made a gallant defence; but all communication with the country being cut off, and all hopes of relief at an end, he capitulated, after a siege of eight months, on condition that he should enjoy the revenue of certain places in the fertile mountains of Apujarras; that the inhabitants should retain the undisturbed possession of their houses, goods and inheritances; the use of their laws, and the free exercise of their religion. Thus ended the empire of the Arabs in Spain, after it had continued about eight hundred years.

Its overthrow was soon followed by the expulsion of the Saracens from Spain. This expulsion, however, was not entirely effected till the 17th century. Vast numbers of the Moors, indeed, oppressed by their conquerors, abandoned a country where they could not reside with comfort and with freedom. From the reign of Ferdinand of Castille, to that of Philip III. of Spain, more than 3,000,000 of these people quitted Spain, and carried with them, not only a great part of their acquired wealth, but that industry and love of labor which are the foundation of national prosperity.

The conquest of Granada was followed by the expulsion of the Jews, under circumstances of great injustice and atrocity. This unhappy people had engrossed the greater part of the wealth and commerce of Spain, yet not being allowed to take away the value of their property in the precious metals, they were compelled to barter it for the produce or manufactures of the Peninsula, and this could not be effected except at a great sacrifice. One alternative was left them, to embrace Christianity. The inquisition exhausted

first its art and then its fury to accomplish this object, but with comparatively little success. Many, indeed, to save their property, always dear to an Israelite, outwardly, at least, embraced the faith of the cross; but by far the greater number, in profound despair, and stripped of much of their wealth, took leave of the land of their birth. About the same time that this decree was promulgated, their Catholic majesties concluded an alliance with the Emperor Maximilian, and a treaty of marriage for their daughter Juana with his son Philip, archduke of Austria, and sovereign of the Netherlands. To this period also belongs the contract concluded with Columbus for the discovery of new countries; an event which more powerfully than any other attracts the notice of posterity to this splendid reign, and which materially tended to raise the Spanish monarchy above any other in Europe. To Isabella must be ascribed the glory of the enterprise, for she it was who borrowed the sum of money necessary for the armament, and bade the great navigator depart. This great queen died in 1504, leaving her daughter Juana, and after that princess her own grandson (the celebrated Charles V.), heirs to the monarchy, but appointing her husband, Ferdinand, regent of the kingdom till the majority of Charles. The latter years of Ferdinand's life were embittered by family dissensions, which broke out even before Isabella had breathed her last. Juana was undoubtedly queen, for the Salic law, which excludes females, did not exist in Spain. This was well known, and is important, as bearing on events which happened in more recent times. Philip therefore prepared to enforce his right, while Ferdinand, fond of power, and backed by the will of his late wife, showed a determination to maintain his position in the kingdom. But just as the affairs of Spain were assuming a serious aspect, Philip died, and Ferdinand gradually resumed his authority over the whole country. Insurrection quailed before him, the laws resumed their empire, and prosperity revisited the people. The re-





THE LAST SUPPER OF CHRIST



maining events of his reign must be briefly summed up. He solicited and obtained the hand of Germaine, niece to Charles of France, in the hope of leaving a male heir to the throne; but his anticipations were not realized. In several expeditions to Africa, important conquests were made in that country, Algiers, Tunis and other places submitting to become vassals to the king of Spain. In 1511 he went to Italy to assist the pope against the schismatics, under the protection of the king of France and the emperor. But into the interminable affairs of Italy, and the critical wars carried on by Ferdinand in that country in defence of his Sicilian and Neapolitan possessions, we cannot enter. This war, however, led to one memorable result, which was the conquest of Navarre. Desirous of carrying hostilities into France, he demanded from Jean d'Albret, king of Navarre, permission to march his troops through that country. The Navarrese refused, but at the same time promised to remain neutral. They broke their engagement, however, and entered into an alliance, offensive and defensive, with France. Determined to accomplish his end by force, and to punish the duplicity of the Navarrese, Ferdinand invaded Navarre, and in a short time obtained possession of the whole kingdom, annexing it to that over which he formerly ruled, and successfully defending it against the invasion of the French. This was the last great event of Ferdinand's life, and was one which was fortunate for the country, as serving to consolidate its power. After a lingering illness, his death took place on the 23d of January, 1516. In his last will he declared his daughter Juana heiress to all his dominions in Spain and Italy, and after her his grandson Charles. Cardinal Ximenes Cisneros was at the same time appointed sole regent of Castille till the arrival of his grandson. Ferdinand is justly regarded as the founder of the Spanish monarchy; and although his character has some dark stains upon it, intolerant bigotry being not the least conspicuous, he was certainly

the greatest prince of his age, and one of the ablest and best that ever swayed the sceptre of Spain. We shall now glance at the civil and political condition of Spain under the Moors and under the Christians respectively, from the period of the Mohammedan conquest till the death of Ferdinand.

Mohammedan Spain originally comprehended nearly nine tenths of the Peninsula. Murcia, which the Arabs call Tadmir, though governed by the Christian Theodomir and his successor Athanagild, was as much dependent on the Saracens as Andalusia or New Castille. The districts over which the barbarian sway never extended were the mountains of the Asturias, Biscay, Navarre and an angle of Aragon. Thus not only by far the greatest, but infinitely the most valuable, part of the Peninsula was comprised in the Mohammedan kingdom. Under the viceroys of the Caliphs, and the immediate successors of the first Abderahman, that is, during the first three centuries, it was the admiration and terror of Europe. The revenues which the kings of Cordova derived from their ample possessions were doubtless immense, and this enabled them to maintain not only a large army of native troops, but great bodies of foreign auxiliaries. These mercenary soldiers are supposed, by some of the most distinguished Arabian historians, to have been the principal cause of the downfall of that splendid monarchy. Their spirit of nationality was not destroyed; it was fostered by transplantation from the original soil; the Egyptians in Beja and Lisbon; the Persians in Huete; the Assyrians in Granada; the Berbers and Slavones in most of the great cities, especially about the court; the inhabitants of Damascus, Emessa, and of Old Palestine, in Cordova, Seville, Niebla, Medina Sidonia and Algeziras, became so many rival factions, all eager in the pursuit of power, and all mutually hostile. Their frequent quarrels occasioned great disasters in the state, and allowed the ambitious no less than the desperate a long-continued impunity. In this distracted state of the king-



dom, rebel chiefs contrived to retain and even to extend their governments; while the Christians, ever ready to take advantage of circumstances, drove the Saracens from city to city, and from province to province, till they finally expelled them from the country. After Cordova fell from its proud eminence, the Mohammedan power declined with great rapidity. The rulers of Toledo, Badajos, Beja, Seville, Ecija, Malaga, Granada, Almeria, Lorea, Murcia, Denia, Valencia, Lerida, Saragossa and Huesca, all openly aspired to independent sovereignty. Many of these petty states were annihilated by the king of Seville; but his own, with those which still remained, were swept from the Peninsula by Yussef, the first emperor of the Almoravides. This African dynasty was again subverted by the still more ferocious Almohades. In the decline of the latter, the local governors again endeavored to establish independent kingdoms. The Moorish domination thus became circumscribed within the mountainous region bounded by the sea, and by a line drawn from Malaga through Archidona, Loja, Guardia, the Sierra de Cazorla, to the environs of Lorea. This small state was still farther limited by the succeeding sovereigns of Castille, from Alfonso el Sabio downwards, till, as we have seen, it was finally subjugated by Ferdinand the Catholic.

In all the states of Spain, whether Mohammedan or Christian, the government was absolute, but not despotic. If the Christian, as a protection against arbitrary power, could appeal to the legal code of the country which he inhabited, the Mohammedan could also invoke the provisions of the Koran, for the laws of the followers of the prophet are founded in their religion. Several of the Mohammedan potentates were the munificent patrons of literature and literary men, the names of some of whom are mentioned with respect at the present day. At the close of the eleventh century, Mohammedan Spain could boast of seventy public libraries, and of colleges, or seminaries of learning,

in all the principal cities. Thus learning was much encouraged; and among these numerous collections of books were many hundred volumes by native writers. So great, in fact, was the literary reputation of the Spanish Arabs, that when the caliph of Egypt desired his library to be arranged and indexes to be made, he confided the task to two individuals of that nation. These men of learning comprised historians, poets, grammarians, orators, rhetoricians, mathematicians, astronomers, philosophers, natural and moral, physicians, lawyers and divines. It was in the physical and experimental sciences that the people most excelled, and that too at a time when many of the sciences were wholly neglected or totally unknown in the rest of Europe. Their knowledge of botany was far famed; that of chemistry was still more so. Indeed, they are to be regarded, if not the founders, at least the regenerators, of that science in Europe. Their skill in medicine was great; in the mathematics they particularly distinguished themselves; the improvements which they made in algebra are well known. Optics and astronomy were much cultivated by them; nor were the useful arts less attended to, more especially agriculture, including horticulture and planting. The mechanical arts and manufactures were also carried to considerable perfection by the Spanish Arabs. Commerce was deemed no less worthy of encouragement than domestic industry. The fine arts, however, were less cultivated; but still all the great cities of Mohammedan Spain, Cordova, Granada, Toledo, Valencia, Ubeda, Coimbra, were deeply indebted to the Moorish inhabitants; a fact sufficiently proved by the remains of their past magnificence, which still exist.

From the foundation of the Christian states, the extent of territory comprised by each was usually variable, dependent alike on their conquests over the common enemy and among themselves. The relative extent of each at different periods may be briefly noticed. 1. When Pelayo established his lit-

the court at Cangus, the Asturian kingdom could only have occupied the mountainous district immediately surrounding that humble capital. By Alfonso I. this territory was extended into Galicia on the west, probably to Aragon on the east, and to the confines of Toledo on the south. Alfonso III. still further amplified the Asturian kingdom, by extending its frontiers to the Sierra de Cuenza, in the territory of Toledo; to the Duero, in Estremadura and Portugal; in one instance even as far as the Guardiana. The capital regularly continued to shift towards the centre of Spain as new territory was acquired. Thus the Asturian kingdom went on increasing till, on the incorporation of Castille with it, and the subsequent conquest of Andalusia by San Fernando, the capital of the monarchy was fixed at Seville. From the reign of San Fernando may be dated the true era of Spanish greatness. Murcia was conquered by his son Alfonso; and by his successors the Moorish kingdom of Granada was first circumscribed and finally subjugated. 2. Navarre (that is, Spanish Navarre), from its origin to its conquest by Ferdinand V., underwent little change in its dimensions; and its capital was always Pamplona. 3. The Lordship of Barcelona, which for some time continued dependant on the Carolingian princes, comprehended anciently, not only Catalonia, but likewise Languedoc. The Spanish frontier, however, was subsequently held as a separate government, to which other lordships were subordinate. The dependance on France was of short duration, and appears nearly to have ceased towards the close of the ninth century, when Wifredo II., count of Barcelona, entirely cleared Catalonia from the infidels. That ruler decrees in the sovereign style, and is recognized even by the French as the founder of an hereditary state; which continued as independent a sovereignty as any in the Peninsula, till its union with Aragon, about the middle of the twelfth century. 4. Aragon was at first but a small mountainous region at the foot of the Pyrenees, the capital of

which was Jaen, or San Juan de la Pena. The conquest of Sobrarbe, Ribagorza, and Pallas, by Ramiro I.; of the Mohammedan fortresses from the Pyrenees to the Ebro by Sancho I.; of Huesca by Pedro; of Tudela, Saragossa, Calatayud, Daroca, Mequinencia, &c., by Alfonso I., amplified this little lordship into a considerable kingdom, the capital of which, in 1119, was transferred to Saragossa. When Lerida and Fraga were reduced by the prince of Aragon, the Balearic Isles and Valencia by Don Jayme el Conquistador, Aragon became, next to Castille, the most extensive and powerful of the peninsular kingdoms.

The government of all the Christian states was absolute, and in the whole of them latterly it was hereditary. The powers of the sovereign varied at different times; latterly they became very great. He could concede or revoke, interpret or abrogate laws, declare war or make peace, appoint judges, levy and exact contributions, and the like. But still all was to be done *according to the ancient form*, that is, according to established custom. Other restraints were placed upon his power, and it is pretty certain that the Spanish kings were not commonly tyrannical. The true tyrants were the feudal lords, who were at perfect liberty to exercise almost royal authority within their respective jurisdictions. Of their violence and rapacity there are innumerable complaints in the national chronicles, and in the acts of the Cortes. It is worthy of remark, that the queens presided with their husbands in the Cortes, the councils and the tribunals of justice, and that as judges, not merely as spectators. The only great feudatories of the crown, exercising a local jurisdiction, were the condes, who held different ranks and enjoyed different degrees of power. But, from the thirteenth century, the governors of provinces were termed *adelantados* (now captains-general), while those of cities, towns and fortresses were known as *alcaldes*. As conquest gave the Christians additional territory, admirals and constables were appoint-



ed, with power over the affairs of sea and land respectively. Of the dignities, whatever their names might be, most were doubtless of a mixed nature, partly civil and partly military. But there were functionaries who exercised an exclusively military authority. Among the officers of administration, those of the law must have occupied a prominent place. The judgment in civil or criminal cases properly depended on the counts or viscounts, who sometimes decided themselves, sometimes in concert with men learned in the law, called counsellors, and at other times they left the duty to the ordinary judges. These counsellors or judges were expressly educated for the office, and otherwise well adapted for such a situation. The forms of proceeding, which were simple and brief, were conducted in public, and the sentence was also openly delivered. From the decision of all the ordinary judges, lay an appeal to the royal tribunal, which also took cognizance of certain offences and cases. Spain can boast of an ample body of laws promulgated during the middle ages.

As the circumstances of the country altered, and the state of society advanced, it became necessary to extend or limit the existing laws, and to enact new ones. To encourage the cultivation of waste lands, the Christian kings promised to the lower orders, that if they reclaimed unoccupied wastes, formed themselves into small communities, building villages and towns, and defended their possessions against the common enemy, they should enjoy certain social privileges in addition to the profits of their industry. Of these privileges the most highly prized were those which rescued the people from the jurisdiction of their feudal tyrants, which empowered them to elect their own magistrates, to form municipal juntas, and to dispose of certain revenues arising from forests and other possessions. It may well be believed that so brilliant a reward attracted many settlers, who were thus at once raised from the rank of serfs to that of citizens. Such was the origin of many *fueros*, or provincia.

laws, which varied in their spirit according to the liberality of the monarch and the relative importance of the colonies. These *fueros* were devised with jealous care, to preserve the inhabitants from feudal domination. No baron or noble could settle in a community, unless he abandoned his birthright, enrolled himself among the citizens, and owned obedience to the local *fiero*. So many temptations did these new communities present, in the shape of municipal posts, that many nobles were known to renounce their rank, and class themselves among the plebians, for the purpose of obtaining them. The defects of such a system were not long in being felt, and a remedy was provided by the introduction of the "*Siete Partidas*," so called from the seven parts into which it is divided. It is by far the most comprehensive code of Spain, being taken from the code of Justinian, the Visigothic, the *Fuero Viejo*, the local *fueros*, as well as from the canon law.

Passing over the much-disputed question regarding the origin of popular representation in Spain, we find that there were present, at the Cortes held at Leon in the year 1188, "the deputies of towns, chosen by lot," that is, representatives of the people, the third estate. On these municipal towns many important privileges were conferred by successive sovereigns, the direct tendency of which was to abridge the powers of the feudal lords. But even at the brightest period of popular representation, which was the fourteenth century, the representation was never definite. Many of the great towns neglected to send any deputies at all, and those which did return them appear to have observed little proportion in the numbers. Two was the number which ought to have been returned by each, but some towns sent eight, while others of larger size sent only one or two. Indeed, it seems highly probable that the privilege of sending deputies was a favor granted by the sovereign to such towns as it was his pleasure to honor. It is preposterous, therefore, to look upon the



third estate as consisting of independent representatives of the nation; the members were little better than nominees of royalty, and their numbers could be increased or diminished, just as it suited the purposes of government. Much as the popular representation of Castille is extolled by national writers, it seems to have been better adapted for securing and extending the power of the crown, than for protecting the rights of the people. Under Ferdinand and Isabella the last lingering traces of popular liberty were destroyed; but the power of the other orders of the state suffered at the same time a corresponding diminution, as we have already noticed. Such is a brief outline of the government and laws of Castille and Leon, the most important of the peninsular kingdoms, and almost the only ones in which the reader will take much interest, or, indeed, regarding which authentic documents remain. It may be mentioned, however, with regard to the kingdom of Aragon, that, with the exception of the lowest order, the serfs of the soil, the Aragonese possessed a greater share of individual liberty than any other people in the Peninsula. The citizens and nobles frequently coalesced for the purpose of obtaining fueros or privileges from the crown, and when thus united they were generally too powerful to be resisted. Hence numerous concessions were made by successive sovereigns, and an amount of popular freedom obtained by the people which frequently threatened the existence of the monarchy itself. Catalonia and Valencia were always distinct from Aragon, both in government and laws. Each had its Cortes, consisting of three estates, prelates, nobles and deputies, all no less tenacious of their privileges than those of Aragon.

Several historians of note, whose works have come down to us, flourished in the various Christian kingdoms of Spain during the period of Mohammedan domination. Poetry sprung up about the middle of the twelfth century and some very interesting specimens of these ancient compositions still

remain, particularly the *Poema del Cid*. The old Spanish ballads are well known, and celebrated throughout Europe. The scientific state of Spain, as compared with the Mohammedan, exhibits a lamentable contrast; nor does it appear that in any of the useful arts of life the Spanish Christians were equal to the Moors. The most distinguished place in Spanish science during this period has been assigned to Alfonso X., surnamed el Sabio; but even he was greatly indebted to the Arabians for the perfection which he attained. The theologians of Spain, during the middle ages, were more numerous than all her other writers put together, and the writings of many of these shining lights of the church are to be met with in the libraries of Spain. With regard to religion it is only necessary to state, that the Catholic faith prevailed in full force, and was characterized by the darkest bigotry and the fiercest intolerance, as the doings of the inquisition amply testify.

Charles I. (V. of Germany) became king of Spain on the death of Ferdinand, but a regency had been nominated to govern the kingdom until he should attain his twentieth year. If the events and transactions in which this monarch was concerned were to be woven into the history of Spain, it would, in fact, be the history of almost all Europe during the period of his reign. But our business is with events purely peninsular; or if others of a more general character are occasionally noticed, it will be because they are too closely connected with the former to be separated without violence. His foreign wars, negotiations, and other transactions, arose from his position as emperor of Germany, not from his being king of Spain; and an account of them will be found under the heads FRANCE, ITALY AND ENGLAND, to which articles the reader is referred.

The Cardinal Ximenes Cisneros, to whom the regency had been left by the deceased king, was bitterly opposed in his administration, principally by the nobles of Castille, who, envious of his dignity, displeased with

his firmness and vigor, and hoping for impunity under a young monarch, soon showed a disposition to refuse him obedience. Popular discontent reached a great height; and as his best measures were misrepresented to the king, Charles perceived the necessity of making his appearance in Spain, where he arrived in 1517. Nobles and prelates hastened to meet their sovereign, and among the rest the calumniated Ximenes. But that sovereign he was not destined to see; he suddenly sickened and died, not without suspicions of poison. Charles brought with him a multitude of Flemings from the Netherlands, who soon monopolized the principal situations in church and state, and in all their dealings evinced an unquenchable thirst for gold. The favor extended to these foreigners so incensed the people, that Charles found extreme difficulty in obtaining the homage of the Spaniards. Although they swore allegiance to him, it was on certain stipulated conditions, sufficiently advantageous to themselves. In 1519 occurred an event destined to exercise great influence over his future life, over his hereditary states, in fact over all Europe. This was his election to the imperial throne of Germany, left vacant by the death of his paternal grandfather Maximilian. The Spaniards were pleased that this dignity was conferred on their sovereign; but as the old grievances continued to gall them, they were not so dazzled as to be insensible to their own interests. The leading men of many of the principal cities publicly remonstrated with Charles, and it was only by granting certain concessions that he could keep them from open rebellion. His presence having become absolutely necessary in Germany, he quitted Spain, but proceeded first to England to concert with Henry VIII. the means of humbling the power of the French king, Francis I. This monarch had been a candidate for the imperial diadem; but, disappointed in his ambition, and in hatred of his successful rival, he leagued himself even with the enemy of the Christian faith. He also laid

claim to Italy, the Netherlands and Navarre; so that war was unavoidable, and hostilities immediately commenced; an account of which will be found in the articles already referred to.

The turbulence of the times was not likely to be assuaged by the absence of the king from his all but revolted territories in the Peninsula. Opposition had now degenerated into rebellion; and what before might have been dignified with the name of patriotism, could only be characterized as crafty schemes of personal ambition. Unfortunately for the interests of order, the regency of Castille, where disaffection had assumed the most serious aspect, was held by a man, estimable and virtuous, indeed, but little fitted for such stormy times. The appointment of this individual, Cardinal Adrian, who subsequently wore the triple crown, had at the first given great offence to the nobles and deputies at court; but the king, though solicited, would not change him for another. The persons upon whom the fury of the mob fell were chiefly the governors and deputies of the cities and provinces. Many were massacred, open insurrection spread from city to city; and no species of crime was left uncommitted. In this critical position of the royal cause, it was fortunate that Aragon, Catalonia, and most of Andalusia, stood aloof from the confederation. Had they joined it, the evils might have been long protracted, and the whole Peninsula plunged in misery and ruin. But the revolted cities followed one another in making their submission to the government; and those which did not voluntarily submit were reduced by the royal troops, now augmented to a considerable body. An attempt of the French king to seize Navarre was happily frustrated, so that in 1522 the whole country was restored to tranquillity.

In July of that year, the emperor, whose presence had been often requested by the royalists, arrived in Spain. It was expected that summary justice would be inflicted on those who had taken a prominent part in the recent disturbances; but on this occasion



Charles showed a degree of clemency almost unexampled in history, very few being condemned to suffer. During the remainder of this prince's reign, the domestic tranquillity of Spain was undisturbed, except by an insurrection of the Moors, which was soon suppressed. Of two expeditions of the emperor to the African coast, to humble, if not to extirpate, the Mohammedan pirates, one was successful, the other disastrous. He compelled the Grand Turk, who penetrated into the centre of Europe, to retreat; and took his great rival, Francis I. of France, prisoner at Pavia. Such were some of his achievements in his foreign wars, by which the fame of the Spanish arms was extended throughout Europe. The mines of the west also had begun to pour their inexhaustible wealth into the country, so that the military and political power of Spain now attained its zenith, and became a source of uneasiness to other nations. In 1525, Charles married the Princess Isabella, sister of Joam III. king of Portugal. The issue of this union was, besides two daughters, the infant Philip, destined to be no less famous than his father. Charles made an ineffectual effort to procure for him the imperial crown of Germany; but in 1554, succeeded in obtaining the hand of the princess Mary of England. That the nuptial ceremony might be performed with greater splendor, he invested his son with the regal title, by abdicating in his favor his Italian possessions, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and the duchy of Milan. This was but a prelude to a still more extraordinary sacrifice. It appears that from the very prime of life the emperor had meditated a retreat from the world; and that on the death of his mother Juana, in 1555, he was determined on fulfilling his long-cherished project. Many reasons have been assigned for this memorable act, but the principal cause is to be traced to his superstitious temperament; something is also to be allowed for the bad success of his arms during the latter years of his reign. Having concluded a truce with Henry, the successor of Francis,

and recalled Philip from England, he assembled at Brussels the states of the Netherlands. There, amidst the most imposing solemnity ever witnessed since the days of the Roman Cæsars, he resigned the sovereignty of the Low Countries into the hands of his son. With the same august ceremony he resigned the crown of Spain, and the dominions thereto belonging; and from the monastic retreat to which he retired he sent his resignation of the imperial diadem. The place which he had chosen for his residence was the monastery of St. Justus, one of the most secluded and delightful situations in Estremadura. Here, employed in religious observances, passed the latter years of the life of the most powerful sovereign Europe had seen since the days of Charlemagne and the empire of the west. About six months before his death, the gout, to which he had long been subject, after a longer intermission than usual, returned with a proportional increase of violence. His shattered constitution had not strength enough remaining to withstand such a shock. It enfeebled his mind as well as his body; and from this period we hardly discern any traces of that sound and masculine understanding which distinguished Charles among his contemporaries. An illiberal and timid superstition depressed his spirit. He had no relish for amusements of any kind; and endeavored to conform, in his manner of living, to all the rigor of monastic austerity. He desired no other society than that of monks, and was almost continually employed in chanting with them the hymns of the missal. As an expiation for his sins, he gave himself the discipline in secret, with such severity, that the whip of cords which he employed as the instrument of his punishment was found, after his decease, tinged with his blood. Nor was he satisfied with these acts of mortification, which, however severe, were not unexampled. The timorous and distrustful solicitude which always accompanies superstition still continued to inquiet him, and, depreciating all that he had done, prompted him to aim at something ex



traordinary—some new and singular act of piety which would display his zeal, and merit the favor of Heaven. The act on which he fixed was as wild and uncommon as any that superstition ever suggested to a disordered fancy. He resolved to celebrate his own obsequies before his death. He ordered his tomb to be erected in the chapel of the monastery. His domestics marched thither in funeral procession, with black tapers in their hands; and he himself followed in his shroud. He was laid in his coffin with much solemnity. The service for the dead was chanted; and Charles joined in the prayers which were offered up for the rest of his soul, mingling his tears with those which his attendants shed, as if they had been celebrating a real funeral. The ceremony closed with sprinkling holy water on the coffin in the usual form, and, all the assistants retiring, the doors of the chapel were shut. Then Charles rose out of the coffin, and withdrew to his apartment, full of those awful sentiments which such a singular solemnity was calculated to inspire. But either the fatiguing length of the ceremony, or the impression which this image of death left on his mind, affected him so much that next day he was seized with a fever. His feeble frame could not long resist its violence; and he expired on the 21st of September, after a life of fifty-eight years, six months, and twenty-one days. His character has been variously described by natives and foreigners; the former can see little in it to condemn, the latter nothing to admire. His policy was always close, sometimes crooked, and in not a few instances dishonorable. He was no friend either to civil or religious liberty, and may safely be pronounced a bigot. Under him the condition of Spain was more splendid, perhaps also more prosperous, than in any prior or subsequent reign. Notwithstanding his many wars, the people do not appear to have been overburdened in supporting them, for the New World poured its treasures at his feet. A new impulse was given to national industry by the markets opened for Spanish pro-

ductions in the transatlantic colonies. But the brightest landscape has its masses of shade. The nobles held a power over the people which was often exercised with violence. Favoritism to foreigners was practised to an unprincipled extent, and the sale of offices became a branch of traffic. Another baneful evil was the multiplication of religious orders. Lastly the exemption from taxation of the nobles and clergy, which threw the whole weight of public contribution on the third estate, increased the disaffection of that body, and was one of the chief causes of the subsequent decline of the kingdom.

The reign of Philip II. commenced in 1556, and extended to the year 1598. Much of it was occupied in foreign wars, to which we can only briefly advert. For an account of Philip's long, bloody and inglorious struggle with his revolted subjects of the Low Countries, see the article *HOLLAND*. The circumstances which led to the invasion of Portugal, and the annexation of that kingdom to the Spanish crown, will be found fully detailed under the head of Portugal. An attempt was made by the pope, in conjunction with France, to wrest from Philip his Italian dominions, but without success. The duke of Alva, the viceroy of Naples, put his troops in motion, seized several fortresses of the papal states, and the holy city began to tremble for its security. Philip himself invaded France, and inflicted a severe blow on Henry under the walls of St. Quentin. The French army under the duke of Guise, was recalled from Italy; and the pope, left at the mercy of the duke of Alva, was compelled to purchase his safety by withdrawing from the French alliance. In 1559, peace was made with France; and Philip having become a widower, further ratified the treaty by marrying Elizabeth, sister of the French king. But the Turks continued to harass Naples, although they durst not make a stand before the Spanish forces. In 1565, Philip assisted the Maltese with 10,000 Spaniards in the famous siege which they under-

went from sultan Solymán. Five years afterwards, the war between the Venetian republic and the Porte again brought the Spaniards into collision with the latter power, and they had no small share in achieving the glorious victory of Lepanto. The Mohammedans, however, still continued to make descents on the Italian coast, and to harass the African possessions of Philip; but, on the whole, the war with the misbelievers was honorable to the Spanish arms.

We now approach an event of peculiar and lasting interest, the projected invasion of England by the famous Spanish Armada. Elizabeth had certainly done much to provoke the resentment of Philip. She had succored the insurgents of the Netherlands, fomented the disturbances in Portugal, assisted France, and her naval captains had ravaged the dominions of Spain in both hemispheres. Philip's patience being exhausted, he prepared a mighty armament for the invasion of England. A complete account of this famous attempt to plant a foreign standard on her shores, and its disastrous termination, will be found in the article ENGLAND. A second expedition for the invasion of Ireland shared the fate of the former; and this effectually cured Philip of all ambition to attempt the subjugation of the most hated of his enemies.

The revolt of the Moriscos occupies a remarkable place in the native annals of the sixteenth century. These Christianized Moors still remained Mohammedans at heart, making amends for compulsory apostasy by celebrating in secret the rites of their religion. It was the jealous policy of Spain to destroy, if possible, every vestige of their nationality. To effect this end the government had recourse to severe and unjust measures, which produced open revolt and civil war in Granada. Dreadful atrocities were committed by the Moriscos, and fierce was the retaliation of the Christians. The war raged with various success for some time, but how the struggle must terminate could never for a moment be doubtful. The Moriscos fled

to the mountains, the ancient asylum of liberty; and in the deep caverns with which they abound they deemed themselves secure. But thither they were hunted by the Christians, and, like wild beasts, smoked to death by fires kindled at the mouths of these subterranean retreats. All who were in arms were cut off in this manner, or by the sword. The total expulsion of the Moriscos, however, did not take place till a subsequent period. To some affairs of a private or more trivial nature it is unnecessary to advert, although some of them deeply implicate the character of Philip. This prince died in September, 1598, in the palace of the Escorial, of which he was the founder, and which is the noblest monument of his reign. By the last of his four wives, Anne of Austria, Philip left a son, who succeeded by the title of Philip III.; his other male children preceded him to the tomb. Don Carlos, one of these, is generally believed to have been murdered by the command of his bloody and unrelenting father. The character of Philip was gloomy, stern, and cruel; he was suspicious, dark, and vindictive, the irreconcilable foe of civil and religious liberty, for which there can only be brought forward as a palliation his zeal for what he called religion. But Philip was eminently prudent, attentive to public affairs, and what he conceived to be the best interests of his country. It has been supposed that the sceptre of Philip was swayed over 100,000,000 of human beings, including the population of all the foreign possessions of Spain. At this time the state of the inhabitants of the Peninsula was one of comparative comfort. Agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, flourished to an extent even greater than in the best period of the emperor's reign. Yet all his vast resources, especially in the New World, were unhappily wasted by Philip; and his own policy destroyed the very foundations on which they rested, and hastened the decay, or rather ruin, of the kingdom. The measures which exercised so fatal an influence over the destinies of Spain may be briefly enumerated



1. His persecution of the Flemings and Dutch, which led to a revolt that cost him 150,000,000 of ducats. 2. His war with England, no less expensive and disastrous. 3. The treasures sent to support the abominable Catholic league, and wars in other quarters. 4. The subjugation of the Moriscos, and the proceedings of the inquisition, by which the most productive and useful classes of his subjects were ruined or expatriated. From these and from other minor causes, notwithstanding the enormous revenues and resources of the kingdom, Philip died insolvent.

The greatness of Spain having passed away with Philip II., from this period it declined with fearful rapidity. For a long period there is little to be recorded beyond the reign of worthless favorites, the profligacy of courts, and the feeble efforts of a government struck with mortal paralysis. Our retrospect of these reigns will therefore be characterized by a brevity corresponding with their importance. The most signal event of Philip III.'s reign was the total expulsion of the Moriscos from all parts of Spain where they had sought a home during the struggle recorded in the last reign. The loss to agriculture and commerce, for they were by far the most ingenious and industrious portion of the community, and the blow which would be inflicted on the national prosperity by the withdrawal of so much wealth as they possessed, were never taken into account by the duke of Lerma, the prime ministers, nor any of his inquisitorial councillors. Orders were issued for their immediate expulsion in September, 1609, and no fewer than 600,000 individuals were forcibly dragged from their homes, and landed on the African shore, there to be treated even worse, by the most cruel and perfidious of the human family. The foreign transactions of this reign are unimportant. Philip III. died in March, 1621, leaving his kingdom to a son who bore his name, and also inherited his imbecility.

Philip IV. ascended the Spanish throne in his seventeenth year. Profligate extravagance and dissipation soon began to characterize

the proceedings of the court, and murmur and complaints to agitate the people, who were exhausted of their wealth in supporting pantomime and mummery at home, and iniquitous wars abroad. The reins of government were surrendered into the hands of the Conde de Olivares, a worthless favorite. An attempt to enforce an obnoxious measure drove the Catalans to revolt. They sought and obtained the aid of France, and this occasioned a feeble and unimportant war, which languished till 1660, when peace was concluded, but not till Spain had surrendered part of her territory to France. Contemporary with the origin of the Catalan insurrection was that of Portugal, by which the Portuguese freed themselves from Spanish yoke. See PORTUGAL. During his long reign, Philip was frequently at war with England, Holland, and France, and every power committed fearful ravages on his territories. England took Jamaica during this disastrous and disgraceful period of Spanish history. In Naples a terrible shock was sustained in 1646, by the insurrection of Masaniello. The circumstances were these. In the year 1647, it was thought necessary to impose some tax upon all fruit sold in the city; which, being in summer the chief food of the poor, caused great uneasiness, but no immediate insurrection. A fisherman, named Masaniello, whose wife had been recently detected in smuggling some flour into the city, and fined for it, had conceived an implacable hatred against the suggesters, the farmers, and the collectors of the new tax. He was a powerful speaker, and a leader of one of the parties of the populace who had agreed to have a sham fight upon a festival. On that day, the 7th of July, in consequence of a quarrel between the tax-collectors and some fruit sellers from Puzzuoli, one of whom was a brother-in-law of Masaniello, the latter first roused the populace, and excited them to destroy the office where the tax was collected, and the dwellings of those who had proposed or farmed it. In the course of the rioting, the viceroy, instead of ordering the Spanish



guards to suppress the disturbance, fled, and was personally insulted; but at length he escaped to a sanctuary, where the archbishop joined him, and they conjointly issued a notice that all taxes on provisions should be abolished. Besides this, an attempt was made to gain Masaniello by an offer of a pension. But he refused to accept the offer, declaring that if the viceroy kept his word he would find the people obedient subjects.

On the following day, however, no taxes being abolished, the followers of Masaniello committed some violent outrages, which induced the viceroy to enter into a kind of treaty with this leader, who, though half naked and in rags, found himself at the head of 100,000 armed men filled with fury. Some of his followers having been bought over by the court, agreed to kill him; and whilst he was in treaty with the archbishop, in the church of the Carmine, the attempt was made; but it failed, and those who were thus shown to be traitors to their chief were instantly put to death. The failure of the attempt greatly strengthened the power of Masaniello, who exercised it with much appearance of fairness and impartiality. The viceroy was fearful that the French might take advantage of the commotion and create some annoyance, and therefore hastened to make peace with the leader of the insurrection. On the fifth day after it broke out, a treaty was concluded, by which it was stipulated that the taxes imposed since the reign of Charles V. should all be abolished; that in future no new taxes should be levied except by the electors; that the people were to elect as well as the nobles; that an act of oblivion should be passed, and the people remain in arms till the ratification of the treaty was completed.

Great rejoicing followed this arrangement. Masaniello having repaired to the viceroy, was appointed captain-general, and induced to change his dress for more appropriate apparel; he also received a present of a gold chain. The following day he began to exercise the authority of a sovereign, judging all crimes, whether civil or military, and

ordering to instant execution, on a gallows he had erected, those whom he had doomed to death. It is said that in these summary proceedings no innocent person suffered, and no guilty person escaped. His grandeur was but of short duration. In two or three days he became distracted and delirious, and committed some most extravagant actions; and on the 18th of July he was put to death, with the consent, if not by the orders, of the viceroy.

The tumult did not, however, terminate with the death of its author. In the capital, as well as in all the other cities of the kingdom, the people rose and drove out those Spaniards who were found in them. The Duke of Guise, who happened to be at Rome, was induced, at the instigation of the pope, to offer his services to the Neapolitans against the Spaniards; and to this he was further encouraged by having some distant pretensions to the throne. The Spaniards, in the meantime made a vigorous attack on the city of Naples, but were repulsed by the people, who thereupon formally renounced their allegiance to the Spanish family. In a short time, however, a new viceroy, Coun d'Oniate, arrived from Spain. He took the city by surprise, made the Duke of Guise prisoner, and thus frustrated all the designs of France against the Spanish power in Naples.

But the most calamitous of Philip's transactions was the war in the Low Countries, which terminated in his recognising the independence of the seven United Provinces. Philip died in 1665. His character needs no description. Since the days of Roderick the Goth, a more disastrous reign than his had not darkened the annals of Spain.

Charles II., son of Philip IV., succeeded to the throne when only four years of age. As the affairs of the kingdom were then situated, they were not likely to improve under a child; and it was a further misfortune, that throughout his long reign the king remained little better than a child. He was feeble in body, and next to imbecile in mind; in proof of which it may be mentioned, that he believed him

self bewitched, and submitted to the exorcisms of his confessor with devout solemnity. Louis of France, who espoused Maria Teresa, sister of Charles II. by a prior marriage, in right of his wife preferred a monstrous claim to the Low Countries, and poured his legions over the frontier to make it good. The union of Sweden, Holland and England, to oppose the ambition of the Frenchmen, saved the whole Netherlands from subjugation; but by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, Louis retained the most valuable of the conquests which he had made. In this reign the complete independence of Portugal was recognised. In 1672, France invaded Holland, now the ally of Spain, conquered Franche-Comté, which belonged to Spain, made some destructive inroads into Catalonia, and reduced some fortresses in the Low Countries. By the alliance against France, in which England, Germany, and Spain joined, Louis's career of ambition was effectually checked. But subsequently he reduced Valenciennes, Cambray, St. Omer, and other places; Ypres and Ghent were assailed with equal success; and a place on the Catalan frontier also yielded to his arms. Most of these places, however, were restored at the peace of Nimeguen in 1678, one of the conditions of which was, that Charles should receive the hand of Maria Louise, niece of the French king. On the death of this princess in 1689, the French again poured the storm of war over the frontier of Catalonia. Destitute of money and of troops, Spain trembled to her most distant extremities. But circumstances of a delicate nature, into which we shall not enter, induced Louis to restore all his conquests at the peace of Ryswick in 1697. The health of Charles, always infirm, now rapidly declined, and he expired on the 1st of November, 1700. He was the last of the Austrian dynasty; and glorious as the condition of Spain was under its early sovereigns, those who succeeded them had brought the kingdom to the verge of ruin. From the accession of the third Philip it had declined, from causes already specified. The condition to which it was now reduced

was pitiable. The army and navy were in a state of utter disorganization; the walls of towns and fortresses were in ruins; the public revenues had dwindled to little more than a nobleman's income; and trade, manufactures, and commerce, had all but ceased to exist. Another such reign as that of Charles II. would have dissolved the bonds of society.

Charles II. was succeeded by Philip V., duke of Anjou, grandson to Louis XIV. of France. He was the eldest son of Maria Teresa, eldest daughter of Philip IV., consequently the most legitimate sovereign; for Charles left no issue, and before his death he had subscribed an instrument, declaring Philip his successor. The foreign events of this reign demand our first attention. The transactions of the war which was soon declared against France and Spain, by England, Holland, and the empire, assisted by Savoy, Portugal and Prussia, are related under the article **BRITAIN**. The chief objects of the alliance were to obtain satisfaction for the Austrian claims on Spain, the emperor Leopold being not only descended from Fernando, brother of Charles V., but whose mother was the daughter of Philip III.; to rescue the Netherlands from France; to prevent the union of the French and Spanish crowns; and to exclude subjects of the former from the Spanish possessions in the West Indies. The treaty of Utrecht, which terminated the differences between the principal contending powers, was signed in 1713; and in 1715 a permanent peace was concluded between Spain and Portugal. By the celebrated treaty of 1713, Spain was stripped of half her European possessions. Philip was indeed acknowledged king of Spain and the Indies; but Sicily was ceded to the duke of Savoy; Milan, Naples, Sardinia, and the Netherlands, to the emperor; and Gibraltar and Minorca to the English. The Catalans, who had revolted and joined the allies, were likewise guaranteed a general amnesty, but without any stipulations for the preservation of their ancient fueros or privileges, which they had justly forfeited. Philip also re-



nounced, both for himself and his successors, all claims to the French crown. In return for this renunciation, he forced rather than persuaded his council to introduce a measure to which subsequent events in the history of Spain gave great importance. This was to alter the order of succession, and establish a sort of Salic law, by which the most distant male of the family would be called to the inheritance in preference to the nearest female. The innovation was regarded with discontent. By the ancient law, which, in default of direct male issue, called females to the throne, the monarchy had been formed. By it Catalonia had been united with Aragon, and the latter with Castille; and by it Philip himself had inherited the crown.

Philip made an unsuccessful attempt to recover Sicily, Sardinia, and Naples; for he had now rendered both his navy and his army formidable alike by discipline and numbers. His fleet, however, was totally destroyed off the coast of Sicily, by the English Admiral Byng, in the year 1718.

By a new treaty in 1720, Sardinia was given to the duke of Savoy, and Sicily to the emperor; and by the treaty of Seville, concluded in 1729, the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, were ceded to Spain. In 1731, the Spanish king invaded Naples, took possession of that kingdom, and conferred it on his son Don Carlos, in consequence of which war was declared between Spain and the empire in 1733. At the end of that year the palace at Madrid was consumed by fire, and all the archives relating to the Indies perished in the flames. In 1739, hostilities were renewed between Spain and Britain; but the only successes obtained by the latter power were the capture of Porto Bello by Admiral Vernon, and that of the Manilla galeon by Commodore Anson. Philip's long and turbulent reign was now drawing to a close. In July, 1746, he was hurried to the grave by an attack of apoplexy. One memorable event of his reign remains to be noticed. In imitation of the emperor, he resigned the cares of royalty in-

to the hands of his son in 1724; but finding seclusion irksome, he resumed them again in a very short time. Whatever might be the weaknesses of this prince, he had a sincere desire for the good of Spain, and retrieved it from hopeless ruin by several judicious measures which he introduced, so that the country attained a degree of positive prosperity unknown since the days of the second Philip.

Ferdinand VI., a mild, prudent, and beneficent prince, reformed abuses in the administration of justice and management of the finances. He revived commerce, established manufactures, and promoted the prosperity of his kingdom.

Charles III. succeeded Ferdinand in 1759. The famous family compact was concluded at Versailles in 1761, among the four kings of the house of Bourbon. The English, alarmed by the naval preparations of Spain, declared war in 1762, and took Havana in the island of Cuba, and Manilla in the East Indies. Notwithstanding this success, peace was hastily concluded at Fontainebleau, in November, by which Havana was restored. In 1767, the Jesuits were expelled from Spain. An unsuccessful expedition was concerted against Algiers in 1775, the particulars of which it is unnecessary to detail. In the war between Great Britain and her American colonies, Spain, by the influence of the French court, was induced to take up arms in support of the latter. At the conclusion of that calamitous war, Great Britain, in a treaty with Spain, ceded to this power East and West Florida, and the island of Minorca. Charles died in 1788, and was succeeded by his second son Charles Anthony, prince of Asturias, the eldest having been declared incapable of inheriting the crown.

Charles IV. had not long been seated on the throne before the portentous revolution in France involved Europe in a general scene of political and military contest. The king of Spain joined the general confederacy against the new republic, and in consequence was numbered among the objects of its re-



sentiment, by a declaration of war in 1793. The military operations of Spain, however, were extremely languid; and after two campaigns, in which she might be said to carry on rather a defensive than an offensive war against the republican armies, she was compelled to conclude a treaty of peace, which was signed at Basel on the 22d July, 1795. By this treaty the French republic restored to the king of Spain all the conquests which she had made from him since the commencement of hostilities, and received in exchange all right and property in the Spanish part of St. Domingo.

This treaty was soon followed by a rupture with Great Britain. On 5th October, 1796, the court of Spain having published a manifesto against that country, the court of London made a spirited reply; and about the same time was published a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance, which had been concluded about two months before, between the king of Spain and the French republic. In the war that followed between Spain and Great Britain, his Catholic majesty could boast of but little honor or success; and the French republic gained little from its new ally but the contributions of money which it from time to time compelled him to advance. On the 14th of February, 1797, a Spanish fleet of twenty-seven sail of the line was defeated by Sir John Jervis off Cape St. Vincent, and four of the Spanish line-of-battle ships were left in the hands of the victors. From this time to the temporary cessation of hostilities by the peace of Amiens in 1802, there is nothing remarkable in the transactions of Spain.

On the renewal of the war in 1803, Spain was again compelled, by the overbearing power of France, to take an active part against Great Britain, and fitted out a formidable fleet, which was united to a considerable naval force belonging to the French. The Spanish declaration of war against Great Britain is dated at Madrid on the 12th of December, 1804; and on the 21st of October, 1805 the combined fleets of France and

Spain were annihilated by Lord Nelson off Cape Trafalgar. After this terrible blow to the naval power of Spain, nothing of importance took place till 1808, when the liberties of Spain were subverted by the machinations of Napoleon. The designs of the French emperor, long suspected, became sufficiently apparent in 1808. Unfortunately the dissensions of the royal family of Spain were so favorable to his plans, that they may be said to have hurried on their execution. The dark and tortuous policy by which he effected his purpose, and the course which events took in Spain, will be found detailed in the article FRANCE, so that only a brief notice of the leading facts will be given in this place. At this time (1807) the management of state affairs was in the hands of Don Manuel Godoy, the favorite of Charles IV. and his queen, and better known by the name of the Prince of Peace. He had been raised from the humblest station to be the richest and the most powerful subject in the kingdom, and to fill its highest posts. Ferdinand, the prince of Asturias, had refused to marry the sister-in-law of this fortunate minion, and to secure himself from his vengeance he wrote to Napoleon asking for protection. At the same time he exposed the administration of Godoy, in a letter to his father, and requested to be allowed some participation in the government. This so enraged the queen that she ordered his immediate arrest; but, on asking pardon of the king, Ferdinand was restored to liberty, not, however, before Charles had taken the fatal step of appealing to Napoleon regarding his son's supposed treasonable conduct. The emperor of France was thus constituted umpire between father and son. French troops poured into Spain, which was thrown into a ferment by the rumor that the royal family were preparing to fly to America. Popular indignation was kindled against the hated favorite, who narrowly escaped with his life. At length Charles abdicated in favor of his son, but two days afterwards privately protested against his own act, and sent a copy of this







strange paper to Napoleon, who afterwards made it a pretext for his ulterior designs.

The prince of Asturias, now elevated to the throne under the title of Ferdinand VII., made his triumphal entry into Madrid. Shortly afterward he was induced to undertake a journey to Bayonne to meet Napoleon, and consult about the affairs of the kingdom. This memorable interview took place, and the eyes of Ferdinand were now thoroughly opened to the designs of the French emperor, by finding himself a captive in his hands, and his right to be considered king of Spain rudely denied. The rest of the royal family eagerly rushed into the snare set for them by the master of toils at Bayonne. Here father and son surrendered the crown of Spain into the hands of Napoleon, by whom it was transferred to the head of his brother Joseph. But such a momentous event as a change of dynasties, effected under such circumstances, could not take place without rousing every loyal and every indignant feeling in the bosoms of the Spanish people. No sooner was the fact of the renunciation known, than the northern provinces burst into open insurrection. Asturias and Galicia set the example; and it was soon followed by almost every part of Spain not immediately occupied or overawed by the armies of France. One of the first steps taken by the leaders of the insurrection was to assemble the juntas or general assemblies of the provinces. When these were organized, they issued proclamations, calling on the Spaniards to rise in defence of their sovereign, and in the assertion of their own independence. Besides these proclamations from the provincial juntas, addresses were published in almost every province by the leaders of the popular cause; in particular, the province of Aragon was addressed by Palafox, a name celebrated in the annals of the Spanish revolution, in a bold and spirited manifesto. The junta of Seville, which assembled on the 27th of May, formed itself into a supreme junta of government, caused Ferdinand to be proclaimed king of Spain,

took possession of the military stores, and issued an order for all males from sixteen to forty-five, who had no children, to enroll themselves in the national armies. On the 4th of July the alliance of Great Britain with the Spanish nation was proclaimed, and a struggle began which terminated in the complete expulsion of the French from the Peninsula. The spirit of the people now seemed to revive again, and when we read the history of this war we are reminded of the old Iberian resistance to the Roman conquerors. The siege of Zaragoza, in 1808, may fairly be compared with the defence of Saguntum or Numantia. When the French were in possession of the surrounding country, Zaragoza contained no more than two hundred and twenty regulars, and was unfortified. Palafox, appointed governor of Aragon, immediately took the most energetic measures for its defence. The town was soon after invested by the French. Their superior artillery and science enabled them to make themselves masters of nearly half of Zaragoza, when they called upon Palafox to surrender. The summons was in these brief words: "Headquarters, St. Engracia Capitulation." The response was equally short: "Headquarters, Zaragoza. War at the point of the knife." An incident of the siege will show the enthusiasm with which this declaration was seconded by the inhabitants. Augustina Zaragoza, a handsome woman of the lower class, about twenty-two years of age, arrived at the Portillo battery with refreshments, at a time when not a man who defended it was left alive, so tremendous was the fire which the French kept up against it. For a moment the citizens hesitated to re-man the guns. Augustina sprung forward over the dead and dying, snatched a match from the hand of the dead artilleryman, and fired off a six-and-twenty-pounder, then jumping on the gun, made a solemn vow never to quit it alive during the siege. Such a sight could not but animate with fresh courage all who beheld it. The Zaragozans rushed into the battery and renewed

their fire with greater vigor than ever, and the French were repulsed here, and at all other points, with great slaughter. This heroism, however, did not avail in the final result. Overpowered by numbers, the garrison at length surrendered, but not until Palafox himself was prostrated by fever, and his command was reduced to a remnant of 12,000 men.\*

The details of the subsequent movements of this war, in which the English took part, will be found in the history of Great Britain.

The loss of the royal family, by which they were deprived of a directing power, a legitimate head to give the constitutional stamp to their proceedings, plunged the Spaniards in great difficulties. Unity of opinion was wanting in the junta, and vacillation and weakness marked its proceedings. It was unfortunate, that while one spirit animated the mass of the people against the French, many of the nobles and other influential individuals had given in their adhesion to the French dynasty. The successes of the latter were attributed, probably not without some reason, to treachery; and more than one Spanish general fell a victim to public indignation, whether justly or unjustly cannot now be known. But whatever victories the French gained, they only remained masters of the places which they occupied. A vast system of guerilla warfare had been organized and vigorously prosecuted, which served to preserve the energy and confidence of the nation unbroken. The guerillas everywhere surrounded and harassed the French; no line of communication was safe for them. These petty achievements, however, could not compensate for the loss of battles on a large scale, and the capture of fortresses, the strong holds of the kingdom. The supreme junta fell under suspicion, and, unable to sustain the weight of government and the storm of public indignation, it was agreed that the Cortes should be convoked, and a regency appointed. The

manner in which this celebrated Cortes was constituted has been a subject of keen dispute; but the circumstances in which the kingdom was placed at the time, rendered it impossible for the members to be chosen according to the ancient forms. It has been alleged that this assembly was of a much more popular and democratic nature than the regular Cortes, which is undoubtedly the fact. It ought to be recollected, however, that the nobles were a suspected body, and therefore the burgesses and others might consider it dangerous to admit their voice in a matter which involved the liberties of the kingdom. But, we repeat, the situation in which Spain stood at this eventful moment made it a matter of necessity for those who directed the affairs of the nation, to act as they did. Had not the progress of the French armies dispersed the central junta, and concentrated the fugitive patriots at Cadiz, it is more than probable that the Cortes would have been assembled according to the ancient forms, and that the privileged classes, supported by the majority of the nation, would have defeated any attempt to alter the old constitution. But Cadiz offered to that party which has since been known by the name of liberal, the most favorable opportunity of striking a deadly blow at the very root of monarchical power under which they had so long groaned in hopeless yet silent restlessness. Cadiz was not only in itself a place much more democratic than any other in Spain, but during the usurpation of the French it had become the asylum of all who professed liberal principles. As they generally belonged to that numerous class of the Spanish gentry who look up to the patronage of government for the means of subsistence, the court drew them together from the provinces. On the prospect of the political changes which the captivity of Ferdinand opened to the country, these men attached themselves to the central junta, and finally followed its members in their flight from Seville to Cadiz. Hither, too, flocked all the stragglers of the philosophical party; and

\* Southey's History of the Peninsular War.



on the dissolution of that dull, dilatory knot of ill-assorted men, who, under the veil of dignified gravity, had for a time concealed their unfitness to direct the nation, the Spanish speculatists found themselves in the midst of a population highly disposed to listen to their doctrines, to approve their views, and constitute them the organs of the new laws which were to remodel the kingdom.

The majority of the first Cortes being composed of liberals, the project of a constitution was immediately set on foot, and a committee of the ablest members appointed to draw up the fundamental code of the monarchy. Such a task, at all times arduous, was, in the present circumstances of the country, beset with peculiar difficulties. Encouraged by the absence of the king, placed beyond any check from the privileged classes and the weight of the landed property of the country, it is not surprising that the framers of the constitution allowed their zeal to carry them too far, especially when it is considered that the Spanish people were almost entirely unaccustomed to the exercise of civil rights. The government was wholly remodelled, so that from being the most absolute monarchy in Europe, it became the most strictly limited of all limited monarchies. As this constitution, with the exception of a few alterations, is nearly the same as that which was in force until the late revolution, our introducing it in this place will serve to give greater clearness to the subsequent narrative of events. It was drawn up by 184 members of the Cortes, on the 18th of March, 1812. On the 20th of the same month, the regency, which consisted of Cardinal Bourbon and two other apparently incapable individuals, took the oath to maintain it. This constitution was acknowledged by the allies of Spain, namely, Great Britain, Prussia, Russia, Sweden, and other states.

By one of the first articles in the code, the sovereignty is declared to reside essentially in the nation, which, being free and independent, neither is nor can be the patrimony of any person or family. All Spaniards,

without distinction, are subject to taxation. "The religion of the Spanish nation is, and shall be for ever, the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman, which is the only true religion." "The nation," it is added, "protects it by wise and just laws, and forbids the exercise of any other whatever." The government of the Spanish nation is stated to be "a limited hereditary monarchy." The power of making laws is vested "in the Cortes, jointly with the king." In describing the class of Spaniards who enjoy the privileges of citizenship, persons "reputed of African origin, either by the father or mother's side," are excluded. A similar exclusion is given to Spaniards who obtain naturalization in another country, or who, without leave, absent themselves five years from Spain. The only basis for the number of representatives in the Cortes is *population*, to be taken from the census of 1797, till one more correct can be made. For every seventy thousand souls there is to be one deputy in the Cortes. The returns of the members are made by three successive elections. Every parish appoints electors for the district to which it belongs. These repair to the chief town of the district to choose another set of electors, who, lastly, meeting in the capital of the province, make the final appointment to the Cortes. The Cortes are triennial. No member can be elected for two successive representations. No debate can be carried on in the presence of the king; his ministers may attend and speak, but are not allowed to vote. There is a permanent deputation, or committee of the Cortes, composed of seven members, appointed by the whole body, before a prorogation or dissolution, whose duty is to watch over the executive, and report any infringement of the constitution to the next Cortes. It also belongs to them to convoke an extraordinary meeting of the Cortes in the cases prescribed by the constitution.

The powers of the Cortes were chiefly these: 1st. To move and pass the laws, and to interpret and alter them when necessary 2d, to administer the constitutional oaths to



the king, the prince of Asturias, &c.; 3*d*, to determine any doubt or fact relative to the succession; 4*th*, to elect a regency, and define its power; 5*th*, to make the public recognition of the prince of Asturias; 6*th*, to appoint guardians to the king while a minor; 7*th*, to approve or reject treaties previous to ratification; 8*th*, to allow or refuse the admission of foreign troops into the kingdom; 9*th*, to decree the creation or suppression of offices in the tribunals established by the constitution, as well as of places of public trust; 10*th*, to fix, every year, by the king's proposal, the land and sea forces; 11*th*, to regulate the military code in all its branches; 12*th*, to fix the expenses of the government; 13*th*, to impose taxes, contract loans, and direct every thing relating to the revenue; 14*th*, to establish a plan of public instruction, and direct the education of the prince of Asturias; 15*th*, to protect the *political* liberty of the press; 16*th*, to enforce the responsibility of the secretaries of state, and other persons in office.

Laws might be proposed, in writing, by any one of the deputies. Two days after the motion, the bill is to be read a second time. It is then determined whether the subject is to be debated, or to be referred to a committee. Four days after the bill has been voted worthy of discussion, it is read a third time, and a day is appointed for the debate. A majority of votes decides the fate of the bill; the members present on these occasions must exceed half of their total number by one.

The powers of the king were, 1. To suspend the passing of a law, by withholding his sanction. He could exercise this power against any decree of the Cortes for two consecutive sessions; but was compelled to give his assent if the same law was passed by three Cortes successively. 2. The executive power resided exclusively in the king, and extended to whatever related to the preservation of public order in the interior, and to the external security of the state, according to the constitution and the laws. The privileges and duties of the executive were thus

detailed in the constitution: The king may issue decrees, regulations, and instructions, for the more effectually enforcing of the laws; it is his duty to watch over the administration of justice; he declares war and makes peace, under the control of the Cortes; he appoints judges to all the civil and criminal courts, on the presentation of the council of state; all civil and military employments are of the king's appointment; he presents to all bishoprics, ecclesiastical dignities, and benefices which may be in the gift of the crown, all by the advice of the council of state; the king is the fountain of honor; the army and the navy are at his command, and he has the appointment of generals and admirals; he has the right of coinage, and the privilege of impressing his bust on the metallic currency of the realm; the king can propose new laws, or amendments to those in existence. It belongs also to him to circulate or withhold the pope's rescripts and bulls. He can choose and dismiss his own ministers.

The following checks were imposed on the king's authority by the constitution:

1. The king cannot prevent the meeting of the Cortes at the periods fixed by the constitution, neither can he dissolve them or disturb their sittings; his advisers and abettors in such attempts are guilty of treason.
2. If the king should quit the kingdom without the consent of the Cortes, he is understood to have abdicated the crown.
3. The king cannot alienate any part of the Spanish territory.
4. He cannot abdicate the crown in favor of his successor without the consent of the Cortes.
5. He cannot enter into any political alliance, or make commercial treaties, without the consent of the Cortes.
6. He cannot grant privileges or monopolies.
7. The king cannot disturb any individual in the enjoyment of his property, nor deprive him of his personal liberty. If the interest of the state should require the arrest of any individual by virtue of a royal order, the prisoner must be delivered over to a competent tribunal within eight and forty hours.
8. The king cannot marry without the consent of the Cortes.

he is supposed to abdicate the crown by taking a wife against their will.

The council of state was composed of forty individuals—two bishops, two priests and four grandees; the other thirty-two must not belong to any of these classes. The members of the council of state shall be chosen by the king, out of a triple list presented to him by the Cortes. The councillors of state cannot be removed without a trial before the supreme court of justice. Their salary is fixed by the Cortes. The functions of this council of state were to advise the king on all important matters of government, and especially upon giving or refusing his sanction to the laws, declaring war, or making treaties. The king, besides, could not bestow any ecclesiastical benefice, or appoint any judge, but at the proposal of the council of state, who, upon every vacancy, were to confine his choice to one out of three individuals, whose names they were to lay before his majesty.

The laws for the security of personal liberty were these: 1. No Spaniard can be imprisoned without a summary process, in which he is credibly charged with the infraction of some law that subjects the offender to corporal punishment; 2, the arrest cannot take place without the warrant of a competent judge; 3, prisoners are not to be examined upon oath; 4, the jailor shall keep a register of the prisoners, expressing the warrant, and the alleged cause of his confinement.

The rapid series of misfortunes which had shaken the imperial throne of France to its foundations opened the way for the return of the captive Ferdinand to Madrid. The constitutionalists looked forward to his appearance in the country with no favorable eye, and the arrival of despatches from him to the regency threw them into great consternation. Ferdinand announced that he had concluded a treaty with Napoleon. This assumption of absolute power on the part of the king without the knowledge of the Cortes, was aiming a direct blow at their au-

thority, and violating the constitution recently established; and they accordingly rejected the treaty. They likewise suspended the king from the exercise of all power till he should take the oath which the new constitution prescribed. He entered the Spanish territory on the 24th of March, 1814, and took up his residence at Valencia. On his way he had not been slow to discover that the lower orders were in general indifferent to the constitution. The fact is, the new political principles had scarcely struck root among the people; and with a very considerable party, consisting of grandees, dignitaries of the church, and others, the king was still absolute, and these flocked around their master. In the Cortes itself there was a strong body opposed to the new order of things. A petition, signed by sixty-nine members, was presented to the king, in which the Cortes was described as a mere tool in the hands of a republican party, without freedom of debate, and acting under the control of a mob regularly hired to take possession of the galleries. Nothing, therefore, could be more favorable to Ferdinand's resuming absolute power. Accordingly, on the 4th of May, 1814, a decree was solemnly promulgated, in which the Cortes were declared illegal, and all their laws consequently rescinded. Some of the leading members were arrested, as a prelude to what was shortly to happen. Under their usual leaders, the priests, the lower orders broke out into fierce demonstrations of joy when the news of these events reached the chief towns, and the king proceeded in a sort of triumph to Madrid. Further arrests of the deputies of the late Cortes took place; property was sequestered and papers were seized; judges were appointed to try obnoxious members; but justice proving too tardy for the king's eager spirit of revenge, he himself pronounced sentence on the prisoners in a wholesale manner, in open defiance of all law and justice. A few were capitally punished, and a great many more were consigned to dungeons. The inquisition was restored,



and was urged to exert its powers against all persons suspected of liberal opinions. Monks became once more the sole directors of the king's conscience, and the reign of absolutism and bigotry was completely restored.

But these arbitrary acts roused the dormant spirit of the Spanish people, and a revulsion of feeling was the consequence. In vain did the court party silence the press or bribe it into their service; facts which could not be concealed from the people daily pleaded the cause of liberty. Bribery and venality were soon observed to prevail around the throne; the treasury was completely drained, and the army remained unpaid; while, to add to the difficulties and dangers of Ferdinand's position, armed bands of guerillas, now become organized banditti, swarmed over the country, setting the helpless magistrates at defiance, and committing all sorts of atrocities. Free-masonry was abolished, and effectually kept in check; but a far more dangerous society, the members of which assumed the name of *comuneros*, was secretly formed, and, in spite of the inquisition and its emissaries, held meetings in most of the principal towns, and kept up an active correspondence among their lodges. The constitution was publicly burned; but this served only to spread disaffection, and to give it an importance in the eyes of the people which it did not formerly possess. Cadiz having been fixed on as the head-quarters of the liberals, a regular plan for the overthrow of the government was there formed, and its secret influence was extended throughout the provinces. Our limits do not permit us to mention the numerous conspiracies which were discovered, and quenched in blood. They were sufficient to alarm any monarch but one wholly abandoned to the guidance of weak, wicked, or fanatical counsellors. Those who ventured to remonstrate with the king were banished or thrown into prison. The promise which he had made of granting a constitution founded on liberal principles remained unfulfilled, and for six years (1814-1820) Ferdinand reigned with absolute power. During

that time there had been no less than twenty-five changes in the ministry, mostly sudden, and attended with severities. They were produced by the influence of the *camarilla*, or individuals in the personal service of the king. Every attempt to save the state was frustrated by such counsellors; and the overthrow of the government, now apparently inevitable, became accelerated by the loss of the American colonies.

The army was the instrument of its fall. Amongst the officers several conspiracies had been organized for the restoration of the new constitution, at the head of which were Porlier, Mina, Lacy, and Vidal. Mina had succeeded in making his escape, but the others were taken and executed, their friends at the same time being put to the torture or thrown into prison. But these severities had no effect in repressing the discontent of the army; for the cause which immediately produced it was not removed—the arrears due to the troops still remained unpaid. The money which might have been employed for this purpose was foolishly lavished in fitting out an expedition to destroy the liberties of the revolted South Americans—by a singular destiny it became the instrument of the overthrow of despotism at home, and the restoration of Spanish freedom. The troops which were to embark in the autumn of 1819, were indisposed to the American service; and the officers, favorable to the constitution of the Cortes, took advantage of this state of feeling to effect their own purposes. Whole regiments had determined not to embark; and the commander himself, O'Donnell, Count del Abisbal, was in the secret. But he basely betrayed the cause, and had the principal conspirators arrested in front of the troops. For this devotion to despotism he was rewarded by the court party by being removed from the command of the expedition. Such ungrateful conduct towards a man who had forfeited his honor to save them, could not fail to bring the *Serviles*, as they were designated, into general contempt. A favorable opportunity soon occurred for



the liberals carrying into execution the same plan which had failed through the perfidy of O'Donnell. The yellow fever having made its appearance at Cadiz, the safety of the troops which were there assembled demanded that they should be removed to some distance, thus leaving the members of the secret societies and other patriots at liberty to prosecute their schemes without fear of violent interruption. The embarkation of the troops had been fixed for January, 1820; but on the first of that month, Riego, who had been placed at the head of the insurrection, gained over several battalions, and proclaimed the constitution of 1812. He arrested Calderon, the successor of O'Donnell, and finally joining Quiroga, a liberated patriot, at the time in command of some troops, and the combined force, amounting to 5,000 men, marched on La Caracea, which was occupied. They had previously taken possession of La Isla. But still the country showed no disposition to second this bold movement of the army. In vain Riego led a flying column through the provinces, proclaiming the constitution, and expecting support from the inhabitants; few or none joined him. But several fortunate circumstances which occurred at this time materially contributed to the success of the insurrection. Mina, who had been obliged to fly to France, entered the Spanish territory of Navarre on the 25th of February, and a numerous band immediately surrounded his standard. Risings simultaneously took place in different quarters in favor of the constitution, which was publicly proclaimed in Galicia, Saragossa, Valencia, Murcia, Granada, and many other places. General Freyer, who had been appointed to the command of the troops in Seville, was himself obliged to publish the constitution in that city.

These insurrections could not fail to appal the weak, ignorant, and unpopular party which surrounded the throne. Ferdinand himself saw no general of sufficient ability or loyalty to be trusted with the command of a large army, which could soon have been concentrated, for there still existed fidelity

among a sufficient number of the troops. It was however an expiring feeling, which could only have been re-animated by a great leader, but which, in the present destitution of the country, a mere breath might extinguish. And it was extinguished. Ferdinand was abandoned by his troops. Even O'Donnell, who had acted the part of a traitor to the liberal cause, became one of its principal supporters. At Ocaña he proclaimed the constitution; an event which produced a great sensation in Madrid. The royal palace was surrounded by a crowd, who called on Ferdinand to accept the constitution, and he now found that no alternative was left to his choice. The humbled monarch appeared at the balcony, holding a copy of the constitution in his hand, as a pledge of his readiness to swear to its observance. This occurred early in March, 1820. To give efficacy and legality to the restoration of the constitution, it was necessary that the Cortes should be convoked, and the oath of the king to uphold the new order of things taken in their presence. The Cortes assembled on the 9th of July, and all the formalities were regularly observed. Meanwhile the constitutional system had been put into complete operation. During its proclamation at Cadiz, a bloody and disgraceful transaction took place; some of the royal troops present wantonly fired on the unarmed multitude, and about 500 were killed or wounded. The inquisition was abolished, as inconsistent with it, the state-prisoners were liberated, and new ministers were appointed. In place of the Council of Castille, and that of the Indies, a supreme judicial tribunal, with appropriate subordinate courts, was established; national guards were organized in the provinces, and the municipal authorities were made to conform to the constitution.

The meeting of the Cortes of the 9th of July, and their subsequent proceedings, mark the establishment of a new order of things, destined however to be of short duration. This assembly acted with extreme moderation, the measures of retaliation being

infinitely less severe than those which followed the king's triumph over the constitution. The members strove to temper the violence of the liberals, and endeavored to restore the *ofrancesados* (those who took the oath to support the French dynasty) to their rights, to counteract the machinations of the serviles, and to heal the wounds of the country. But some of their proceedings were characterized by less judgment and humanity. The suppression of many of the convents and of the *majorates*, the banishment of the nonjuring clergy, and some other of their measures, excited discontent. Various parts of the country became disgraced by popular excesses, while on the frontiers of Portugal the royalist party formed a junta for restoring the privileges of the crown and the church. Conspiracy and openly avowed disaffection to the new order of things spread so widely, that when the second session of the Cortes opened in April 1821, the country was declared to be in a state of danger. The command of the army having been intrusted to Morillo, quiet was in some measure restored; but still it was found necessary to summon an extraordinary meeting of the Cortes in September. Spanish affairs in America had now assumed their gloomiest aspect; and the government wished to compromise the matter by acknowledging America as a kingdom independent of Spain, but united with her under a common sovereign, Ferdinand VII. Such an absurd proposal was rejected with scorn. The absolutists, although beaten everywhere by the troops of the government, could not be entirely suppressed; and even the adherents of the constitution began to complain of the weaknesses and mistakes of the ministry. The Cortes requested the king to appoint abler men; and to this he reluctantly yielded in 1822. Notwithstanding the errors of the Cortes, considering that the king was with them, and that his brother Carlos, although approving of the conduct of the absolutists, had not ventured to join them, it is probable that the struggles, after continuing for a few

years, might have ended in a compromise, had not the whole power of France been thrown into the scale of the serviles.

The events which immediately preceded Ferdinand's restoration to absolute power, and the complete annulment of all the acts of the Cortes, were so various and so complicated, that, if fully detailed, they would of themselves more than occupy all the space within the limits to which this outline of Spanish history must be confined. Into particulars, therefore, we shall not enter; only the most important transactions can be noticed. Disaffection to the government in the northern provinces, where a strong body of French troops were stationed as a sanitary cordon during the prevalence of pestilence in Spain, terminated in open revolt. The national guards were called out to suppress it, and they were everywhere victorious; but the pecuniary resources were chiefly in the hands of the supporters of despotism. In Madrid an occurrence took place in July, 1822, which threatened the most disastrous consequences. This was a daring attempt of the friends of absolute government to overthrow the constitution. They were supported by the royal guards, while the national guards were ranged on the popular side. A conflict took place, in which nearly the whole of the royal guards were cut off. But insurrection, although thus suppressed in the capital, still prevailed to an alarming extent in Biscay, Navarre, and Catalonia, where armed bands, under the name of apostolical troops, *feotas*, or soldiers of the faith, committed revolting cruelties. Near the French frontier, and under French influence, the absolutists appointed a regency, which issued orders in the name of the "imprisoned" king, as they thought fit to call Ferdinand, although he had recently, under no compulsion, and seemingly in the most voluntary manner, again declared his adherence to the constitution. The avowed object of this regency was the restoration of every thing to the state in which it had been prior to the 7th of March, 1820. But this band of out-



rageous serviles, unsupported by the nation, was compelled to fly to France in November, 1822. The foreign relations of Spain now fell into a state of dreadful disorder; and the principle of armed intervention pronounced by Austria, Russia and Prussia, in relation to this unhappy kingdom, was threatened to be acted upon by France. The restoration of Ferdinand to the full enjoyment of sovereign authority was demanded by the four powers named, while England advised the Cortes to yield, and offered her mediation. But the Spanish government repelled with indignation this attempt of foreign powers to interfere in its affairs. The consequences were the recall of the foreign ambassadors by their respective courts, and the march of 100,000 French soldiers across the Bidassoa. The duke of Angoulême, by whom this army was commanded, established a junta, consisting of Eguia, Calderon, and Erro, who formed a provisional government, declaring the king the sole depositary of sovereign power, and that no change in the government should be recognized but such as the king should make of his own free choice. All the decrees of the Cortes were declared void; in short, the object of French interference was simply to restore the reign of absolute power. Unfortunately the Cortes had no ally. The relations of Portugal to Great Britain did not allow her to conclude a defensive treaty with Spain. Britain remained neutral; but the exportation of arms and ammunition to Spain was allowed, and, in parliament, Canning called the attempt of the French unjust, and wished the arms of the Cortes success; an expression of sympathy which led the Spaniards for a time to hope that Britain would take part in the war. Ferdinand, for greater safety, had removed to Seville, and on the 23d of April, 1823, he formally declared war against France; but he in vain called upon the nation to support the constitution. The great mass of the people were completely under the influence of the most bigoted priesthood in the world, who of course were absolutists,

and hailed the arrival of the French; the adherents of the constitution were confined to the educated class, the army, and the inhabitants of the cities. The Spanish army might be equal in strength to that of the French, but a considerable part of it was disposed in garrisons and fortresses, scattered over a large surface of country. The military operations of the French, during their advance upon Madrid, were the siege and capture of several strong towns, and a few partial engagements, in one of which, at least, that of Logroño, they were defeated. The southern provinces, where the absolutists had always a preponderancy, were occupied by the invaders with hardly any resistance; but in Lower Catalonia, where Mina commanded, they were kept in check for a considerable time. The main body of the French army under Angoulême hastened to the capital, which was occupied on the 24th of May. One of the first steps taken was to appoint a regency, which put every thing on the same footing as before March 7, 1820. But the regency had no pecuniary resources, and no power, if they had the will, to prevent the furious ebullitions of party hatred. The Cortes had in vain tried to excite a general guerilla war; it was but too plain that the mass of the people, at once miserably ignorant and furiously bigoted, without any just notions of what rational liberty was, or in what the new constitution consisted, were content to surrender themselves entirely to the guidance of the priesthood, and consequently everywhere opposed the constitutionalists. Their hatred was still further increased by the seizure of all the property of persons of the opposite party, by a large forced loan, and by the coining of the superfluous church plate, to which measure the want of money compelled the Cortes to have recourse. The war had now spread from the south to the north over the whole breadth of the land, and was actively prosecuted in Andalusia and Estremadura. An attempt at mediation on the part of the English ambassador, Sir W. A'Court, failed; and the



king having refused to go to Cadiz, the Cortes, acting on that part of the constitution which provides for the moral incapacity of the sovereign, appointed a regency with royal powers. We cannot regard this proceeding in any other light than as a gross indignity offered to the king, and most impolitic at the time. However, Ferdinand accompanied the Cortes to Cadiz, and the regency ceased to exist. On the other hand, the members of the Cortes who had declared the king morally incapable, were denounced as traitors by the regency of Madrid, which now became recognized by foreign powers, Austria, Prussia, and France, as the only legitimate government in Spain.

Meanwhile the war was briskly carried on, but nothing would induce the people to join the constitutionalists, who accordingly were gradually driven from stronghold to stronghold, although in some places they made a gallant resistance. Defection among the officers of the army materially contributed to the downfall of their cause. Morillo and Sarsfield were among the deserters. The regency of Madrid conducted themselves in a cruel and outrageous manner toward the friends of the constitution, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of the French generalissimo to restrain their fury. The duke of Angoulême took possession of the city of Cadiz on the 4th October, 1823. Previously to this, the Cortes had reinvested Ferdinand with absolute power, and requested him to remove to the French head-quarters, where he was received with becoming pomp. The first measure of the king was to declare all the acts of the constitutional government from March 7, 1820, to October 1, 1823, null and void, on the ground that during that period he was acting under compulsion. The war terminated in November; and on the 22d of that month the duke of Angoulême took his leave of the army of the Pyrenees. Among the crowds of fugitives were Mina and the count of Abisbal; and among the victims capitally punished was Riego, who suffered at Madrid the 27th of November, 1823.

The party which now succeeded to power, although weak from want of means, was powerful enough to exercise a persecuting and vindictive policy towards the former partisans of the constitution. The French wished to secure mildness and moderation, but the bad faith of the Spanish government frustrated these objects. To restrain the violence of party fury, which so widely prevailed, a treaty was concluded with France, by which that power agreed to maintain a large military force in the country, until the Spanish army could be organized. This was certainly a wise measure in the circumstances; for Spain, if left to itself, would probably have fallen into irretrievable confusion. It was divided by two parties, who mortally hated each other; and the bonds of society, already shaken loose by years of war and unrestrained licentiousness, required little more to dissolve them altogether. The reports from the provinces were appalling; the treasury was empty; home and foreign credit were alike destroyed; and trade and commerce were paralyzed. The personal moderation of the king led to the formation of a plot by the absolutists, to compel him to abdicate, and to raise his brother Carlos to the throne. This was the origin of the Carlists, who made so conspicuous a figure in the sequel. An attempt to restore the inquisition was happily frustrated. In May, 1824, a decree of amnesty appeared; but it was a mere mockery, for it contained so many exemptions, that those who were to enjoy its benefits seemed rather to form the exception than the rule. The year 1825 was disturbed by several insurrections of the Carlists, which were attended with numerous executions. The independence of the American colonies was recognized by foreign powers, but Spain herself did not acknowledge it till the year 1836. The general interruption of commerce and industry, with the flight of many persons of property, occasioned much distress. The disturbances continued for some years, attended with the same marks of feebleness on the part of the

government, and a continuance of general distress. It was a period of terror to the liberals, who were plundered and imprisoned on the slightest pretexs. The army, purged of all officers suspected of liberalism, was recruited by a motley throng of adventurers, friars, smugglers, mechanics, publicans, and muleteers, who had been officers in the guerrilla bands of Catalonia and Navarre. The ranks being replenished in this manner, the French troops were enabled to evacuate Spain in 1828. Some insurrections, which had broken out during the preceding year, were suppressed without much trouble; and in spite of the arbitrary rule of the Carlists, their tortuous policy, and their open violence, the country began to show some symptoms of improvement.

In May, 1829, Ferdinand lost his queen, and on the 9th of November following, her place was supplied by a Neapolitan princess, Christina Maria. Unblessed with issue by his three former marriages, the hope and the desire of having a child of his own to inherit his honors and preserve the throne to his dynasty, probably hastened the nuptials of Ferdinand. The French revolution of 1830 caused much less sensation in Spain than might have been expected. The fact is, the liberal party had been so devoured or dispersed by the sword, the scaffold, exile, and the dungeon, that in the country itself it was not powerful; but a rash and ill-judged attempt in the constitutional cause was made from without. General Mina assembled a body of refugees and others, and invaded the Basque provinces; but they were speedily repelled, and sought refuge in France. Meanwhile, some events of momentous importance had taken place in the royal family.

The Infant Don Carlos was presumptive heir of the throne; the succession to the Spanish crown had been subjected to the Salic law by Philip V., so that, as matters stood at present, no daughter of the reigning king could interrupt its descent to his brother. The queen of Ferdinand was about to make

him a father, and in order to secure the crown to his own child, should the issue prove a female, he resolved on revoking the Salic law, which excludes females. It is important to observe, that, in 1789, Charles IV. issued a pragmatic sanction, having the force of law, and establishing the regular succession to the crown of Spain in females as well as males. The Cortes of 1812 likewise solemnly revoked the law of Philip V., and re-established the old law of the Partidas. But as Ferdinand had annulled the acts of that assembly, and as the decree of Charles IV. might be caviled at by the fierce and intolerant party who wished that Carlos should succeed to the throne, the king obtained the records of the Cortes of 1789 regarding the succession, and on the margin opposite the decree of Charles IV., with his own hand, wrote a decree to the same effect. The minister, Calomarde (a Carlist at heart), remonstrated with the king against its publication; but Ferdinand was firm, and ordered the resolution to be carried into effect. In compliance with this demand, the whole was forwarded to the council; and in the gazette of the 6th of Aril, 1830, the edict was published to the world. It was likewise regularly proclaimed in the streets of Madrid with the usual formalities. Ferdinand's foresight was justified. The infant with which the queen presented him was a daughter born on the 10th of October, and christened Isabella Maria Luisa.

But the Carlists did not wait for the expected birth of the heir to the throne to show how terribly the publication of the decree had staggered them. They rushed into hasty plots against the government, which were detected before they were ripe for execution; and in various ways showed their chagrin and irritation. In order to render the success still more secure, Ferdinand called a meeting of the Cortes, before which the edict of Philip V. was again repealed, and his daughter, the Infante Isabel, recognized as princess of the Asturias. An insurrection broke out in Cadiz in 1831, at the head of



which was General Torrijas. It was soon quelled, and the leader, with fifty-three companions, fled to Malaga, where they were taken prisoners, and all shot in cold blood. The other events of this year are unimportant, with the exception of a sudden illness of the king, which so excited the hopes of the Carlists, that they strenuously urged their master to take advantage of the circumstance, and at once seize the crown. This remarkable fact shows with what spirit they were animated. It was not a love of justice, but ambition, and a spirit of vindictive hostility to the constitutionalists, who now began to be tolerated, that instigated them to attempt the exaltation of Carlos to the throne, and that at all hazards, even before he possessed the semblance of a claim to it; for while Ferdinand lived, by what right could he grasp at his sceptre? Yet his partisans extol his magnanimity in refusing it at this time.

In the course of the year 1832, Ferdinand had an alarming relapse of his disease, during the paroxysms of which a transaction took place of the utmost importance in itself, and which has been very differently represented by different parties. It was the signing of a decree by which he restored the Salic law to full operation, and the further confirming the disinheriting of his daughter, by annulling his testament in her favor. It is certain that the ministers strenuously urged him to adopt this measure; and that they were under Carlist influence, is no less certain. Every thing was accomplished to their wishes; the document was signed and properly secured, and the king appeared to have fallen into the sleep of death. His dissolution indeed was announced; but, contrary to all human expectation, the disease took a favorable turn; all symptoms of immediate danger disappeared, and consciousness and understanding were restored to Ferdinand. The use which he made of the lucid interval thus vouchsafed to him, was to dismiss his ministers, to appoint the queen regent during his illness, and to undo what he had lately

done regarding the succession, thus restoring to his daughter her right to the throne. The decree to this effect was issued on the last day of the year. The former ordinance, he declared, had been extorted from him, not only when he was in the agonies of expected death, but under false misrepresentations that all Spain demanded it, and that the inviolability of the monarchy required it; whereas it had only been desired by an ambitious and unscrupulous faction, and was opposed to the fundamental laws of the kingdom. A more liberal ministry was formed, and some liberal measures were adopted; high expectations were raised that milder times were at hand, and the funds in Madrid rose ten per cent. Early in 1833, Ferdinand was able to resume the reins of government. On the 20th of June he assembled the Cortes to swear allegiance to his daughter, and do homage to her as their future sovereign. This solemnity was performed with great pomp in the church of the royal monastery of St. Jerome. Don Carlos refused to take the oath; but previously to this he had taken up his residence in Portugal, where Don Miguel was playing the same desperate game which he himself was about to undertake. Ferdinand survived the ceremony of the *jura* only a few months. He expired on the 29th of September, 1833, leaving a will, in which he appointed his daughter Isabella heir to the crown, and her mother regent during her minority.

No sooner was Isabella II. proclaimed queen, than Don Carlos announced his claim to the throne, and the flames of civil war burst out in the northern provinces, where his partisans, assembled in great numbers, stood ready armed for the contest. Of the bloody and protracted struggle for the throne which ensued, we can afford room for few details; indeed, an account of the numerous battles, skirmishes, sieges, and other warlike operations, would prove a very uninteresting and monotonous portion of the modern history of Spain. Isabella was acknowledged without opposition throughout all the prov



inces of Spain, and by the leading powers of Europe. The question of Spanish succession, apart altogether from the bloody war to which it gave rise, has been keenly agitated in this and many other countries. It may be briefly stated as follows. Carlos's right rested upon the Salic law, which had never the force of law in Spain. The Salic law was not the ancient rule of succession; it was first introduced by the Bourbon Philip V., the great-grandfather of Don Carlos. Females could always succeed in Castille, Leon, and Portugal. It was by marriage with the heiress of Navarre that a king of France obtained a claim to that kingdom; and although females were excluded in Aragon, yet it was through a princess that its inheritance passed to the counts of Catalonia. It was by the right of female succession that the house of Austria reigned in Spain; it was by the same right the Bourbons themselves occupied the throne. It formed a part of the *Partidas*, or system of constitutional law, which Philip swore to observe on his succession to the throne. The Salic law, on which Carlos grounded his claim, could only be established in two ways; by the old forms of the constitution, or by the despotic will of the sovereign. If the advocates of Don Carlos take their stand on the former ground, the answer is, that the forms as well as the substance of the constitution were violated when Philip V. established his law of succession; and that, conscious of its invalidity, he did not register it in the form usual with similar acts; while, again, if we pass over the Cortes of 1789 as secret and irregular, we have the Cortes of Cadiz in 1812, which abolished the decree of Philip, and restored the ancient law of the *Partidas*. But Ferdinand having annulled the proceedings of this body, its re-establishment of the right of female succession must fall to the ground with its other decrees. There is, however, Ferdinand's own decree, constituting his daughter his successor, which was just as regularly sanctioned by the Cortes as Philip's law of succession. If, on the other

hand, the sovereign is to be regarded as despotic in Spain, the question is at an end; for even Carlos must acknowledge that Ferdinand had a right to regulate the succession according to his own royal pleasure. This view seemed to have been taken by the king's confessor, and his minister Calomarde, when, during his dangerous illness at La Granja in 1832, they induced him to sign a new will, settling the crown on Don Carlos. Ferdinand's recovery disconcerted their plan; but their effort plainly shows that the partisans of Don Carlos at that time felt that the Salic law was a very weak support to their favorite's claims. The transaction by which Ferdinand (supposed to be on his death-bed) transferred the crown to his brother, is admitted by the Carlists to have been a perfectly legal proceeding. Can the subsequent transaction, by which, under exactly similar circumstances, the king appointed his daughter his successor, be considered otherwise than as an equally legal proceeding? If the constitution be referred to, the question is decided against Don Carlos; the will of the sovereign is against his claim; and, what is of yet more consequence, as the event has shown, the will of the majority of the nation was against him.

It was in the northern provinces, in Navarre, Guipuscoa, Biscay, and Alava, that the strength of Don Carlos lay. Here he was immediately proclaimed in several towns by the title of Charles V., and bands of Carlist guerillas assembled to maintain his right to the throne. He himself still hovered a fugitive on the frontiers of Portugal, his movements being closely watched by a royal force under General Rodil. Another strong division of the queen's army, under General Sarsfield, marched against the disaffected provinces. The Carlists retired before him; Bilboa and other towns were occupied and garrisoned; the constitutional party was restored in several places where it had lost ground; and the insurrection seemed at first to have been happily put down without much loss. But early in 1834 the affairs of

the Carlists assumed altogether a new aspect. Hitherto their operations were carried on in an unconnected manner; this system was now exchanged for one of steady unity of design. Indeed so numerous were the adherents of Don Carlos in the north, that there was only required a firm hand to seize the reins, control local jealousies, and direct aright the energies of the provinces. Such a man was Don Thomas Zumalacarregui, who now assumed the chief command of the Carlists. He was admirably skilled in the desultory warfare of these provinces, and well acquainted with the country and with the character of the inhabitants. By his activity and enterprise he repeatedly inflicted severe blows upon the forces of the queen, or the Christinos, as they were generally called. His method of fighting was to surprise the enemy in an unprotected position, and cut off as many of them as he could before they recovered from their panic. His troops would then suddenly separate and fly, but only to unite again at a predetermined point some miles in the rear. By this mode of warfare he caused great loss to the Christinos, while his own small band suffered little. The Christino army under General Rodil, who had now obtained the chief command, might amount to 20,000 men, and was thus sufficiently strong at least to have confined Zumalacarregui to the mountains; but it was greatly reduced by several thousand troops having been distributed among a number of petty fortresses, most of which, one after the other, fell a prey to the Carlist chieftain. It was further weakened by being divided into different corps and scattered over the country. Rodil found it necessary to resign the command, which now devolved upon Mina, from whom much was expected. Nor did he disappoint the hopes which were formed of him. Just before his appointment, Generals O'Doyle and Asina had severally been defeated with great loss by Zumalacarregui, which occasioned much alarm at Madrid, and loud outcries against the ministry. But the old warrior, though broken by sick-

ness and infirmities, restored confidence by making head against the hitherto victorious Carlists and bringing victory to the standards of the queen.

In the mean while, Don Carlos, after paying a short visit to England, made his appearance in Spain; and his presence among his partisans greatly strengthened his cause in the northern provinces. France and Britain had acknowledged Queen Isabella II. These two powers, along with Portugal, entered into a treaty with Spain, the conditions of which quadruple alliance were, that France should watch the frontiers, so that the insurgents might receive no aid from that country; that Britain should supply such arms and munitions of war as the Spanish government should stand in need of, whilst at the same time she should guard the northern ports of Spain, so as to prevent the insurgents from receiving any assistance in men, money, or ammunition, and also assist the queen with a naval force; and that Portugal should co-operate by every means in her power: but that country was at the time in too embarrassed a situation to render any efficient assistance. As soon as the arrival of Don Carlos in Navarre was known, the four powers who had been parties to the treaty renewed its stipulations, in respect that its object had not yet been attained. This imparted confidence and vigor to the cabinet of Madrid, of which it stood greatly in need. A variety of measures occupied the attention of government during the year 1834, not the least important of which was the plan of a new charter or constitution. It is quite unnecessary to enter into any details of what the Cortes proposed should be done, as everything was overturned and put upon a new footing by a revolution which occurred two years afterwards. The financial state of Spain, particularly the large debt which the government owed to foreign nations, formed a subject of protracted discussion. Doubts were raised as to whether a part of it was legitimately owing; but the debates in the Cortes terminated in the whole being recognized as justly due.



This contributed to restore the credit of Spain in foreign money-markets, where it had been greatly shaken, and enabled the government to contract for a new loan. Another measure of importance which engaged the attention of the Cortes, was the passing of a bill of exclusion from the throne against Carlos and his descendants. During the year the ministry had undergone a complete change, chiefly through the instrumentality of a popular leader of the name of Llauder. Zea was superseded in the office of prime minister by Martinez de la Rosa, supposed to be a person of more liberal predilections.

The military operations of 1835 were prosecuted with great vigor on the part of the Carlists. Several important towns and fortresses fell into their hands, and siege was laid to Bilbao, the capital of Biscay. After sustaining a furious bombardment for several days, the place was relieved, principally through the instrumentality of some British gunners under Lord John Hay, commander of a ship of war then on the coast of Biscay. It was during the attack on Bilbao that Zumalacarreigui received the wound of which he died on the 23d of June. The death of this chief threw a gloom on the affairs of Don Carlos: it was the severest loss which his cause had sustained, and it never properly recovered from it. Among the Christinos this event diffused a joy and hope which they made no efforts to conceal. Worn out by long service, by age, and by disease, the veteran Mina, resigned the command, which ultimately devolved upon General Cordova, under whom was the celebrated Espartero. The Spanish government having been permitted to levy a body of mercenaries in Great Britain, several thousand recruits were raised in that country, and were led to the theatre of war in Spain, under the command of General Evans. The British legion soon took an active part in the war, and distinguished itself upon various occasions. The Carlist army, although it abandoned the siege of Bilbao, still continued in the neigh-

borhood, prepared to take advantage of circumstances. An opportunity soon occurred for attacking the Christinos at the village of Arrigoriaga, which they made an attempt to pass. The royalists were driven back with considerable loss, and this check for the time interrupted the movements of Cordova's army. On the other hand, the Christinos laid claim to more than one victory gained over their enemies; but these doubtful and unproductive skirmishes, which in the flush and enthusiasm of triumph were magnified into decisive battles, are too insignificant to require a detail in this place. At the close of 1835, matters stood much as they did at the commencement of the year. But the war was now carried on with more humanity than formerly. A strong remonstrance on the part of the British Government, against the barbarous practice of putting prisoners to death, had the desired effect, at least for a time, of staying the effusion of blood in this inhuman manner.

Those parts of Spain exempt from the horrors of war, were for the most part subjected to the scourge of political anarchy. The new government of the queen-regent had been founded on an abandonment of the old system of unmitigated despotism. Her daughter's throne was to be identified with more liberal institutions, and was thus to be protected by all political reformers, all who were inimical to absolutism. But the extent to which the old system was to be abandoned, and the form in which a popular government was to be established, were questions regarding which every possible diversity of opinion prevailed. The unquiet elements thus at work showed themselves first in a military revolt, and then in the revolt of several provinces, in which the democratic party sought to usurp the powers of government. For a time they set the lawful authorities at defiance, for the government of Madrid was helpless. Even here disaffection had spread to a most alarming extent, the urban militia having openly revolted. In vain were royal decrees issued, and strong measures put in



force to repress the disturbances; an open war between the government and numerous sections of the liberals seemed on the eve of breaking out. Fortunately this was averted by a change of the ministry, which was loudly demanded by the factious opposition. The life and soul of the new ministry was Mendizabel, a man of great vigor, and very popular among the people, on account of his liberal principles. He condemned the repressive measures which had been acted upon, adopted a more lenient system of dealing with the malcontents, and proposed various alterations in the constitution, the mere mention of which sufficed to restore the country to comparative tranquillity. But all the deliberations of the ministry and the Cortes were rendered abortive by the military revolution which broke out at Malaga, on the 25th of July, 1836. The object of the ultra liberals had uniformly been the restoration of the constitution of 1812. Without this no change of ministers could satisfy them, and no vigilance on the part of the government could prevent them from covertly prosecuting their designs. It was with the national guard that the revolt originated. In Malaga the governor was assassinated, and a junta was appointed to proclaim the constitution. Intelligence of these events spread throughout the country with the greatest rapidity. Cadiz and Zaragoza took up the signal nearly at the same moment; and they were instantly followed by Seville, Cordova, Granada, and Valencia. At length the capital itself joined the insurgent cities; and on the 13th of August, the queen, now deserted and helpless, was compelled to issue a decree, promising the restoration of the constitution of 1812. But all men who were reasonable and honest in their politics felt and admitted that some alterations in that code were quite indispensable. The Cortes accordingly appointed a committee to consider and propose such alterations as were necessary and advisable; and this they accomplished in a highly satisfactory manner. The changes recommended and finally adopted by the Cortes

were, 1st, that the part of the constitution which contained mere regulations and forms, and regarded organic bodies and laws, should be entirely suppressed; 2dly, that instead of the Cortes continuing to form, as they did under the constitution of 1812, only one body, they should now consist of two bodies, differing from each other in the personal qualification of their members, &c., but neither to be hereditary nor privileged; 3dly, that the crown should have an absolute veto in the enactment of laws, and should likewise have the power of convoking, proroguing, and dissolving the Cortes; but in the latter case to be under the obligation of assembling others within a given time; 4thly, that the election of members of the Cortes should be direct, and not indirect, as established by the constitution of 1812.

While Spain was thus undergoing the most momentous political changes, the very existence of the queen's government was threatened by the Carlists, who were making alarming progress in the very centre of the kingdom. During the early part of the year the Christinos attacked the position of the Carlists at Arlavan, but with so little success that they were compelled to make a retrograde movement. However, early in May, the British legion, under General Evans, gallantly carried the Carlist lines before St. Sebastian; but unfortunately this victory, like many others gained, was productive of no important result, chiefly through the sloth and inactivity of the Spanish generals. The circumstance which created the great alarm to which allusion has been made, was the march of a large body of Carlists under Gomez, through the very heart of Spain. This chief penetrated from province to province, to the centre of Andalusia, laying the country under heavy contribution, and carrying off loads of booty from every place which he visited. The audacity of this enterprise seems for a time to have paralyzed the royalists. Consternation spread over Spain from Madrid to Gibraltar. Gomez attacked and carried several towns, and some bodies

of troops who attempted to arrest his progress were totally destroyed. No less than three distinguished Spanish generals, each with a large army, were despatched to cut him off; but all their efforts to entrap him and his daring band proved fruitless. He was repeatedly surrounded, and apparently on the eve of being taken, but always succeeded in effecting his escape. At length, however, he was hemmed in to the sea-coast at San Roque, and his destruction seemed inevitable; but, by a daring and masterly movement, he broke through the line which encompassed him, and secured his retreat to the strongholds of the north.

Towards the close of 1836, the town of Bilbao was again invested by the Carlists, to whom it was an object of great importance, as being a city of sufficient consideration to give dignity to the court of Carlos, and an appearance of permanence to his establishment. It was, besides, the capital of Biscay, and inseparably connected in the eyes of the Basques, with their *fueros* and local parliament. The siege was carried on with an ardor corresponding with the importance attached to the place. The defence was equally spirited and heroic. During the sixty days which the investment lasted, the fortitude of the besieged was put to the severest test, not only by the long-continued fire of the Carlists, by their repeated attacks, and by their mining operations, but by want of proper food and by sickness. At length General Espartero succeeded in compelling the Carlists to retire with the loss of all their guns and *matériel* for the siege, and Bilbao was relieved. The intelligence was received at Madrid with unbounded enthusiasm, and honors and rewards were heaped upon the defenders, and those who had so opportunely relieved them. The Christinos, however, as usual, neglected to follow up the success, allowing the Carlists to remain unmolested in the neighborhood. Near St. Sebastian they mustered very strong during the early part of 1837, and here they were attacked by the Anglo-Christinos under General Evans, and

driven back with some loss; but receiving a great accession of strength, the Carlists in their turn compelled the royalists to retreat with at least equal loss. The affair of Hernani would have been much more disastrous, but for the steady bravery of a small body of British marines, who checked the advance of the Carlists, and retired to St. Sebastian in good order. In a subsequent attack on Irun and Fuentarabia, General Evans was completely successful; but it seems perfectly clear that this officer was never cordially supported by the Spanish commanders. The defeat before Hernani would never have taken place had Espartero and Sarsfield supported him according to the concerted plan. The time for which the British legion volunteered its services expired in the month of May, and shortly afterwards it disbanded, nearly the whole returning to England in the most destitute condition. Meanwhile Don Carlos had followed the example of Gomez, by marching an army through the central parts of the kingdom. Our limits will not permit us to follow him in this daring but useless expedition. One body of Carlists advanced within a few leagues of Madrid, and all was consternation in the capital. But the Christino generals concentrating their forces, compelled the main body of the Carlist army to retire from the provinces into which it had made so fierce an irruption. Disunion also began to show itself in the camp of Don Carlos, so that, disappointed and disheartened, he retreated to his old fastness beyond the Ebro, accompanied however by a large convoy of booty. Besides these military operations, prosecuted on a large scale, there was a system of desultory warfare maintained all over the country, more destructive in its effects upon the inhabitants than the regular operations of an army. Brigandage, never viewed with much horror in Spain, had now become as common as a lawful trade. Remorseless cruelty characterized the proceedings of all parties; and civil life, except in the large towns, seemed for the time suspended.



The civil and parliamentary history of Spain for 1837, presents little that is of any importance. The new constitution formed a fruitful theme of discussion in the Cortes. After undergoing the alterations already mentioned, and some others of less moment, it was solemnly ratified by the queen-regent in the Cortes, and proclaimed to the nation. It is worthy of been noticed, that an attempt to introduce toleration in religious matters by an amendment to the article which establishes the Catholic faith, met with the strongest opposition. This striking fact shows how deeply rooted the old Spanish bigotry remained in the national mind. During the year, bills were passed for the suppression of religious houses, and the abolition of the payment of tithes, the maintenance of the clergy being left to the government. Several judicious ecclesiastical reforms were projected; and among other important measures passed by the Cortes, was the abolition of the local parliaments in the Basque provinces. Ministerial changes repeatedly took place during the year, but into these we shall not enter.

The military operations of the Carlists in 1838, were less successful and less enterprising than they had been during the two previous years. Cabrera, indeed, a general who had frequently signalized his talents for war, had firmly established himself in Aragon and Valencia, and the bands of partisans allowed no respite to the distracted provinces; but we have to record none of those daring and brilliant flying expeditions which more than once traversed Spain in all directions with such celerity and success as to command the attention of Europe. Something of this kind was indeed attempted by Basilio Garcia, and by Tallada, but both these generals were signally defeated. The cause of Don Carlos was now visibly declining; the best and bravest of the chiefs who had served him had successively incurred his displeasure, and were either in disgrace, exile, or confinement; above all, the country was beginning to be favorably disposed to the queen. Her troops however were very unsuccessful in the field.

General Orad was defeated at Morella, and General Alaix also suffered a repulse. But the principal battle fought between the Carlists and Christinos was that of Maella, where Gen. Cabrera completely routed the queen's troops under Pardinás, but sullied his victory by butchering nearly two hundred prisoners in cold blood. The war throughout had been disgraced by similar atrocities, notwithstanding the efforts of Britain to put a stop to them. Both parties appear to have been equally guilty of this inhuman practice. The operations of Espartero were feeble and uncertain. He did little but march a large army from place to place, without striking a decisive blow. As usual, almost every part of Spain continued to be ravaged by guerilla bands, who swarmed over the provinces, with no other object in view but plunder and bloodshed. During the year, the Cortes had twice met; their deliberations chiefly referred to the state of the finances and the negotiation of a loan, which was not effected. The ministry, always feeble, had now become more feeble than ever, notwithstanding that changes were continually taking place. The queen-regent found it impossible to form a strong government in the present political state of the country. Its helplessness was such that the general commanding in the different provinces found it necessary to act independently of its arrangements, and to appropriate the revenues of each province to the payment of the military expenses incurred in it, instead of allowing the moneys to pass into the treasury. Thus General Van Haaen, who had organized a fine army of 40,000 men, called the army of the centre, after declaring the kingdoms of Aragon, Valencia, and Murcia, in a state of siege for the rest of the war and that in future the civil were to consider themselves in subordination to the military authorities, proclaimed, that the entire revenues of those provinces should be paid into the military chest, and exclusively appropriated to the expenses of the war. This was probably the very wisest measure that could have been adopted for

bringing the war to a speedy termination. Want of pay had repeatedly paralyzed the operations of the Christino armies; it had dispersed the British legion; and at this very moment it was exciting discontent, if not revolt, in the camp of Don Carlos. To place the pay of the queen's troops upon a sure footing, was therefore the first step to secure ultimate triumph in the field.

During 1839, the cause of Don Carlos rapidly declined, notwithstanding the desperate efforts made by Generals Cabrera and Maroto to maintain it. Espartero, the commander-in-chief of the queen's troops, after some hard fighting, cut off the Carlists completely from the plains of Alava, while Diego Leon likewise expelled them from the rich country between the mountains and the Ebro. Many towns and fortresses of importance, one after another, submitted to the triumphant Christinos, so that almost the only parts of Biscay which now owned the authority of Carlos were rugged mountainous tracts of country, whither no regular army could follow the fugitives. An armistice was at length concluded between Maroto and Espartero, which was followed by twenty-one Carlist battalions laying down their arms. Don Carlos himself, reduced to the last extremity, fled for refuge into France, where he formally renounced his pretensions to the throne of Spain, under certain conditions alike reasonable and necessary. The question relative to the *fueros* of the Basques and Navarre, which, it will be recollected, had been abolished, caused much uneasiness. It seems perfectly evident that these important provinces would not be satisfied, or completely surrender themselves to the queen's authority, unless their local privileges were restored. After some debating in the Cortes, this measure was agreed to, government stipulating that it would so modify the *fueros* as to reconcile the interests of these provinces with those of the nation, and with the constitution of the monarchy. The only Carlist chief who gave any uneasiness to the government was Cabrera, who, little affected by the

pacification of the northern provinces, still maintained his footing in Valencia, determined to support the cause of Carlos while an army remained to back him.

In 1840 the war against Cabrera was vigorously prosecuted under the auspices of Generals Espartero and O'Donnell, and at length the Carlist chief was reduced to such extremities that he crossed over to France, where he was immediately arrested by the French authorities.

Early in July of that year, the queen regent, accompanied by her royal daughter, set out for Barcelona, and was at first received with great rejoicing and every mark of respect; but in a few days the scene was changed, and she was hooted and insulted by the populace as she rode through the streets in her carriage. The national guard were called out, and a conflict took place between them and the mob; but the insurrection was not put down till Espartero brought a body of troops of the line against them and put them to flight. The chief cause of this unpopularity of the regent was her determining to have a bill passed which would place the chief municipal appointments in the hands of the crown, and thus deprive the inhabitants of the various towns of any control over their civic functionaries. The regent carried her measure, and the next day Espartero, who was strongly opposed to it, sent in his resignation as general of the forces. It would be tedious and uninteresting to detail the political intrigues and changes that were occasioned by the obstinacy of the queen. The popular excitement against the measure was so strong that the ministry were obliged to resign, and at length the queen had to yield and send for Espartero, to whom she gave full power to form a cabinet. To every condition imposed upon her she gave her consent, except to that of having any one associated with her in the regency. She declared that, rather than submit to that, she would abdicate altogether; and accordingly, though strongly dissuaded from such a step, she abdicated on the 12th October, 1840.



She then set out for Marseilles, and thence to Paris, where she was received with every honor by the French king, and had apartments provided for her in the Palais-Royal. About the end of this year a dispute arose with Portugal respecting the navigation of the Douro, which was likely at one time to lead to hostilities between the two countries, but which at length was fortunately settled.

When the Cortes met in April, 1841, Espartero was, by a majority of votes, elected sole regent. The queen-mother was also requested to relinquish the guardianship of her daughter, but she would only consent to this on conditions which the government could not agree to, and they accordingly declared the office vacant, and afterwards appointed Senior Arguellas guardian of the young queen and her sister. The ex-queen, however, was not without friends in Spain, and early in October an insurrection broke out in Pampeluna, where General O'Donnell succeeded in gaining possession of the citadel. A similar outbreak took place in Vittoria, and on the night of the 7th October a desperate attempt was made in Madrid itself to get possession of the young queen's person, and but for the loyalty and courage of the guards, would have been successful. By the tact and energy of Espartero, however, the insurrection was speedily suppressed, and O'Donnell, finding his cause hopeless, evacuated the citadel of Pampeluna, and crossed over to France. The ex-queen, who was still in Paris, was generally supposed to have encouraged or countenanced this rebellion; and having refused to publish a declaration that it was without her authority and against her wish, Espartero issued a decree suspending payment of her pension. The Cortes was opened by Espartero on the 26th December, 1841, but its proceedings present little of interest; and nothing of importance occurred in Spain till the following November, when a formidable insurrection broke out in Barcelona, occasioned by the arrest of some individuals connected with a republican newspaper. The national guard sided

with the populace, and the soldiery being called out, a sanguinary conflict took place, in which the latter were defeated and compelled to retire into the citadel. Espartero, on hearing of this, set out in person for Barcelona, and, on nearing the place, a deputation of the inhabitants waited upon him, offering to surrender upon certain conditions, including a free pardon to all concerned. Espartero, however, demanded an unconditional surrender, and as they would not agree to this, he proceeded to bombard the town. On the evening of the second day of the bombardment the town surrendered. A few of the ringleaders were executed, and a contribution was levied towards the expense of the war; but altogether the inhabitants had no cause to complain of being harshly treated by the conqueror. The regent made his public entry into Madrid on his return from Barcelona, on the 1st of January, 1843.

That year, however, was to witness the overthrow and exile of the hitherto successful regent. Though he had ever pursued a liberal and enlightened policy, and had effected many useful reforms in the state, yet he had given great offence to the clergy by his having sanctioned the appropriation of part of the ecclesiastical revenues to secular purposes. The fire smouldered for a time, but it at length found vent in open rebellion. Barcelona, as formerly, took the lead in this movement, and was immediately followed by Malaga, Grenada, Seville, and other towns. Espartero, seeing the emergency prepared to head the forces in person, and issued an address to the people vindicating his conduct as regent. His usual energy, however, seems to have deserted him, and his movements were vacillating and aimless. A battle was fought on the 22d of July at Torrejon, between the insurgent leaders Narvaez and Aspiroz, and Generals Seoane and Zurbano, on which occasion, after a short engagement, Seoane's army went over in a body to the enemy. This victory was followed by the surrender of the capital. Es-

partero was besieging Seville when the news of this reached him, and he immediately raised the siege and set out for Cadiz, pursued by General Concha. At Port St. Mary he took refuge on board an English frigate, and subsequently arrived at Woolwich, where he was received with every mark of respect. On arriving in London, where he took up his residence, the corporation of that city honored him with a banquet.

The absence of Espartero, however, did not serve to restore peace. The jarring factions continued to contend with unabated fury, and disturbances broke out in various parts of the country. The city of Barcelona revolted against the new government, and was followed by several other towns. These disturbances, however, did not lead to any important result, Barcelona and the other towns which had taken up arms being obliged to capitulate. One of the first acts of the new Cortes, which met on the 15th of October, was to pass a decree declaring the young queen of age, although by law her minority did not terminate till the 10th of October, 1844. She accordingly took the constitutional oath on the 10th of November.

In the beginning of 1844 an insurrection broke out at Alicante, and spread so rapidly that in a short time the whole province of Murcia, and a great part of Valencia, had declared against the government. Vigorous measures, however, having been adopted, it was at length suppressed. Alicante surrendered to the government forces in the beginning of March, and Carthagená about the end of that month. In the meantime the ex-queen returned to Spain, and was met by her daughters and the principal ministers at Aranjuez. They entered Madrid with great pomp on the 23d of March.

The marriage of the ex-queen to Munoz, who, a short time previously, had been created Duke of Rianzares, took place on the 13th of October. In the beginning of November Zurbano again took up arms against the government, and as usual the disaffection

spread rapidly. It was, however, without strength; two of Zurbano's sons were taken and shot; and, at length, he himself, a lonely fugitive, was discovered in the neighborhood of Logroño, and suffered a like fate.

Apart from the usual ministerial changes, nothing of importance connected with Spain occurred in 1845, except the public renunciation by Don Carlos of his claim on the Spanish crown in favor of his son, Charles Louis, prince of Asturias, who took the title of Comte de Montemolin. The following year Narvaez, who had been at the head of more than one ministry, fell into disgrace, and was obliged to leave the country. A serious insurrection also broke out in Galicia; but General Concha having defeated the insurgents in a decisive engagement, it was speedily suppressed. This year, also, the marriage of the young queen was a subject which occupied much attention, not only in Spain, but likewise in other countries; and it at one time threatened to bring about a serious misunderstanding between France and England. The professed position of these two countries regarding this question was that of strict neutrality. France, however, insisted that the choice of the queen should be restricted to a prince of the house of Bourbon. The imposition of any such restriction was strongly opposed by England; but the matter was at length set at rest by its becoming known that the queen was about to marry her cousin, Don Francisco d'Assis, eldest son of her uncle Don Francisco de Paula. It was generally believed that this marriage was brought about by French influence, and that the inclinations of the queen had been little consulted in the matter. It was also arranged that the queen's sister should at the same time marry the Duc de Montpensier, the youngest son of the French king. The two marriages were celebrated on the 10th of October, which was the queen's birthday. Charles Louis, son of Don Carlos, thinking that the queen's marriage afforded a favorable opportunity for appealing to the nation, issued a proclama-



tion, calling upon them to support his cause; but not the slightest movement resulted from this manifesto. At the same time he escaped from France, where he had been living under a kind of surveillance, and came to England.

The unhappy consequences of the queen's marriage soon began to appear. The royal pair became completely estranged from each other, neither appearing together in public, nor having the slightest communication in private. Every effort to bring about a reconciliation between them for the time failed. Towards the end of 1847, Narvaez, who had returned to Spain, was placed at the head of the government, and he at length succeeded in bringing about a formal reconciliation between the queen and her husband. Espartero was also recalled, and entered Madrid on the 7th of January, 1848. A dispute with England occurred soon after. Lord Palmerston having recommended Sir H. L. Bulwer, the British minister at Madrid, to advise the adoption of a more liberal system of government by the Spanish ministry, the latter naturally resented this interference; and this, together, it is said, with other reasons of a private nature, led to Sir H. L. Bulwer's receiving, on the 19th of May, a peremptory notice to quit the kingdom within forty-eight hours. General Mirasol, who was sent by the Spanish government to explain the private reasons for the dismissal of the English minister, was not received by Lord Palmerston, and diplomatic relations between the two countries were not renewed till August, 1850. In May, 1848, a body of about 600 of the military in Madrid declared against the government, and were joined by a number of the citizens. They were, however, defeated in an engagement which took place, and obliged to surrender, when a number of the leaders were shot. About the end of June a Carlist insurrection broke out in the northern provinces, headed by Cabrera. It did not acquire any strength, though it was maintained in a desultory way during the rest of the year, no important advantage be-

ing gained by either party. On the 12th of July, 1850, the queen was delivered of a son, who, however, only survived a few minutes; and the same month Charles Louis, Comte de Montemolin, was married to Princess Caroline, sister of the king of Naples. On the 20th December, 1851, the queen was delivered of a daughter. On the 2d of February, 1852, a desperate attempt was made to assassinate the queen by a fanatic named Martin Merino, a priest of the Franciscan order. The queen was on her way from the royal chapel in the palace to her own apartments, when the priest, in his robes, knelt before her, as if to present a petition, and instantly drew a dagger from beneath his dress, and struck her on the side. The wound, though considerable, was not dangerous, but it caused a good deal of sensation, and the culprit was summarily tried and executed.

On the 5th January, 1854, her Majesty gave birth to a princess, who only survived three days. This year was characterized by another of those revolutions which are so common in Spain, and which led to the expulsion of the queen-mother, and the restoration of Espartero to power. In the beginning of the year the ministry then in power were giving great dissatisfaction to the nation, as being mere instruments in the hands of the queen-mother; and generals Concho, O'Donnell, and Gonzales Bravo, as heads of the opposition or moderate party, demanded their dismissal. The only answer vouchsafed to that request was an order to the generals to retire to the Canaries or Balearic Islands. General O'Donnell, however, refused to obey, and contrived to keep himself concealed about Madrid. About the middle of February, General Hore, with the soldiers under him in Zaragoza, raised the standard of revolt. General Rivero was sent against him, and, in a desperate engagement which took place, General Hore was killed, but his soldiers managed to maintain their position. Finding, however, that there was little hope for any farther success, they retreated to the French frontier, and there dispersed. Though

the government was successful in putting an end to this attempt at revolution, the spirit of discontent spread to an alarming extent during the next few months, and an attempt to raise a forced loan speedily brought matters to a crisis. The corruption and mismanagement that prevailed in every department of the government had reduced the finances of the country to the very lowest ebb; and the inability of the ministers to raise any farther sum made them have recourse to the expedient of a forced loan, under the pretence of collecting the taxes six months previous to their falling due. The revolt first broke out in Madrid. On the 28th of June, General Dulce, inspector-general of cavalry, assembled 2000 horse in the Campo de Guardias in the outskirts of the city, as if for inspection, and then exhorted them to revolt. They were speedily joined by General O'Donnell with three battalions of infantry, and the whole took a position at the village of Canalejas, four miles from Madrid. On the morning of the 30th a strong body of troops, under the command of General Quesada, attacked the insurgents near the village of Vicalvaro, but they were speedily compelled to retreat with great loss. On being reinforced, however, by fresh troops, they renewed the attack, and maintained the struggle till nightfall, when the insurgents drew off their forces, and the queen's troops retired into Madrid. The insurgents lost in killed and wounded about 1000 men, and the royalists about 1500. O'Donnell's force, however, was too weak to enable him to maintain his position in the vicinity of Madrid, and he accordingly retired by railway to Aranjuez, breaking up the rails after him to prevent pursuit. A body of 5000 men was sent in pursuit, before which the insurgents continued to retreat. O'Donnell and the moderado party, however, soon found that they were not sufficiently popular to gain their object without assistance, and hence they made proposals to the progresista party, which were agreed to. A proclamation was accordingly issued, declaring their object to

be the re-establishment of the constitution of 1837 with its constituent Cortes, the maintenance of the throne of Isabella II., the dismissal of the present ministry and the queen mother, and the reorganization of the national guard. On this all the most important towns that had hitherto stood aloof from the insurrection immediately declared in its favor. In Madrid, on the 17th of July, the people rose in insurrection, attacked the prefecture, possessed themselves of the arms there, and immediately proceeded to attack the government and other buildings. A junta was formed, and a petition drawn up and presented to the queen, who promised to give the matter due consideration. A lull in the outbreak then took place; but General Cordova, who is said to have pledged himself not to molest the people that night, ordered two battalions to open fire upon them in the Plaza Major. The mob, now infuriated, sacked, pillaged, and set on fire the hotels of several of the ministers. They also attacked the palace of the queen-mother, and effected an entrance into one of the wings, threw out the furniture to feed a bonfire, and then set fire to the palace itself. By this time, however, some troops had arrived, who, after firing a few volleys, succeeded in clearing the square, and in confining the conflagration to the wing in which it had commenced. On the 18th, barricades were erected in all the main streets debouching on the Puerta del Sol, behind which the insurgents kept the troops at bay for eighteen hours. The queen sent for Espartero, who was then at Logroño, to come and form a ministry, which he agreed to do, upon condition of the banishment of the queen-mother, and the assembling of the constituent Cortes. The queen having agreed to these conditions, Espartero set out for Madrid, and, in the meantime, General O'Donnell, who had defeated the troops sent out against him, was retracing his steps to Madrid. They entered the capital together on the 29th of July, escorted by the national guard and thousands of the people. Peace being thus at length restored, the Cortes was



convoked, and Espartero became head of the new government. The queen-mother left for Lisbon, and afterwards proceeded to Paris, where she had apartments assigned for her in the palace of Malmaison.

Espartero continued at the head of the government till the 14th of July, 1856. His liberal measures were offensive to several of his colleagues, and, through the intrigues of O'Donnell, he was led into a ministerial difficulty, and felt himself called upon to tender his resignation, which was accepted, and O'Donnell was appointed president in his stead. One of the first acts of the new government was to declare the whole of Spain under martial law. The people, however, would not submit to this without a struggle, and an insurrection broke out in Madrid, in which the national guard sided with the populace against the soldiery. After some fighting, however, it was overcome; and similar outbreaks in other towns were also speedily suppressed. The Cortes passed a vote of no confidence in the O'Donnell ministry; but the next day a royal decree appeared, declaring the Cortes to be closed. One of the next steps of the new government was the abolition of the national guard. O'Donnell did not, however, continue long in power, for he had to resign on the 13th of October, and a new ministry was formed under General Narvaez. On the 28th November, 1857, the queen gave birth to a son, who, as heir to the kingdom, took the title of Prince of the Asturias.

In the year 1859, a war broke out between Spain and Morocco, under the following circumstances: The Spanish crown possesses several places on the north coast of Africa, such as Ceuta, Melilla, Alhucemas and El Penon, in the neighborhood of which is the reckless and predatory tribe of the Kabylas of Anghera, who made frequent incursions into the Spanish territory. In consequence of a collision of these with the garrison of Ceuta, ill feeling arose between the two governments of Spain and Morocco. Spain sought to make the Moors responsible for

these attacks, and in the course of 1859, satisfaction was demanded from the emperor of Morocco, who yielded on all points, and the cause of quarrel seemed to be at an end. A cession of territory in the neighborhood of Ceuta was, however, afterwards claimed by Spain, on the ground that it was necessary for the protection of that fortress. This demand was also complied with, but on attempting to settle the boundary of the ceded territory, it was found that Spain demanded more than the Moorish government was prepared to grant. The result was, that negotiations were broken off, and Spain declared war against Morocco in the month of October 1859. General O'Donnell took the command of the Spanish army, which crossed over into Africa, and hostilities immediately commenced. Several engagements took place, in which the Moors fought bravely, but success was almost uniformly on the side of the Spaniards.

In the meantime the British government had insisted that, whatever might be the result of the war, Spain should not acquire any permanent accession of territory on the African coast which might endanger the security of Gibraltar, which commands the passage of the straits. In particular, it was intimated that if Tangier were occupied by the Spanish troops during the contest, England could not permit the occupation to be prolonged after the close of the war. The Spanish Foreign Minister, Sr. Calderon Collantes, promised on the part of his government, that Spain "would not take possession of any point on the Straits, the position of which might give her a superiority threatening to the navigation." With this assurance, the British government was satisfied, and remained perfectly neutral during the war that followed.

A narrative of the campaign would possess little interest for the reader; it will be sufficient to state that, on the 23d of March, 1860, a decisive battle was fought near Tetuan, in which, after an obstinate struggle, the Moorish army was completely defeated.

This victory was immediately followed by overtures of peace on the part of the emperor of Morocco. An interview took place between the Spanish and Moorish generals, O'Donnell and Muley el Abbas, and a treaty of peace was signed, granting important concessions to Spain, and giving her the sum of 27,000,000 piastres, as an indemnity for the expenses of the war.

An ill-judged and most futile attempt at an insurrection was made by the Count de Montemolin and his brother in April of this year. General Ortega, the commander of the Balearic Isles, ordered his troops to embark, without communicating to them the purpose of the voyage, and upon their landing near Tortosa, told them that his object was to proclaim the Count de Montemolin, and subvert the existing government. The troops refused to follow him, and Ortega took to flight, but was soon overtaken, and afterwards tried and executed. The two Carlist princes, the Count de Montemolin and his brother, who had accompanied him, were also arrested, but were afterwards released, and allowed to quit the kingdom, after a solemn act of renunciation of all pretensions to the throne of Spain had been signed by them at Tortosa on the 23d of April. Notwithstanding this, the Count de Montemolin had the effrontery to revoke his renunciation, and in the month of June he forwarded from Cologne, in a letter to the queen, a document declaring that the act of Tortosa was the result of exceptional and extraordinary circumstances; that, meditated in a prison, and signed at a moment when all communication was forbidden them, it possessed none of the conditions required to render it valid, and that consequently it was null and illegal, and that by the advice of competent lawyers, he retracted the said act.

In the following year the Spanish government entered into a convention with the governments of France and Great Britain, to equip a combined expedition against Mexico, to enforce on that country the payment of the debt which had now been due for

twenty-five or thirty years. Before, however, this arrangement with the other powers had been completed, Spain had determined to send an armed force on her own responsibility, to attack Mexico, and the fleet was despatched from Cuba by the captain-general before he had received any intelligence of the participation of France and England. Vera Cruz, the first point of attack, surrendered to the Spaniards without resistance; and the subsequent arrival of the allied fleet from Europe, seemed to place the whole country at the mercy of the foreign powers. But the Spaniards and English soon perceived that Napoleon, in engaging in the war, had contemplated something more than the mere payment of the obligations to his subjects, and that his views extended to procuring a foothold for France in America. Not wishing, therefore, to contribute their support to a campaign which was destined only to gain new glory for the French army, and for the triumph of the empire, they both withdrew from the expedition. The movements of the French in the interior of the country, and the history of the unfortunate reign of Maximilian, with additional particulars of the expedition, will be found related in the articles on FRANCE and MEXICO.

In 1863, the people of St. Domingo, in the West Indies, rose against Spain. The island had been sold to that country in 1861, by Santana, at that time president. The transfer of authority had never been satisfactory to the people, and they now endeavored to free themselves entirely from the Spanish dominion. Troops were sent from Spain to suppress the insurrection, and, from the first successful encounters, it seemed that the island would be recovered without difficulty; but in the summer months the pestilential climate, almost fatal to Europeans, making fearful ravages among the soldiers, and, more than all, the financial embarrassments of Spain, compelled the government to relinquish their hold on the Dominicans, and the union was repealed by the Cortes in February, 1865.



In March, 1864, the Spanish government became engaged in a quarrel with Peru. The difficulty arose out of the claims of Spanish residents against the Peruvian government. The government at Madrid sent Sr. Mazarredo to Peru to settle the affair. But the Peruvians would not receive him in the character of commissioner, with which title he had been sent from Spain, for they held that this implied the subjection of their country to the court of Madrid. Sr. Mazarredo, thereupon, not being willing to appear as Confidential Agent, which was the capacity in which they offered to receive him, retired to the Chincha Islands. At the same time two Spanish frigates arrived at the Islands from Valparaiso. On the 16th of August a Spanish squadron visited Callao and made an attempt to seize the Peruvian ships of war in that port. They were prevented, however, by the batteries on shore. The next move of the Spaniards was to take possession of the Chincha Islands, which they declared they would hold as sureties for the satisfaction of their claims. They furthermore announced that the war with Peru had never been at an end; peace had never been established, but only a truce, for the Spanish government had never acknowledged the independence of their former colony. These proceedings roused the greatest indignation, not only in Peru, but throughout the other South American States. War was immediately declared. The hostile attitude of the two governments did not long continue, however; for a new Commissioner was sent out from Spain, empowered to offer more acceptable terms to the republic. The new propositions were more conciliatory, and a treaty of peace was concluded accordingly in January, 1865. By this treaty it was agreed to pay an indemnity of \$3,000,000, for the expenses caused to Spain by the war. The subsequent negotiations, however, proved unsatisfactory, and Peru being strengthened by an offensive and defensive alliance with Chili, again reopened hostilities in January, 1866.

Among the bills passed by the Cortes

in this year, was one drawn up at the instance of the queen, providing for the sale of all the royal patrimony, except the palaces and property entailed on the crown, the proceeds to be devoted to the use of the nation.

Another of those periodical conspiracies which continually disturbed the government of Spain, was discovered in June at Valencia. The plot originated among the officers of the regiment of Barcelona, at that time forming the garrison of Valencia. The colonel and some others were surprised together at a midnight council in the barracks and arrested. Information afterwards obtained by the government, implicated General Prim as the leader of the proposed insurrection. One or two other conspiracies of a like character were discovered in the course of the year, and there were some collisions between the troops and people in Madrid and Saragossa.

A more formidable revolt took place in 1866. General Prim placed himself at the head of the military forces who had rebelled against the government at Aranjuez and Ocana. The military, however, in other places resisted the attempts that were made to gain them over, and the government succeeded in controlling the people of Madrid and the other large cities who were ready to join the insurrection. General Prim failing to obtain the assistance he had expected, crossed over to Portugal and declared himself ready to surrender his horses and accoutrements. He was ordered by the Portuguese government to leave the country. In the following June two regiments revolted at Madrid, without their officers. An obstinate contest with the loyal troops took place for the possession of the barracks, and the government triumphed, not, however, without much bloodshed. The disaffected soldiers had furnished arms to the people, who threw up barricades in the streets. At the same time some troops at Gerona rose against their officers, and succeeded in gaining the French frontier. Order was soon restored, and six hundred insurgents were captured, many of whom were shot. Another upris-

ing, almost as short-lived as the last, occurred in August of the next year. Bands of armed men made their appearance in Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia and Tarragona, and on the borders of Murcia and Castile. There was this difference, however, between this insurrection and the former ones; the troops did not co-operate with the people, and remained steadfastly with the government. The contemplated revolution, therefore, fell to the ground for the time. Pierrad, the leader, fled to France; several of his principal associates were executed, and a general amnesty was granted to the rest.

Between this last affair and the outbreak of the great revolution of 1868, there was an interval of almost perfect tranquillity. But the government, however, did not feel secure. They had grave suspicions, which were afterwards confirmed by events, that the three great opposition parties—the Liberal Union, the section that had been led by the late Marshal O'Donnell; the Progresistas, to which belonged Espartero, Prim, Olózoga and Madoz; and the Democrats, which contained the radical element—had combined to overthrow the government of the queen. Acting upon the information they had secretly obtained, the government caused the arrest on the 7th of June of Generals Serrano, Cordova, Dulce, Bedoya, Latore, Letona and Zabula. At the same time the Duke and Duchess de Montpensier were ordered to quit the country. Upon refusing to comply, they were exiled from Spain by a royal decree. The generals belonging to the Liberal Union were also exiled. The dissatisfaction of the people at these proceedings was shown in several demonstrations at Barcelona, Valencia and Saragossa.

The long-anticipated revolution at last began. On the 17th of September the people rose at Cadiz, and the squadron in the harbor, under Admiral Topete, immediately declared against the government. At this signal the provinces threw off their allegiance, and hastened to assert their ancient independence. Provisional juntas were es-

tablished to give order to the movement. Two days after the outbreak at Cadiz, General Prim and the other exiled generals appeared. The first conflict with the army, which still adhered to Isabella, took place at the town of Santander. The place, at first taken by the revolutionists, was recaptured by General Calonge. The loss was reported as 600 on the side of the royalists, and 300 on the part of the insurgents. All the insurrectionists found with arms in their hands in the town were immediately shot.

On the 28th of September another battle was fought at the bridge of Alcolea, near Cordova in Andalusia, between Serrano, who was marching from Cadiz, and the Marquis of Novaliches. The royalists were driven back, and Novaliches himself was seriously wounded. This success was followed by the revolt of Zaragoza and the whole province of Andalusia. The military at Madrid now went over to the side of the citizens, who were all opposed to the government. General Concha, the commander, resigned, and a Provisional Junta was formed of fourteen Progresistas, nine Liberal Unionists, and seven Democrats. The advance of Serrano to the capital was no longer opposed. He entered Madrid on the 3d of October, received with cheers by the people. The welcome to General Prim a few days after, was even more enthusiastic. The general was escorted by a deputation of citizens from all the provinces, together with the troops and sailors, and the civic officers of Madrid. The procession took more than four hours to pass through the streets. Business ceased, and the crowd was so great that several persons were crushed to death. General Prim addressed the people from the balcony of the ministry, and exhorted the people to persevere in the concord and peaceful character which had marked the course of the revolution. He dwelt particularly upon the unity existing between himself and Marshal Serrano, whom he embraced at the conclusion of his speech, exclaiming, "Down with the Bourbons!" His words were received with



the wildest applause. The city was brilliantly illuminated in the evening.

When the revolution broke out the queen was at St. Sebastian, in the Pyrenees. She at first wished to go at once to Madrid, but the defeat at Acolea impelled her to take refuge in France. Her husband and four of her children, together with her uncle, Don Sebastian, accompanied her in her flight. She was received in France by the Imperial family, and the Chateau of Pau in the Pyrenees was placed at her disposal by the Emperor. From this retreat she directed an indignant protest to the Spanish people, exhorting them to return to their allegiance, and to rally around the queen who had held the monarchy through so many glorious years. The document contained nothing remarkable for novelty or force, and was in the style that the protests of so many dethroned Bourbons have made familiar in late years. After a short residence at Pau the queen went to Paris.

As soon as the revolution was perfected at Madrid, a Central Junta was elected, and Marshal Serrano was charged with the task of appointing a ministry. The cabinet organized on the 8th of October was as follows: Marshal Serrano, President; General Prim, minister of war; Admiral Topete, of Marine; Sr. Figuerola, of Finance; Sr. Lorenzana, of Foreign Affairs; Sr. Ortiz, of Justice; Sr. Sogasta, of the Interior; Sr. Ayala, of the Colonies; Sr. Ruiz Zorrilla, of Public Works. The permanent form of the future government was to be decided by a Constituent Cortes, to be elected by universal suffrage. The Central Junta was dissolved on the 21st of October, and the local Juntas soon followed. Before adjourning the Junta issued a manifesto to the European governments, explaining the causes which had induced the Spanish people to expel the Bourbons. The paper went into the discussion of the freedom of public worship, and expressed a desire that every form of religion might meet with toleration under the future government, and concluded with the

wish that every other power might speedily follow the United States in recognizing the new condition of things.

The measures immediately introduced by the Provisional government were of the most liberal character. By the electoral law every Spaniard had a right to vote, with the exception of convicts not rehabilitated, persons under accusation at the time of the elections, those deprived of their political rights, those declared incapable of managing their own affairs, bankrupts, insolvent traders or manufacturers, and individuals prosecuted for the non-payment of taxes. Public instruction was made absolutely free; the normal schools were reinstated, and the professors removed by the late government were replaced. All the monasteries, convents, and religious houses established since 1837, were abolished, and the buildings, lands, etc., declared national property. The nuns whose convents were suppressed could either go into the remaining establishments, or receive back their donation. Those religious establishments which were permitted by the law of 1837, were now reduced to half their number. The admission of novices in all the religious orders was strictly prohibited. Another decree suppressed the Jesuits, and sequestered the property of that society to the State. The minister of Justice at the same time declared the entire liberty of the press, and abolished the censorship of dramatic and literary works. A number of political journals of the most violent character immediately sprang up in consequence.

The leaders of all the parties were agreed that the permanent form of the government should be decided by the constituent Cortes, but they were already divided as to what this should be. The liberal Unionists and the Progresistas were in favor of a limited monarchy, while the Democrats were separated in two factions, one of which sided with the Unionists and Progresistas, and the other was for a republic. Besides these there were the Reactionists, the small minority, who wished to restore the Bourbons.

In a short time the Republican party showed an increase of strength which seemed to indicate that it would eventually become the strongest. Its leaders were Jose Maria de Orense, a refugee from the Bourbon persecutions; Garrido, a well known political writer; Castelar, the best orator in Spain; and General Pierrad. The published programme of the Central Republican Committee contained the following points: The form of government, a democratic federal republic; the legislative power a single chamber, elected annually by universal suffrage; the executive, a president nominated by the chamber without limitation of time, but removable at its pleasure; judicial power—the judge to be appointed independently of the legislative and executive power; every citizen to be secured in his individual rights,—personal liberty, property, freedom of worship, freedom of the press, right of meeting; the death penalty, slavery, all monopolies, etc., to be abolished; customs, prisons, tribunals to be reformed; domestic and private correspondence to be inviolable; education to be free; the provincial deputations, alcaldes, municipal councils and magistrates to be elected by universal suffrage, their meetings to be open, and a report of their proceedings to be published, and these bodies to decide upon all questions which do not belong to the general government; the revenue to be raised by one tax, direct and general; the colonies to have the same privileges as the mother country. These are the most important heads. It will appear to every one, that while most of the provisions are unobjectionable, the government, with its total change at every yearly election, could have no stability in any country, and least of all in Spain.

The elections were held on the 18th of December. Although the system of universal suffrage was strictly carried out, the vote was quite small. Out of 76,432 of the voters registered at Madrid, only 27,600 appeared at the polls, and 24,000 of these gave their suffrages to monarchical representatives, the rest voting for republicans. In Barcelona

and Valencia, the majorities were largely on the other side.

The Cortes being now elected with a controlling majority of members pledged to establish a monarchy, the most important question arose of who should be the king? The most popular candidates were the Duke de Montpensier and Dom Fernando of Portugal the father of the reigning king of that country. Dom Fernando was said to be unwilling to accept the crown, but the Duke de Montpensier exerted himself to the utmost to secure it. By the desire of the provisional government he kept away from Spain, except for a few days at the end of the year, when he returned to assist the authorities in suppressing the disturbance at Cadiz. His pretensions to the crown were met and violently opposed by Henri de Bourbon, in a violent letter to the provisional government, containing a very personal attack upon the duke and his family.

The republican party was much dissatisfied at the proceedings of the Cortes, and the opposition at length culminated in a revolt at Cadiz. On the 5th of December, there was a republican demonstration by the volunteers of that city, which the government disapproving of, called upon the participants to give up their arms. They refused and began to throw up barricades in the streets. The national troops immediately attacked them, but the insurgents with the aid of the artillery which they had seized held all the principal situations, and to protect the city from a bombardment by the navy, they placed the foreign consuls in the custom house facing the sea, the most exposed position in the town. As soon as the news reached Madrid, large bodies of troops were dispatched to the scene of action, under the command of General Caballero de la Rodas. On arriving at Cadiz, the general posted his troops all around the place, and declared a strict blockade; he then issued a proclamation, calling upon the people to lay down their arms, promising in the name of the government that their lives should be spared. The



insurgents thereupon sent a delegation, accompanied by the United States consul, to the general, and agreed to deposit their arms in any place he should designate. These conditions were accepted, but the next day the insurrectionists changed their mind, and refused to give up their arms, except to the United States consul. General de Rodas declined this proposition and announced that he would at once go on with the siege if the arms were not sent to the places he named. The republicans at last yielded, and the army entered the city without any further trouble.

Several weeks later another collision took place at Malaga. It arose, as in the former instance, from the refusal of the volunteers to disarm when ordered. The insurgents entrenched in the Trinity quarters of the town, and made a desperate resistance to the attack of the fleet and army. They were finally overpowered, and nearly all were captured. The greater part of the provinces were soon released.

The most formidable difficulty, however, that the new government had to encounter, was the rebellion in the island of Cuba. It is said that the rising had been prepared even before the revolution in Spain. The movement began at Manzanillo on the 10th of October, with the publication of a declaration of independence, setting forth the grievances to which the people of Cuba had been subjected, and the universal desire of the people for separation. They complained of the policy of Spain in extorting from them an enormous revenue, without giving them the privileges of citizens in return, and appealed to all civilized nations to witness and support the justice of their cause. The insurrection soon spread over the east and central parts of the island. Ten days after the first movement at Manzanillo, Carlos Manuel Cespedes, who had been constituted chief of the Cuban forces, addressed a letter to the United States, asking for recognition for the new Republic of Cuba, and urging in support of his petition the wonder-

ful progress of the rebellion. None of the towns, however, mentioned by him, as being in their possession, were of much importance. In the engagements with the Spanish troops, the Cubans being badly armed and disciplined, were generally obliged to yield the ground when the battles occurred near the towns, but they held their positions in the mountains, where the regulars, unused to the country and the climate, were unable to follow them. To increase the foreign sympathy upon which they relied, and which now perhaps was beginning to flag from the desultory character of the war, the Cuban Junta decreed the emancipation of the slaves, a measure which had already been considered in the Spanish Cortes.

The opening of the new year 1869 in Spain offered little prospect of the pacification of the country, or the establishment of a settled policy. In January there was an outbreak at Malaga, which was suppressed by General Caballero de la Rodas, though not without bloodshed. Following closely upon this was the murder of the Governor of Burgos, in the cathedral of that place, as he was on the point of making an inventory of the ecclesiastical property, in compliance with the decree of the provisional government. The act was probably instigated by the clergy. The members of the chapter were present at the scene and beheld the assassination and the mutilation of the body of the murdered governor with approval, or at least, indifference. The apparent complicity of the priests in this matter excited great indignation against them throughout Spain.

The election in January for the members of the Constituent Cortes, resulted in the return of a large monarchical majority. The first act after assembling was to draw up a constitution, which was made upon the basis of the provisional decrees already mentioned, and fixed the future form of government as a constitutional monarchy. After much discussion of the several articles and several amendments, the proposed constitution was

finally passed by the Cortes, and promulgated about the middle of June. Marshal Serrano was thereupon elected regent, and the question remained to find a king. Here, indeed, was a difficulty greater than had been anticipated, for of all the eligible candidates, those that were acceptable to the people, or, rather to the government, have been found unwilling or unable to accept the throne. The first application to Dom Fernando of Portugal was met by a positive refusal. The choice subsequently fell upon the Duke of Genoa, the young nephew of Victor Emmanuel, but his royal uncle manifested his unwillingness to permit him to accept the crown, and the Cortes were again left to weigh the claims of rival advocates. They have not as yet made another decision. It would be useless to enumerate all the names that have been suggested and discussed as possible or probable candidates. The Duke de Montpensier appears to have a strong party on his side, and is said to have the support of the Regent Serrano, and of Topete, the Minister of Marine. There are also a few who are willing to take the Prince of the Asturias, the eldest son of the ex-queen, who has lately abdicated all her claims in his favor.

The disorder and dissatisfaction which characterized the close of the preceding year, seemed to augment in the latter months of 1869. In addition to the republication opposition there appeared a Carlist movement, but the partisans of the male branch of the royal family do not appear to be very popular in Spain, so that this last agitation has not been a very important element of the troubles in the country. At Valencia and Zaragoza, the opposition of the republicans was more determined, and the former of these towns sustained almost a regular siege before it yielded to the forces of Prim.

The Cuban rebellion remained in the same condition throughout the year. The intention of the Spaniards to suppress it at every cost, was shown in their answer to some representations of the American minister,

which were considered as preparatory to an offer from the United States to buy the island.

The language generally spoken in Spain, Castilian, is composed of many elements, but principally based on the Latin, with a great number of Arabic and Gothic phrases and words: it is manly, sententious and imposing; full, however, of orientalisms, which mean little, and should not be translated literally. The character of the Spaniards is grave, adventurous, romantic, honorable and generous, but they display a great hatred of labor, and refuse to work unless positively necessitated; yet, if roused by proper incitement to activity and industry, they show great vigor and exertion, and may achieve independence and reputation. The soldiers are courageous, and, if well commanded, will brave any danger. They are not naturally a melancholy people, as the spirit with which they throw themselves into the national amusements will sufficiently prove. Their dances, especially those of the lower classes, have a national character, and are accompanied by the castanet, in the use of which they show remarkable skill and dexterity. Their music principally consists in the singing of ballads, with the guitar as accompaniment. The bull-fight is still the great national amusement, and is carried on in precisely the same manner as formerly: horsemen or picadors, assisted by others on foot, attack the bull with spears, the *coup de grace* being given by the matador, a footman, who plunges a sword into its spine between the head and shoulders. The Spanish theatre has very much declined, and the performances are generally very insipid. The pleasures of society are chiefly sought at evening parties, where only slight refreshments are presented; and, indeed, in both eating and drinking, the Spaniards are remarkably temperate, perhaps more so from an habitual necessity than from virtue. In architecture Spain is particularly rich, the chief element being Moorish, with a mixture of Norman and Gothic. The most remarkable architec



tural monuments are: the Escorial, built in the Roman or Vitruvian style, in the sixteenth century; the Alhambra, built by the Moors, in the thirteenth century; the Cathedral of Seville, and many other fine edifices. Spain, in comparison with Italy, has produced few great painters; but Murillo, Velasquez, Zurbaran, Luis de Vargas, and others, have achieved for their country a high place in the fine arts. There is at Madrid an academy for painting, sculpture and architecture; and there are extensive collections of pictures at Madrid, Seville and Valencia. During the French invasion, however, a great number of the finest specimens were carried off.

The literature of Spain, in the days of her greatness, was on a level with that of any other country in Europe; but it has since sunk to a low condition. The ballad is what the early Spanish writers most excelled in; and this is characterized by romantic fervor, frequently of an oriental character. The language is peculiarly fitted to express the dignified and the pathetic, but its solemn dignity frequently seduces the writer into bombast. No nation has such a store of ballads as the Spanish; but they are, particularly the early ones, little more than mere relations of chivalrous deeds. The wars with the Moors form the subject of an endless number of these ballads, which the

chivalrous nature of the people of Spain during the Middle Ages brought to a state of excellence unequalled in any country in Europe. The song was the natural growth of the warlike period of Spain, and served to commemorate warlike exploits; but they were of a very simple character until the period of the conquest of Naples, when they assumed a more lyrical form. The national drama has always been peculiar, consisting chiefly of religious comedies founded on the lives of saints. There are, however, some noble comedies of an historical nature. The perfection of the intrigue is what the Spanish writers chiefly value; but their plots are constructed without any regard to the unities. The drama acquired its greatest celebrity from Lope de Vega and Calderon. In romance, Spain has accomplished much. The perfection of Spanish prose is to be found in the works of the inimitable Cervantes. After his time, and when the Bourbons ascended the throne, literature declined with the state, and may be said to have remained ever since in a similar state of inactivity. Spain possesses at the present day few writers known beyond their own country. Jovellanos on political economy, Campany on philology, Llorente in history, Moralez in mathematics, and Coello and Madoz in geography, have done much to rouse a spirit of reflection. Juan Valdez is called the Anacreon of Spain.

## P O R T U G A L .

THE modern kingdom of Portugal embraces a part of, and somewhat more than, the country called *Lusitania* by the Romans. The etymology of the present name is involved in obscurity; for, though many conjectures have been put forward, none seems worthy of confidence.

The history of Portugal commences with a story to this effect: Affonso VI., King of Leon and Castile, being apprehensive that his success in taking the city of Toledo would bring upon him the whole force of the Moors, sent to demand assistance from Philip I. of France and the Duke of Burgundy, whose daughter he had married. His request was granted by both princes; and a numerous body of troops was speedily collected for his service, having at their head Raymond, Count of Burgundy, and Henry, younger brother of Hugh, Duke of Burgundy. In the year 1087 they arrived at the Court of Dom Affonso, where they were treated with all possible marks of esteem; and, having in the course of two or three years, given great proofs of their courage and conduct, the king resolved to bestow his daughter Urraca, then, at most, in her ninth year, upon Raymond, Count of Burgundy, and assigned them the province of Galicia for the support of their dignity. About the year 1095, Dom Affonso, being desirous to express his gratitude to Henry of Burgundy, gave him in marriage a natural daughter of his, named Theresa; and upon this marriage he conveyed in full property the fron-

tier province he had conquered from the Moors. The new sovereign, with the title of count, fixed his residence at Guimaraens, a town to the north of the Douro, where the remains of an ancient palace belonging to his successors, are still to be seen.

Henry is said to have performed great exploits against the Moors; but the accounts given of them are extremely indistinct and unsatisfactory. He died in 1112, and was succeeded by his son Dom Affonso, then in the third year of his age. In the minority of the latter, the kingdom was governed by the queen-mother, Dona Theresa, assisted by two ministers. During their administration differences took place between the queen-regent and Urraca, Queen of Castile, which were not arranged until the death of the latter.

The greatest misfortune which befell Theresa was a quarrel with her own son, Dom Affonso Enrique. A civil war ensued, in which the queen's forces were totally defeated, and herself made prisoner, a situation in which she continued during the remainder of her life. Enrique having thus attained to the full possession of his dominions, made several attempts upon various places in Galicia, but without success; and he was at last constrained to conclude a peace with Affonso, King of Castile and Leon, who had assumed the title of *Emperor of the Spains*, more especially as his dominions happened to be at that time invaded by the Moors. The number of infidels was so great, that the Count



of Portugal had but little hopes of subduing them; but a plague having broken out in the Moorish army, they were obliged to retreat, after which he reduced several places belonging to that nation. In the meantime, the Emperor Dom Affonso having made an irruption into the Portuguese territories, destroyed everything with fire and sword. The King of Portugal surprised and cut off a considerable part of his army. At the intercession of the pope's legate, however, a peace was concluded, and all places and prisoners taken on both sides were delivered up.

Meanwhile, the progress of the Christian arms in Spain being reported to Abu-Ali Texefien, the chief of the Moors in Barbary, he directed Ishmael, his lieutenant in Spain, to assemble all the forces in the southern provinces, and to drive the Christians beyond the Douro. The Moors were met by Dom Affonso on the plains of Ourique, near the Tagus, and were totally defeated. The event was an important one in the history of Portugal. It stimulated the imagination of the people, and circumstances were attached to it, as time rolled on, which the historian is compelled to reject, as no more worthy of credit than the legends of Romulus and Remus. It was said that the Portuguese force consisted of no more than 13,000 men, whilst the Moorish army, commanded by five kings, numbered 200,000. The count, half daunted by the superior strength of the enemy, was encouraged to engage in combat by a hermit, who told him to go forth in the morning when the bell should ring for mass, and turn to the east. He did as he was ordered, and then beheld within a circle of clouds the image of Christ crucified, and this promised him victory, with a crown, and a line of sixteen successors to inherit it. Whatever the literal fact may be, the Portuguese look upon the plains of Ourique as the birthplace of the monarchy.

After this victory, gained in the year 1139, Dom Affonso was proclaimed king by his soldiers, and ever afterwards retained that title, renouncing all kind of subjection to

the crown of Spain. Being very desirous, however, of reducing the power of the emperor, he formed a league with Raymond, Count of Barcelona, and regent of the kingdom of Aragon, against that prince. In virtue of this treaty, he entered Galicia with a considerable force on one side, whilst Don Raymond simultaneously invaded it on the other. But neither of these enterprises succeeded. The Portuguese monarch met with a severe check in his expedition into Galicia, where he received a dangerous wound, whilst some of the nobility who attended him were taken prisoners. At the same time, having received intelligence that the Moors had invaded his dominions, he was obliged to retire; but his retreat was not made in sufficient time to prevent the strong fortress of Leiria from falling into their hands. This fortress they demolished and put the garrison to the sword; but the king caused it to be reconstructed of greater strength than before, and placed in it a more numerous garrison. Yet he undertook nothing farther during this campaign. The war continued with various success till the year 1145, when the king projected an enterprise against Santarem, a strong city, forty miles from Lisbon. In this he luckily succeeded, and thus gained a considerable tract of country, with a strong barrier to his dominions.

After this success Dom Affonso caused himself to be crowned king of Portugal before an assembly of the states, where he also solemnly renounced all dependence upon the crown of Spain; declaring that if any of his successors should condescend to pay tribute or to do homage to that crown, he ought to be deemed unworthy of enjoying the kingdom of Portugal. The next year the king undertook to recover Lisbon from the Moors; but there are so many fables related of this expedition, that it is impossible to come at the truth. All that can be gathered from these accounts is, that he undertook the siege with a small army, and was able to make little progress in it, partly from the strength of the place, and partly also from the numer-

ous garrison by which it was defended. At length, fortunately for Dom Affonso, a fleet of adventurers, French, English, Germans, and Flemings, who were on their way to the Holy Land, having anchored at the mouth of the Tagus, he demanded their assistance, as not altogether foreign to their design of making war upon the infidels. His request was readily granted; and with their assistance, Lisbon was speedily reduced; a conquest which so much enhanced the reputation of this monarch, and brought such numbers to recruit his army, that before the end of the year 1147, he had reduced twelve other considerable cities.

For many years after this, Dom Affonso was successful in all his undertakings. He settled the internal government of his kingdom; procured a bull from Pope Alexander III. confirming his regal dignity; undertook many successful expeditions against the Moors; and became master of four out of the six provinces which compose the present kingdom of Portugal. He was assisted by the counsels of his queen, Matilda, a woman of great capacity, and able to govern the kingdom in her husband's absence. By her he had a numerous offspring including three daughters, the eldest of whom, Donna Matilda, was married to the King of Aragon; the second, Urraca, to Don Ferdinand, King of Leon; and the third, Theresa, to Philip, Earl of Flanders. In 1166, however, the king thought proper to invade the dominions of his son-in-law Don Ferdinand, and to seize upon Limmia and Turon, two cities of Galicia, in which he placed strong garrisons. The next year he marched with a numerous army towards Badajoz, which he invested. On receiving the news of this attack, Don Ferdinand, who had assembled a large army at Ciudad Rodrigo, marched to its relief; but he arrived too late, whereupon he resolved to besiege his antagonist in his newly-conquered city. Dom Affonso, perceiving his design, endeavored to draw out his forces into the field. Though at that time upwards of seventy years of age he

placed himself on horseback, and pushing forward at the head of his horse to get out at the gate, struck his leg against one of the bolts with such violence that the bone was shattered to pieces. This accident occasioned such confusion that the Portuguese troops were easily beaten, and Dom Affonso was taken prisoner. He was, however, kindly treated by his opponent, and a peace was concluded between them. Returning to his dominions before his leg was cured, he became lame for the rest of his life; but this did not abate his military ardor. Towards the end of his reign, an opportunity seemed to present itself of obtaining once for all an entire release from the disagreeable pretensions of the King of Leon, who, it seems, had insisted on the King of Portugal doing homage for his kingdom. This was a quarrel between the King of Leon and his nephew Alonso, King of Castile. The latter solicited assistance from the King of Portugal, which was readily granted. But Ferdinand having received intelligence that the infant Dom Sancho, the king's eldest son, was advancing towards Ciudad Rodrigo, assembled his troops with such diligence on that frontier, that, being enabled to attack him unexpectedly, he entirely defeated him.

Understanding, however, that Dom Sancho was recruiting his forces with great diligence, he suggested that they might be much better employed against the infidels, who remained careless and unprepared, expecting the issue of the contest. Dom Sancho, did not fail to profit by this advice; and after some movements intended to amuse the enemy, he made a sudden irruption into Andalusia, penetrating as far as Triana, one of the suburbs of Seville. The Moors assembled their forces, in order to attack him on his retreat, but were entirely defeated; and Dom Sancho returned to Portugal loaded with spoil. In 1184, the King of Morocco, having already transported multitudes of men from Barbary, at length followed in person with a prodigious army, and carried all before him as far as the Tagus. He appeared before Santarem; but having



exhausted and reduced his army by unsuccessful assa'uts on that place, he was attacked by the Portuguese, assisted by Ferdinand of Leon, and entirely defeated and slain. By this victory the Portuguese were left at liberty to improve the interior of their country, and to fortify their frontiers; but not long afterwards, that is, in the year 1185, the king died in the seventy-six year of his age.

Dom Affonso was succeeded by his son Dom Sancho I., who, by steadily applying himself to the work of restoration, in a short time quite changed the appearance of his territories, and acquired the glorious titles of The Restorer of Cities and Father of his Country. In the year 1189, a fleet, composed for the most part of English vessels, but having on board a great number of adventurers of other nations bound for the Holy Land, entered the river Tagus. Dom Sancho solicited them to assist him in a design he had formed of attacking the city of Silvas in Algarve, to which they readily assented. Having joined them with a squadron of his own galleys, and marched a body of troops by land, the place was reduced, and the English, according to agreement, were rewarded with the plunder. But in a short time, the Moors from Africa, having once more invaded Portugal, the town was several times taken and retaken, until at last Dom Sancho, sensible of the difficulties of retaining it, caused it to be demolished. His last enterprise was the reduction of Elvas, soon after which he died, leaving the reputation of being the best economist that ever sat on the throne of Portugal. With the character of being rather liberal than avaricious, he had amassed a treasure of more than seven hundred thousands and crowns in ready money, besides fourteen hundred marks of silver, and one hundred of gold plate, which he disposed of some time before his death. He was interred, by his own command, in the cathedral of Coimbra; and when his body was taken up four hundred years afterwards, that it might be laid in a new tomb, it was found uncorrupted.

The history of Portugal presents scarcely any event of importance till the year 1289; when in the reign of Don Diniz, a difference commenced with Castile, which subsisted for a long period. Frequent reconciliations took place; but these were either of short duration, or never sincere. At length in the reign of John I., Don Juan of Castile, who had also pretensions to the crown of Portugal, invaded that kingdom at the head of the whole force of his dominions, and with the flower of the Castilian nobility entered the province of Alemtejo. He besieged Elvas, but without effect; a disappointment which enraged him to such a degree, that he determined the following year to invade Portugal a second time, and lay waste the country before him. Accordingly having collected an army of thirty thousand men, he invaded Portugal, and took and ruined several places; but the Portuguese in the end were victorious, although with an inferior force, and the Castilians consented to a truce of three years, which was soon afterwards improved into a lasting peace.

In 1414, King John undertook a successful expedition against the Moors in Barbary, where he commanded in person, his queen, Philippa, the daughter of John, Duke of Lancaster, having died shortly before. The city of Ceuta, was taken from the Moors almost at the first assault. Scarcely had the king left the country, when the princes of Barbary formed a league for the recovery of the place; but they were defeated by the young princes of Portugal. John strengthened the fortifications and augmented his forces there.

Madeira was discovered in 1420, and the Azores in 1432. King John died in 1433, and was succeeded by his eldest son Edward. The latter undertook an expedition against Tangier in Barbary, but the event proved very unfortunate; the Portuguese being so shut up by the Moors that, to obtain leave to return to Portugal, they were obliged to give up Ceuta. Although the king's son Ferdinand was left as a hostage for the de-

livery of Ceuta, the king and council of Portugal constantly refused to deliver up the place. Preparations were made for recovering the prince by force; but before anything could be accomplished, the king died in 1438.

However, the war with Barbary continued at intervals for many years, but with little success on the part of the Portuguese. In the reign of Affonso V., a civil war broke out, the two parties being headed by the king, and Pedro, the recent duke of Coimbra, who was finally defeated and killed at the battle of Alfarrobeira, 1449. The year 1497, was remarkable for the discovery of the passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope. The enterprising spirit of the Portuguese had, for a considerable time before, prompted them to undertake voyages along the coast of Africa, and when they found in the torrid zone, which the ancients had pronounced to be uninhabitable, fertile countries, occupied by numerous nations, and perceived that the continent of Africa, instead of extending in breadth towards the west, according to the opinion of Ptolemy, appeared to contract itself and to bend eastwards, they were inspired with hopes of reaching India by continuing to hold the course they had so long pursued. After several unsuccessful attempts to accomplish what they had in view, a small squadron sailed from Belem, on the Tagus, under the command of Vaseo de Gama, an officer of rank, whose abilities and courage fitted him to conduct this difficult and arduous enterprise. From ignorance, however, of the proper season and route of navigation in that vast ocean through which he had to steer his course, his voyage was long and dangerous. At length he doubled that promontory which had been desiered by Bartolomeo Diaz, in 1487, and which, for several years, had been the object of terror and of hope to his countrymen. After a prosperous navigation along the south-east coast of Africa, he arrived at the city of Melinda, and had the satisfaction of discovering there, as well as at other places where he touched,

people of a race very different from the rude inhabitants of the western shore of that continent, which alone the Portuguese had hitherto visited. These he found to be so far advanced in civilization and acquaintance with the various arts of life, that they carried on an active commerce not only with the nations of their own coast, but with remote countries of Asia. Conducted by their pilots, who held a course with which experience had rendered them well acquainted, he sailed across the Indian Ocean, and landed at Calicut, on the coast of Malabar, on the 22d of May 1498, ten months and two days after his departure from the port of Lisbon.

The monarch of the country received them at first with that fond admiration which is often excited by novelty; but in a short time he formed various schemes to cut off Gama and his followers. The Portuguese admiral, however, was not to be overreached by such politics as his. From every danger to which he was exposed he extricated himself with singular prudence and dexterity, and at last sailed from Calicut with his ships, loaded not only with the commodities peculiar to that coast, but with many rich productions of the eastern parts of India. He returned to Portugal in two years after his sailing from the Tagus, but with a great loss of men; for out of one hundred and forty-eight persons who sailed with him, only fifty-five returned. The king received him with all possible testimonies of respect and kindness; created him a count; and not only declared him admiral of the Indies, but also made that office hereditary in his family.

The Portuguese entered upon the new career opened to them, with activity and ardor, and made exertions both commercial and military, far beyond what could have been expected from a kingdom of such inconsiderable extent. All these were directed by an intelligent monarch, Dom Manoel the Fortunate, who happily selected a succession of excellent officers to take the supreme command in India, among whom Affonso Albuquerque was eminent. Within twenty-four



years after the voyage of Gama, the Portuguese had rendered themselves masters of the city of Malacca, in which the great staple of trade carried on with the East Indies, was then first established. This conquest secured to them great influence over the interior commerce of India, whilst, at the same time, by their settlements at Goa and Diu, they were enabled to engross the trade of the Malabar coast and to obstruct greatly the long-established intercourse of Egypt with India by the Red Sea. In every part of the East they were received with respect; in many they had acquired the absolute command. They carried on trade there without rivalry or control; they prescribed to the natives the terms of their mutual intercourse; they often fixed what price they pleased on the goods which they purchased; and they were thus enabled to import from Hindustan, and the regions beyond it, whatever was useful, rare, or agreeable, in greater abundance, and of more various kinds, than had been formerly known in Europe.

Not satisfied with this ascendancy which they had acquired in India, the Portuguese sought to exclude all other nations from participating in the advantages of commerce with the East; and they accomplished one-half of what their ambition had planned. In consequence of this the Venetians soon began to feel that decrease of their own Indian trade, which they had dreaded. In order to prevent the farther progress of this evil, they incited the Soldan of the Memlooks to fit out a fleet in the Red Sea, and to attack those unexpected invaders of a gainful monopoly, of which he and his predecessors had long enjoyed undisturbed possession. The Portuguese, however, entirely defeated this formidable squadron, and remained masters of the Indian Ocean. They continued their progress in the East almost without obstruction, until they established there a commercial empire; to which, whether we consider its extent, its opulence, the slender power by which it was formed, or the splendor with which the government of it was conducted,

there had hitherto been nothing comparable in the history of nations. Every part of Europe was supplied by the Portuguese with the productions of the East; and, if we except an inconsiderable quantity which the Venetians still continue to receive by the ancient channels of conveyance, Europe had no longer any commercial intercourse with India and the regions of Asia beyond it, except by the Cape of Good Hope.

In September, 1521, Manoel died of a fever, and was succeeded by his son John III. The most remarkable transaction of this prince's reign was the introduction of the Inquisition into his dominions in the year 1525, or, as some say, in 1535. A famine happening to cease in a short time after the Holy Office was introduced, the priests persuaded the ignorant multitude that it was a blessing from heaven on account of erecting such a tribunal.

In the meantime, Solymán the Magnificent, the most enlightened monarch of the Ottoman race, observing the rising power and opulence of the Portuguese, and eager to supplant them, sent orders to the Pasha of Egypt to employ his whole strength against the Christians in the East Indies. The pasha, in obedience to these orders, sailed from the Red Sea with a greater naval force than ever the Mohammedans had employed before, having 4000 janizaries and 16,000 other troops on board. Yet, by the courage and conduct of the Portuguese officers and soldiers, all this mighty armament was defeated, and their East India possessions were saved from the danger which threatened them. In Africa, likewise, the King of Fez was baffled before the town of Safi; whilst fresh quarrels breaking out amongst the native princes, gave great relief to the Christians, who had long been obliged to carry on a defensive war, and had more than once been on the very brink of ruin. The Moors became more and more formidable; the Portuguese king had reason to deem that the conquest of Barbary was impossible, and therefore limited his ambition to keeping

those few fortresses which he had already acquired; a necessary and prudent measure, which nevertheless displeased the majority of his subjects.

King John exerted himself greatly in the settlement of Brazil, which had been discovered by Pedro Alvares Cabral in 1501. He caused several strong towns to be erected there, and took all possible methods to encourage the conversion of the natives to Christianity. He also introduced many regulations for the welfare and happiness of his subjects at home. The disputes of the nobility about precedence were frequently attended with disagreeable consequences, which made the king resolve to establish definitive rules. His death happened in the month of June, 1557; and he was succeeded by his son Dom Sebastian, an infant of three years of age.

The administration of affairs was undertaken by the queen-grandmother of Sebastian. The Moors, however, supposing that they might be able to dispossess the Christians of such places as they held in Barbary, laid close siege to Mazagan. But the queen-regent speedily sending succor, the Moors, although they brought 80,000 men into the field, were obliged to abandon the enterprise. This was at first extolled as a conspicuous instance of the queen's capacity and wisdom; but, in a short time, the aversion which the Portuguese had to the government of women, together with the prejudice they had against her country, for she was a Castilian, appeared so plainly, and gave her so much uneasiness, that of her own accord she resigned her authority into the hands of the Cardinal Dom Henry, the king's brother.

After the king had grown up to man's estate, his desire was to distinguish himself against the infidels. He himself intended to conduct an expedition to the East Indies; but the Prime Minister Alcocova induced him to direct his attention to Africa. This expedition the king entered into in the most inconsiderate and absurd manner. He first sent for a prior, with some hundreds of sol-

diers; next he carried his principal courtiers with him from a hunting match, and with out equipages; he then sent for the Duke of Aveiro, who brought with him such troops as he could collect on so short a warning; and when all these were assembled, the king spent his time in hunting, and slight excursions against the enemy, without doing anything of consequence, except exposing his person upon all occasions. He returned to Portugal, but only for the purpose of arranging another expedition, and it seemed to him that he had a pretence for commencing another campaign in the state of affairs in Morocco. Muley Hamet, King of Fez and Morocco, had been dispossessed of his dominions by his uncle, Muley Moloch. At the beginning of this war Dom Sebastian had offered him the Portuguese troops in Africa, a tender which was rejected with contempt; but, now being a fugitive, and having in vain solicited assistance from Philip of Spain, Muley Hamet applied to the King of Portugal; and, that he might the more easily succeed, he caused the fortress of Arzilla, which his father had recovered, to be restored to the Portuguese. The king was in rapture at this event, and fancied that his glory would exceed that of all his predecessors. The queen-dowager, the cardinal, and all his friends united in their endeavors to divert him from this unfortunate enterprise. Even Philip of Spain, his uncle, attempted to convince him of the absurdity of his proceedings. Muley Moloch himself explained in a letter his own right to the crown of Fez, and showed that he had only dispossessed a tyrant and a murderer, who had therefore no right to his friendship or assistance. The Moorish prince next assured him that he had no reason to fear either the power or the neighborhood of the Portuguese; and as a proof of this, as well as a mark of his esteem, he was content to make him a present of some ten miles of arable ground round each of the fortresses he possessed in Africa—Tangier, Ceuta, Mazagan and Arzilla. But the King of Portugal was



deaf to all salutary advice, and disregarded all remonstrances.

On the 24th of June, 1577, he set sail from the bar of Lisbon with a fleet of fifty ships and five galleys, twelve pieces of cannon, and many transports and tenders, making in all nearly a thousand sail. His troops consisted of 9000 Portuguese infantry, 3000 Germans, 700 Italians, commanded by Sir Thomas Stukeley, an English exile, remarkable for his bravery; 2000 Castilians and 300 volunteers, commanded by Christoval de Tuvra, master of the horse, a man of courage, but without either conduct or experience. He touched first at Lagos Bay, where he remained for four days, and thence he proceeded to Cadiz, where he was feasted for a week by the Duke de Medina Sidonia, who fruitlessly endeavored to dissuade him from proceeding further in person in such an enterprise.

Soon after landing in Africa the king was met by Muley Hamet, who delivered him his son, a boy of twelve years of age, as a hostage, and brought a reinforcement of 300 Moors. Here it was resolved in a council of war to reduce the town of Larache, but it was disputed whether the troops should proceed thither by land or by sea. Dom Sebastian, who espoused the former opinion, finding himself opposed by Muley Hamet, answered him so rudely that he left his presence in disgust.

Muley Moloch, having received intelligence of this formidable invasion, took the field with 40,000 foot and 60,000 horse, and conducted everything with the greatest prudence, notwithstanding he was so enfeebled by fever that he could not sit upon horseback. He advanced against the Portuguese army with such celerity that he came in sight of them on the 3d of August at Alcaeer Quibir. Finding his disease increase to such a degree that he had no hopes of recovery, he resolved to lose no time in bringing on the battle, that his antagonist might not avail himself of his death. The disposition of the Christian army was, through the care

of some old officers in Dom Sebastian's service, regular and correct.

The Christians advanced with resolution, broke the first line of the Moorish infantry, and disordered the second. On this Muley Moloch drew his sword, and would have advanced to encourage his troops, but his guards prevented him, on which his agitation became so great that he fell from his horse. One of his guards caught him in his arms, and conveyed him to his litter, where he immediately expired, having only time to lay his finger on his lips by way of enjoining them to conceal his death. But by this time the Moorish cavalry had wheeled quite round, and attacked the Christian army in the rear; the Portuguese right was broken, and at this time Muley Hamet in passing a river was drowned. In this emergency the Germans, Italians and Castilians performed prodigies; but the Portuguese, according to their own historians, behaved indifferently. Attacked on all sides, however, they were unable to resist; and the whole army, except about fifty men, were killed or taken prisoners. The fate of the king is variously related. According to some, he had two horses killed under him, and then mounted a third. His bravest officers were killed in his defence; after which the Moors surrounded him, seized his person, stripped him of his sword and arms, and secured him. They immediately began to quarrel about the prisoner, upon which one of the generals rode in amongst them, crying, "What, you dogs, when God has given you so glorious a victory, would you cut one another's throats about a prisoner?" At the same time, discharging a blow at Sebastian, he brought the king to the ground, when the rest of the Moors soon dispatched him. Others affirm that one Louis de Brito meeting the king with the standard wrapped round him, Sebastian cried out, "Hold it fast; let us die upon it!" upon which, charging the Moors, he was seized, but rescued by Brito, who was himself taken with the standard, and carried to Fez. The latter affirmed, that after he was

taken he saw the king at a distance, and unpursued. Dom Louis de Lima met him afterwards making towards the river; and this is the last account of his being seen alive.

Immediately after the battle, the brother of Muley Moloch was proclaimed king by the Moors. The next day, having ordered all the prisoners to be brought before him, the new sovereign gave orders to search for the body of Dom Sebastian. The king's valet-de-chambre brought back a body, which he said was that of his master, but so disfigured with wounds that it could not well be known; and, notwithstanding the most diligent search, this monarch's death could never be properly authenticated. This body, however, was delivered up as the body of the unfortunate Dom Sebastian to Philip, King of Spain. By the latter it was sent to Centa, thence transported to Portugal, and buried amongst his ancestors in the monastery at Belem, with all possible solemnity.

By this disaster, the kingdom of Portugal sunk at once into the lowest rank of European states. All the young nobility were cut off or carried into slavery, and the kingdom was exhausted of men, money and reputation; so that Dom Henry, who assumed the government after the death of his brother Sebastian, found himself in a very disagreeable situation. At his death the crown of Portugal was claimed by three different competitors—the Prince of Parma, the Duchess of Braganza and Philip of Spain. Whatever might have been the merits of their respective claims, the power of Philip quickly decided the contest in his favor. He found his schemes facilitated by the treachery of the regents.

Philip finding everything in his favor, commanded the Duke of Alva to invade Portugal at the head of 20,000 men; whereupon, after a feeble defence made by Dom Antonio, Prior of Crato, who had been placed on the throne by the Portuguese, the whole kingdom submitted.

Philip made his entry into Lisbon as soon

as the kingdom had been totally reduced, and endeavored to conciliate the affections of the people by confirming the terms which he had before offered to the States. These terms were, that he would take a solemn oath to maintain the privileges and liberties of the people; that the States should be assembled within the realm, and nothing proposed in any other States that related to Portugal; that the viceroy or chief governor should be a native, unless the king should give that charge to one of the royal family; that the household should be kept on the same footing; that the post of first president, and all officers, civil, military and judicial, should be filled by Portuguese; all dignities in the church and in the orders of knighthood confined to the same; the commerce of Ethiopia, Africa and the Indies reserved also to them, and to be carried on only by their merchants and vessels; and he would remit all imposts on ecclesiastical revenues; that he would make no grant of any city, town or jurisdiction royal, to any but Portuguese; that estates resulting from forfeitures should not be united to the domain, but go to the relations of the last possessor, or be given to other Portuguese in recompense of services; that when the king came to Portugal, where he should reside as much as possible, he should not take the houses of private persons for his officers' lodgings, but keep to the custom of Portugal; that wherever his majesty resided, he should have an ecclesiastic, a treasurer, a chancellor, two masters of requests, with inferior officers, all of them Portuguese, who should despatch everything relating to the kingdom; that Portugal should ever continue a distinct kingdom, and its revenue be consumed within itself; that all matters of justice should be decided within the realm; that the Portuguese should be admitted to charges in the households of the King and Queen of Spain; that all duties on the frontiers should be taken away; and, lastly, that Philip should give three hundred thousand ducats to redeem prisoners, repair cities, and



relieve the miseries which the plague and other calamities had brought upon the people.

All these concessions, however, failed to answer the purpose; nay, although Philip was to the last degree lavish of his honors and employments, the Portuguese were still dissatisfied. Dom Antonio, the exiled prince, still styled himself "King of Portugal." At first he retired to France, where he found so much countenance, that with a fleet of nearly sixty sail, and a considerable body of troops on board, he made an attempt upon Terceira, where his fleet was beaten by the Spaniards. Dom Antonio was constrained to retire, which he did with some difficulty, and going to England, he was well received there. After Philip had ruined the naval power of Portugal, as well as that of Spain, by equipping the Armada, Queen Elizabeth assisted Dom Antonio, and sent Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake with a strong fleet and a considerable army to restore him. Upon this occasion Dom Antonio sent his son Dom Christoval a hostage to Muley Hamet, King of Fez and Morocco, who was to lend him two hundred thousand ducats. But Philip prevented this by surrendering Arzilla; which, with the unseasonable enterprise against Coruña, and the disputes that arose between Norris and Drake, rendered the expedition abortive; so that, except carrying the plague into England, it was attended with no consequences worthy of notice. Dom Antonio remained some time afterwards in England; but, finding himself disregarded, he withdrew once more into France, where he fell into great poverty and distress; and having at length died in the sixty-fourth year of his age, an inscription was placed on his tomb, in which he was styled "king." He left behind him several children, who, on account of his being a Knight of Malta, and having made a vow of chastity at his entrance into the order, were looked upon as illegitimate.

But Dom Antonio was not the only pretender to the crown of Portugal. The peo-

ple, partly from love of their prince, and partly from their hatred to the Castilians, were continually feeding themselves with the hopes that Dom Sebastian would appear and deliver them; and in this respect such a spirit of credulity reigned, that they would probably have taken a negro for Dom Sebastian. This humor induced the son of a tiler at Alcobaça, who had led a profligate life, and at length turned hermit, to give himself out as that prince; and, having with him two companions, one of whom styled himself Dom Christoval de Tavora, and the other the Bishop of Guarda, they began to collect money, and were in a fair way of creating much disturbance. But the cardinal archduke caused them to be apprehended, and after leading them ignominiously through the streets of Lisbon, he who took the name of Sebastian was sent to the galleys for life, and the pretended bishop was hanged. Not long afterwards, Gonsalo Alvarez, the son of a mason, gave himself out as the same king, and having promised marriage to the daughter of Pedro Alonso, a rich yeoman, whom he created Count of Torres Novas, he assembled a body of about 800 men, and some blood was spilt before he was apprehended. At length, being clearly proved to be an impostor, this person and his intended father-in-law were publicly hanged and quartered at Lisbon. The punishment, however, instead of extinguishing public credulity, served only to increase it.

About twenty years after the fatal defeat of Sebastian, there appeared at Venice a person who created much more trouble. He assumed the name of Dom Sebastian, and gave a very distinct account of the manner in which he had passed his time since that defeat. He affirmed that he had preserved his life and liberty by hiding himself amongst the slain; that after wandering in disguise for some time in Africa, he returned with two of his friends into the kingdom of Algarve; that he gave notice of this to the King Dom Henry; that finding his life sought, and being unwilling to disturb the

peace of the kingdom, he returned again amongst the Moors, and passed freely from one place to another in Barbary, in the habit of a penitent; and that after this he became a hermit in Sicily, but at length resolved to go to Rome, and discover himself to the pope. On the road he was robbed by his domestics, and came almost naked to Venice, where he was known and acknowledged by some Portuguese. Complaint, however, being made to the Senate, he was obliged to retire to Padua. But as the governor of that city also ordered him to depart, he, not knowing what to do, returned to Venice, where, at the request of the Spanish ambassador, who charged him not only with being an impostor, but also with many black and atrocious crimes, he was seized and thrown into prison. In the examinations he underwent, he not only acquitted himself of the crimes which had been laid to his charge, but entered into so minute a detail of the transactions which had passed between himself and the republic, that the commissioners were perfectly astonished; and, moved by his behavior, they showed no disposition to declare him an impostor. The noise of this was diffused throughout Europe, and the enemies of Spain endeavored everywhere to give it credit.

The State, however, refused to discuss the point, whether he was or was not an impostor, unless they were requested so to do by some prince or state in alliance with them. Upon this the Prince of Orange sent Dom Christoval, the son of the late Dom Antonio, to make that demand; and at his request an examination was instituted with great solemnity. But no decision followed; only the Senate set him at liberty, and ordered him to depart from their dominions. By the advice of his friends, therefore, he proceeded to Padua in the disguise of a monk, and from thence to Florence, where he was arrested by the command of the grand duke, who delivered him up to the Viceroy of Naples. He remained several years prisoner in the castle Del Ovo. At length he was

brought forth, led with infamy through the streets of the city, and declared to be an impostor who assumed the name of Sebastian; at which words he said gravely, "And so I am." In the same proclamation it was affirmed that he was in truth a Calabrian; but as soon as he heard this, he said, "It is false." He was next shipped on board a galley as a slave, and carried to San Lucar, whence, after being for some time confined there, he was transferred to a castle in the heart of Castile, and never heard of more. Some persons were executed at Lisbon for their endeavors to raise an insurrection in his behalf.

The administration of affairs in Portugal, during the reign of Philip, was certainly detrimental to the nation; and yet it does not appear that this proceeded so much from any ill intention in that monarch, as from errors in judgment. His prodigious preparations for the invasion of England impoverished all his European dominions; but it absolutely exhausted Portugal. Yet the government of Philip was so much better than that of his immediate successors that his death was justly regretted, and the Portuguese were taught by experience to confess that, of bad masters, he was the best.

His son Philip, the second of Portugal and the third of Spain, sat twenty years upon the throne before he paid a visit to Portugal, where the people put themselves to a most enormous expense to receive him. He held an assembly of the States, in which his son was sworn as his successor. The reigns of Philip III. and Philip IV. were characterized by a series of bad measures and worse fortune. All their dominions suffered greatly; Portugal most of all. The loss of Ormus in the East, and of Brazil in the West, together with the shipwreck of a fleet sent to escort one of the merchantmen from Goa, brought the nation incredibly low, and encouraged the Conde duke to hope that they might be entirely crushed. These are the heads only of the transactions of forty years. To enter in any degree into



particulars, would only be to point out the breaches made by the Spanish ministers in the conditions granted by Philip; which, with respect to the nation, was the original contract and unalterable constitution of Portugal whilst subject to the monarchs of Castile, but which, notwithstanding, they often flagrantly violated.

The very basis and foundation of their privileges was, that the kingdom should remain separate and independent, and consequently that Lisbon should continue as much its capital as ever. But so little was this observed, that neither promotion nor justice was to be obtained without journey to Madrid, which was not more the capital of Castile than it was that of Portugal. The general assembly of estates was to be held frequently, and they were only held thrice in the space of sixty years; two of them being held within the first three years. The king was to reside in this realm as often and as long as possible. Philip I., however, was there but once; Philip II. resided only four months; and Philip III. never at all. The household establishment was suppressed during all these reigns. The viceroy was to be a native of Portugal, or a prince or princess of the blood; yet when any of the royal family bore the title, the power was in reality in the hands of a Spaniard. Thus, when the Princess of Mantua was vice-queen, the Marquis de la Puebla was sent to assist her in council, and she could do nothing without his advice. The Council of Portugal, which was to be composed entirely of natives, was filled with Castilians, as the garrisons also were, though the contrary had been provided. The presidents of provinces, or corregidores, were to be natives; but, by keeping those offices in his own hands, the king eluded this article. No city, town or district was to be given to any except Portuguese; yet the Duke of Lerma had Beja, Serpa, and other parts of the demesnes of the crown, which were formerly appendages of the princes of the blood. None but natives were capable of offices in the courts of justice, in the

revenue, in the fleet, or of holding any post civil or military; yet these were given promiscuously to foreigners, or sold to the highest bidder, not excepting the government of castles, cities and provinces. The natives were so far from having an equal chance in such cases, that no situations in the presidios were ever given to them, and scarcely any in garrisons; and whenever it occurred, in the case of a person of extraordinary merit, whose pretensions could not be rejected, he was either removed, or not allowed to exercise his charge, as happened to the Marquis of Marialva and others. The forms of proceeding, the jurisdiction, the ministers, the secretaries, were all changed in the Council of Portugal, being reduced from five to three, then two, and at last to a single person.

By reason of these and other grievances, the detestation of the Spanish government became universal; and in 1640 a revolution soon took place, in which John, Duke of Braganza was declared king, by the title of John IV. This revolution, as being determined by the almost unanimous voice of the nation, was attended with very little effusion of blood. Several vain attempts were made by the King of Spain to regain his authority. The first battle was fought at Montijo in 1644, between a Portuguese army of 6000 foot and 1100 horse, and a Spanish army of nearly the same number. The latter were entirely defeated; and this contributed greatly to establish the affairs of Portugal on a firm basis. The Portuguese king carried on a defensive war during the remainder of his life; and after his death, which happened in 1655, the war was renewed with great vigor.

This was what the Spaniards did not expect. It would not, indeed, be easy to conceive a kingdom left in more perilous circumstances than Portugal was at this time. The king, Dom Affonso Enrique, was a child not more than thirteen years of age, reputed of unsound constitution, both of body and mind; the regency was in a woman, and that woman a Castilian; the nation was in

volved in a war respecting the title to the crown; and the nobility, some of them secretly disaffected to the reigning family, were almost all of them embarked in feuds and contentions with each other; so that the queen scarcely knew whom to trust or how she should be obeyed. She acted, however, with great vigor and prudence. By marrying her only daughter, the Princess Catherine, to Charles II., King of Great Britain, she procured for Portugal the protection of the English fleets, with reinforcements of some thousands of horse and foot; and, at last, in 1665, the war was terminated by the glorious victory of Montesclaros. This decisive action broke the power of the Spaniards, and fixed the fate of the kingdom, though not that of the King of Portugal. Affonso was a prince whose education had been neglected in his youth, who was devoted to vulgar amusements and mean company, and whom the queen for these reasons wished to deprive of the crown, that she might place it on the head of his younger brother Dom Pedro. The Portuguese, however, would not consent to set aside the rights of primogeniture, and involve the kingdom in all the miseries attending a disputed succession.

Affonso was compelled to sign a resignation of the kingdom; and his brother, after governing a few months without any legal authority, was in a meeting of the States unanimously proclaimed regent, and vested with all the powers of royalty. Soon after this revolution, for such it may be called, the marriage of the king and queen was declared null by the chapter of Lisbon; and the regent, by a pontifical dispensation, and with the consent of the States, immediately espoused the divorced lady. He governed, under the title of regent, fifteen years, when, upon the death of the king, he mounted the throne by the title of Dom Pedro II.; and after a long reign, during which he conducted the affairs of the kingdom with great prudence and vigor, he died in 1706.

Dom John V. succeeded his father; and,

though he was then little more than seventeen years of age, he acted with such wisdom and resolution, adhered so steadily to the grand alliance formed against France and Spain, and showed so great resources in his own mind, that though he suffered severe losses during the war, he obtained such terms of peace at Utrecht, that Portugal was in all respects a gainer by the treaty. The two crowns of Spain and Portugal were not, however, thoroughly reconciled until the year 1737. In 1750 a treaty was concluded with the Court of Madrid, by which Nova Colonia, on the river Plata, was ceded to his Catholic majesty, to the great regret of the Portuguese, as well on account of the value of that settlement, as because they apprehended that their possession of the Brazils would by this cession be rendered precarious. The king died in 1750, worn out by infirmities.

He was succeeded by his son Joseph I., who ascended the throne of Portugal under very favorable circumstances; but his reign, although short, was marked by great national calamities. The most remarkable event which occurred was the memorable earthquake, which, in November, 1755, destroyed one-half of the city of Lisbon, and buried thirty thousand people under the ruins. Two hours had scarcely elapsed after this terrible convulsion, when, to aggravate its horrors, flames burst forth from different quarters of the city, and the conflagration raged with terrific violence for three days, Lisbon was completely desolated. The royal family were fortunate enough to escape; but amongst the victims were the Spanish ambassador, and many other persons of distinction. Britain promptly afforded relief to the sufferers; an act of generosity the more honorable to her, as she had every reason to be dissatisfied with the conduct of the King of Portugal. From the commencement of his reign, he had thrown great obstructions in the way of English commerce, evading treaties, and imposing vexatious imposts; and it seemed perfectly clear that his object was to annihilate the commercial intercourse which had for so



many ages subsisted between the two countries. The same spirit of humanity was evinced by Spain; but both nations received an unworthy return, although Britain had most to complain of.

Scarcely had the agitation which this calamity gave rise to subsided, when Portugal was again thrown into commotion by an attempt to assassinate the king, (September 3, 1758,) who was wounded one night near his palace at Belem. Suspicion fell upon various classes of persons, particularly on certain ecclesiastics, who were said to have been incensed at the reform introduced by Dom Joseph; on the creatures of Spain, who aspired to the reunion of the two kingdoms under one sceptre; on the Jesuits, who were represented as indignant at the restriction of their ancient privileges; and on a prince of the royal family. All that is known with certainty is, that the scaffold flowed with noble blood; and that the Jesuits were stripped of their possessions, whilst their expulsion was decreed by the crown. Another occurrence of this reign was a rupture with the see of Rome, every servant of the pope being expelled from Portugal, and all intercourse between the two courts suspended for about two years. A more important event was the invasion of the country by Spain. This aggression originated in the refusal of the king to join the alliance of France and Spain against England. War was immediately declared against him, and troops marched to the frontiers of his kingdom. The ally whom he had so long neglected, and even deliberately ill-used, was appealed to, and not in vain. Troops, arms, and all necessary munitions of war, arrived from Britain; and, although the invaders succeeded in capturing Miranda, Braganza and Almeida, their triumphs were speedily put a stop to by the combined forces of Britain and Portugal. At the instance of the British Cabinet, the Count de Lippe was brought from Germany to assume the command of the whole army. This commander was ably assisted in his operations by General Bur-

goyne, and they had soon the glory of freeing the country from the Spanish army. The consequence of this triumph was a peace, solicited and obtained by the two hostile courts, now hopeless of success, and in apprehension of fresh disasters.

The remainder of this king's reign, extending from the year 1763 to 1777, was occupied by the introduction of measures for social, agricultural, and commercial improvement. He labored to improve the police and judicial administration, and not without success. He founded schools in the large towns, and improved the system of study in the university of Coimbra. He encouraged agriculture, the fisheries, and trade with the colonies; but in attempting to give a stimulus to home manufactures, by laying such duties on articles of British produce as amounted to an almost total exclusion of them from the Portuguese market, he acted with equal short-sightedness and ingratitude. One monument to his honor, more noble than the statue of bronze which his grateful subjects erected to him in Lisbon during his lifetime, remains to be mentioned. This was a decree by which the grandsons of slaves, and all who should be born after the date thereof, were declared free. Although this benefit was confined to Portugal alone, yet, considering the state of matters at the time it was conferred, it must be regarded as an amazing stride in the career of improvement. Joseph I. died in 1777, and was mourned by his people as the best monarch who had swayed the sceptre of Portugal since the days of Philip I. The prosperity of his reign was owing in great measure to the ability of his minister, the Marquis of Pombal, who, from his antipathy to the Jesuits and ecclesiastical tyranny, has been vigorously decried by the papal party ever since.

Joseph was succeeded by his daughter Maria, whom the necessities of state had induced her father to give in marriage to his own brother. Such revolting connections are unhappily far from rare in the modern history of Portugal. Some attempts were

made to exclude her in favor of a nephew, but they proved completely abortive. Though the abilities of this queen were limited, yet she was actuated by good intentions. Her administration was feeble, but upon the whole beneficial. She followed the example of her father in encouraging national industry and reforming the administration of justice. She founded the Academy of Sciences, introduced into the convents of friars a compulsory form of general education, endowed several admirable charitable institutions, and went so far in judicial reform as to abolish the law of imprisonment for debt. In short, had her foreign policy resembled her domestic administration, Portugal would have had no reason to complain of her. Maria was forced into a family compact by her powerful neighbors of France and Spain, by which the influence of the latter was strengthened and confirmed, whilst in the same degree that of England was weakened. This alliance was accompanied by a treaty of limits, which fixed the boundaries of Brazil, Paraguay, and Peru, the arrangement being peculiarly favorable to Spain.

In the year 1792 the queen exhibited symptoms of mental alienation, and John Maria Joseph, prince of Brazil, was appointed regent. One of the first acts of his administration was a declaration of war against the French republic, a step which he was induced to take from his connection with England. But commercial distress, the accumulating debt of the country, and the menacing language which France compelled Spain to adopt towards her neighbor, led to a peace in 1797. In 1799 the malady of the queen appearing to be incurable, the prince was confirmed in the regency, with full regal powers; but he made no change in the policy of the government. The same year he was again encouraged to arm against French aggression, in alliance with England and Russia; the victorious career of the revolutionists having received a severe, although, as it proved, only a temporary check. After Napoleon had confirmed his ascendancy,

Spain was under the necessity of declaring war against Portugal in the year 1801; but it was soon terminated by the treaty of Badajoz, in consequence of which Portugal was compelled to cede Olivenza to Spain, and likewise to pay a considerable sum of money. After this the prince enjoyed but a mere shadow of power, and at considerable sacrifices maintained a nominal independence, until at last, in 1807, a hostile army under Marshal Junot invaded Portugal, and the House of Braganza was declared by Napoleon to have forfeited the throne. This bold declaration was owing to the prince having refused to seize the English property in his dominions. Having embarked with his family for Brazil, the French general immediately afterwards took possession of his capital, and Portugal sank into the condition of an appendage of France.

Junot issued a proclamation, in which he declared that justice should be duly administered, tranquillity preserved, and the future happiness of the people solicitously guarded. But these professions were far from satisfying a people of whom the lower classes were dying of absolute want, and two-thirds of the merchants were bankrupt. A British force under the Duke of Wellington (then Sir Arthur Wellesley) was promptly dispatched to Portugal, where it was joined by a considerable body of national troops, now mustered in the northern provinces, and determined to maintain the struggle for freedom. A Junta was immediately established in Oporto, to conduct the government. After some sharp skirmishing between the two armies, the decisive battle of Vimeiro, which was fought on the 21st of August, 1808, overthrew the power of France in Portugal. The severely-censured convention of Cintra followed, and the country was evacuated by the French troops. The immediate consequences of this evacuation were highly beneficial. The government displayed an energy which restored subordination, and was felt all over the kingdom. A levy *en masse* of the whole male inhabitants, from fifteen to



sixty years of age, was demanded; but it does not appear that the call was responded to with such alacrity. Towards the close of the year 1808, Madrid having surrendered, and the British army under Sir John Moore having been compelled to retreat through the mountains of Galicia to Coruña, the subjugation of Portugal was again resolved upon by the French. The intelligence of the approaching invasion at first spread consternation and dismay throughout Portugal, for it was in no condition to offer any serious resistance to the force of the enemy that menaced the frontiers. But fresh re-inforcements arrived from Britain, and General Beresford, who had been appointed commander-in-chief of the armies of Portugal, having established a system of subordination and discipline amongst the troops, confidence was in a great measure restored before a blow could be struck.

Marshal Soult entered the kingdom of Portugal at the head of the French army, after dispersing the Spanish force in Galicia. He was feebly opposed by the Portuguese. Their commander, General Freyre, was opposed to a regular engagement; but his unruly troops rose in mutiny and massacred both him and his supporters, under the suspicion of treachery. They were led against the enemy by Baron Eben, a German in the British service, and a battle was fought and lost. Soult then invested Oporto, and although the city had been strongly fortified and garrisoned, it was carried by assault on the 29th of March, 1809, after a feeble defence of only three days. Immediately on entering the town, the French soldiery commenced an indiscriminate slaughter of the inhabitants; and although their commander used every effort to repress their fury, the plunder and licentiousness had continued a day and a night before subordination could be restored. The defeat of the Spanish army at Medellin opened an easy road to Lisbon; but the French force was divided into three separate bodies, under three independent commanders, Soult, Victor, and La-

pisse, though, from fear of being separately committed, the whole remained inactive, or only engaged in insignificant manœuvres. Each commander appears to have waited for intelligence as to the movements of the others, and by this delay the capital was saved. Such was the situation of affairs when Sir Arthur Wellesley landed at Lisbon on the 23d of April, and assumed the chief command of the armies of England and Portugal. By a series of brilliant manœuvres, the British commander compelled the French to abandon Portugal. But Napoleon being pledged to his people and the world to conquer that country, early in 1810 an army of seventy thousand men was assembled in the vicinity of Salamanca, and the command of it intrusted to Marshal Massena. After clearing his way to Portugal, by the capture of several strongly-fortified places, the French general advanced upon Lisbon. But his vigilant enemy had well employed the time afforded him by preparing a secure asylum for his troops, by which he at once kept his footing in the Peninsula, and defended Lisbon against a greatly superior force. This formidable defensive position is celebrated in military annals by the name of the lines of Torres Vedras. The advance of Massena, the battle of Busaco, the stand made at Torres Vedras, the retreat of the French, and their final evacuation of Portugal, will be found described in the article BRITAIN. It is true, that in the subsequent operations of the war, some parts of the kingdom were included in the theatre of hostilities, yet they never extended much beyond the frontiers. During the remainder of the war, however, the troops of Portugal bore an active and creditable part in almost every encounter with the enemy.

On the death of Maria, John VI. ascended the throne of Portugal and Brazil. The establishment of the court of Lisbon in an American settlement, though productive of little good to the mother-country, led to important results. In the first place, it induced Brazil to withdraw itself from dependence

on England; and secondly, it paved the way for that colony erecting itself into a separate state. But the influence of England in Portugal continued, and the condition of the kingdom for the present remained essentially unchanged by the transfer. The peace of Paris, concluded in May, 1814, which, it was believed, would place everything on a proper basis, did not realize the expectations of the nation. Spain evaded the restitution of Olivenza, which had been provided for by the congress of Vienna; whilst, at the same time, Portugal was required to restore French Guiana to France. The court of Rio therefore took possession of the Banda Oriental; but an account of these transactions is given in another part of this work (see BRAZIL). These circumstances rendered the condition of Portugal far from tranquil. The country felt that the order of things had been inverted, and the parent state had become a dependent on her colony. A conspiracy of a very extensive nature was discovered in the army, and its progress checked; but the spirit which generated it was not extinguished. In short, everything was ripening for a fundamental change in the administration and constitution of government; and the Portuguese people were soon afforded an opportunity of showing their dislike of the absence of the court, and the predominance of English influence. The continual bickerings between the commander of the forces and the regency induced Marshal Beresford to repair to Rio de Janeiro to obtain fresh instructions, and, it might be, fresh powers from the king; but during his absence that revolution burst forth which completely changed the whole political aspect of the kingdom.

The first symptoms of this revolution were exhibited at Oporto on the 24th of August, 1820, both the citizens and the army acting in concert. The soldiers swore fealty to the king, the Cortes, and the constitution which might be adopted, and the civil authorities declared in favor of the measure. A junta of thirteen members was chosen by acclamation; and a declaration was addressed to the

nation stating, that the assembling of the Cortes and the adoption of a new constitution were the only means of saving the state. On the 15th of September, the day on which it was usual to celebrate the deliverance of Portugal from France, the regency in Lisbon, fearing to assemble such a multitude of people as generally met on that day, resolved to omit the ceremony. But the troops and the citizens met and deposed the government, declared for the king, the Cortes, and the constitution, and installed a temporary council as a provisional government. Thus a complete revolution was effected without either violence or blood-shed. The provisional government formed a union with the Junta of Oporto on the 1st of October; and one of the earliest acts of this united body was to dispatch Count Palmella, the head of the royal regency, to Brazil, with an account of the transactions which had just taken place, and a petition that either the king or the prince-royal would return to Europe and assume the sovereignty of Portugal. One deputy was chosen for every thirty thousand inhabitants. Clergymen, lawyers, and officers were the sorts of persons who were chiefly elected, few men of wealth or family being chosen. On the 26th of January, 1821, the Cortes met and named a regency and ministry, declared the late insurrections legal and necessary, and abolished the Inquisition. On the 9th of March the articles of the new constitution were adopted almost unanimously. By these, freedom of person and property was guaranteed, and the liberty of the press, legal equality, the abolition of privileges, the admission of all citizens to all offices, and the sovereignty of the nation, were secured. One chamber and a conditional royal veto were likewise resolved upon.

John VI. returned from America, leaving his eldest son, Dom Pedro regent of Brazil. He was under the necessity of acceding to certain restrictions on his power, imposed by the Cortes, before he was permitted to disembark. On landing, he swore to observe the new constitution, and concurred in all



the succeeding acts of the Cortes. In May, 1822, Dom Pedro accepted the dignity of constitutional emperor of Brazil, and a complete separation took place between the two countries. The constitution of Portugal was finally completed and sworn to by the king on the 1st of October, 1822; and shortly afterwards, the session of this extraordinary Cortes closed. A plot, however, was formed for abolishing the new constitution, at the head of which was the queen, a Spanish Infanta; and several of the nobility and clergy were likewise engaged in it. Dom Miguel violated the promise which he had solemnly given to his father by becoming the leader of the counter-revolutionists, and inviting the nation to rise under the royal standard against the anarchical policy of the Cortes. The greater part of the troops declared for the Infant, and John VI., yielding to the force of circumstances, named a new ministry, and declared the constitution of 1822, null and void. Sixty members of the Cortes protested against this proceeding; but the king, a mere puppet in the hands of his son, was borne along by the force of the current, without being able to give any effectual check to its course.

The object of the queen and the Infant was to induce the king to resume absolute power; but John VI. firmly declared his resolution not to comply. The counter-revolutionists, however, began to act independently of his authority, and various steps were taken to carry out their views. Dom Miguel, been appointed commander-in-chief of the army, called the troops to arms, and issued proclamations, in which he declared it to be his intention to emancipate the king from the control of free-masons and others by whom he was surrounded. The ministers and other civil officers, to the number of one hundred persons, were on the same day put under arrest; but when the king ascertained what had occurred, he declared that the whole had been done without his orders. As an excuse for his conduct, the Infant said that he had taken these steps for the purpose of

frustrating a conspiracy which had been formed against the king's life. On the representations of the foreign ambassadors, the individuals imprisoned were released; and the king issued a decree commanding an immediate investigation of the pretended treason. John, finding himself in danger of falling a victim to the intrigues of his son, contrived to escape on board of an English vessel which lay in the Tagus. He deprived the Infant of his command, but pardoned him and gave him permission to travel. Portugal and Brazil, assumed a hostile attitude, but at length the independence of the latter country was acknowledged. This weak, good-natured monarch died in March, 1826, having previously appointed his daughter Isabella, regent of Portugal.

Isabella for a short time governed Portugal in the name of the emperor of Brazil, Dom Pedro, who was the legitimate successor to both the European and American possessions of the house of Braganza. On the 23d of April, 1826, he granted a constitution to Portugal, which established two chambers, and in some other respects resembled the French charter. Not long afterwards, he surrendered Portugal to his daughter, Donna Maria, as an independent queen, on condition of her marrying her uncle, Dom Miguel. An unsuccessful attempt was then made by the absolutists to overthrow the constitution, and proclaim Dom Miguel absolute king of Portugal. In July, 1827, Dom Miguel was appointed by his brother lieutenant and regent of the kingdom. The prince immediately returned to Portugal, having pledged himself to abide by the terms required by Pedro. He arrived in Lisbon in February, 1828, and immediately assumed the administration of the government, at the same time taking the oath to maintain the constitution. But oaths were in his eyes a mere formality of state, involving no moral obligation. He assumed the sceptre as absolute king, and took his measures accordingly. But the military in general were unfavorable to his projects. The garrison of

Oporto declared for Dom Pedro, and the charter; other bodies of troops followed their example, and a corps of 6000 men advanced towards the capital; but they were defeated by a superior force, and the efforts of the constitutionalists were for the present baffled.

The object of Dom Miguel was now to consolidate his power, and get himself proclaimed king. The Cortes met, and all who were likely to oppose him having been imprisoned or exiled, this body unanimously declared Dom Miguel lawful king of Portugal. The pretext by which the Cortes endeavored to vindicate its conduct was, that as Dom Pedro had become a foreigner, he had neither a right to succeed himself nor to appoint a successor. On the 4th of July, 1828, Dom Miguel confirmed the decree of the Cortes, and assumed the title, as he had already done the powers of royalty. The punishment of those implicated in the Oporto insurrection followed as a matter of course. An expedition was likewise sent against the refractory islands which had refused to acknowledge the usurper; and Madeira and the Azores were, with one exception, reduced.

In the meanwhile Donna Maria had set sail from Brazil for Europe; but on arriving before Gibraltar, she found that, under actual circumstances, it would be injudicious, if not dangerous, to land at Lisbon, and accordingly steered for the English shores. She remained sometimes in London, and during her stay was entertained as queen of Portugal. In August, 1829, she returned to Brazil, in which a revolution suddenly deprived her father of his American empire. Having abdicated a crown which he could no longer retain, in favor of his infant son, the ex-emperor sailed for Europe with his daughter to assert her claims to the throne of Portugal. The usurper still pursued the same course of oppression, and, not content with confining and despoiling his own countrymen, he extended his outrages to British and French subjects. In the year 1830, it was calculated that 40,000 individuals were under arrest

for political causes alone; and that 5000 persons were concealed in hiding-places in different parts of the country. How many had been devoted to destruction by being sent to the fatal shores of Africa, and how many had voluntarily exiled themselves, it is impossible to estimate. The British government demanded redress for the acts of violence committed against its subjects, and on this being refused, a British fleet entered the Tagus, and terrified the tyrant into compliance. France acted in a similar manner, and with even more success, demanding an indemnity for the expenses incurred by the expedition. The United States also dispatched a fleet to Lisbon to obtain satisfaction for injuries done to American commerce. But these repeated humiliations wrought no change in the policy of Dom Miguel. But his finances were now falling into inextricable confusion. The revenue scarcely sufficing for the household expenses and the maintenance of the troops, the usurper was driven to all manner of expedients to relieve his necessities. The island of Terceira, one of the Azores, resisted his claims; and here a regency was formally installed, with the Marquis of Palmella at its head. From this spot Dom Pedro issued a decree in favor of his daughter Donna Maria.

Although neither the government of France, nor that of England, gave open assistance to Dom Pedro, both abstained from opposing any obstacles to his measures of recruiting. Many officers of each nation enlisted in his ranks; and towards the end of December, 300 half-pay officers and volunteers sailed for Belleisle, on the coast of France, which had been fixed upon as the place of rendezvous. Insurrections took place in Portugal, but were ultimately suppressed. Meanwhile the island of St. Michael's was captured by a force from Terceira, under Villa Flor, one of the members of the regency. Afraid that Madeira, would be the next object of attack, Dom Miguel sent a small armament for its defence. Dom Pedro now resolved to hazard a descent upon Por-



tugal, with the undisciplined troops he had collected together. The expedition sailed from the island of St. Michael, on the 27th of June, 1832. It consisted of two frigates, three corvettes, three armed brigs, and four schooners, besides transports and a number of gun-boats, to cover the landing. An officer who held a commission in the British army undertook the command of the naval department, with the rank of admiral. The whole army on board did not amount to 10,000 men, scantily provided with artillery, and still more scantily with cavalry.

Dom Miguel made every preparation in his power to repulse the threatened attack. On the 8th of July, Dom Pedro appeared before Oporto, landed his troops, and took possession of the town, without the loss of a single man. Miguel immediately menaced Oporto from two points. On the 22d of July, an action took place, in which his troops were repulsed, and compelled to fall back.

The operations of the naval squadron were attended with little success. Several partial engagements took place between the two fleets, but no advantage was gained on either side. Dom Pedro continued to fortify Oporto; whilst Miguel, with equal industry, was increasing his army, the greater part of which lay on the north side of the Douro. The Miguelites made an attack upon a suburb of Oporto, which they carried; and the possession of this place enabled them to harrass the city greatly. Dom Miguel then made a general but unsuccessful assault upon the works with which Oporto was surrounded. Finding that it was impossible to carry Oporto by storm, Miguel determined to cut off the supplies. By this step Dom Pedro found himself reduced to great difficulties.

The contention continued through 1833. In this year Admiral Napier, then commanding Dom Pedro's fleet utterly annihilated the enemy's in the neighborhood of Cape St. Vincent. Previously to this achievement, a body of queen's troops had landed at another point of the coast, and in a few days the whole of

the Algarves declared for Donna Maria. This small army under the command of Villa Flor, now Duke of Terceira, marched upon Lisbon, and on the way completely routed a greatly superior force. The capital was deserted by the garrison; the inhabitants rose *en masse*, and declared Donna Maria their lawful sovereign; and the Duke of Terceira, entering Lisbon in triumph, hoisted the queen's colors on the citadel. Dom Pedro instantly set sail from Oporto to assume the government, and no sooner had the intelligence reached France and England, than both immediately acknowledged Donna Maria as queen of Portugal.

Great preparations were made for the defence of Lisbon, against the Miguelite army, 18,000 strong, which, under Marshal Bourmont, an experienced general, was now advancing towards the capital. Several attacks were made on the defences during the rest of the year 1833, but the results were unimportant. The first military operation of importance which took place in 1834, was the capture of Leiria, an important town between Lisbon and Coimbra, which capitulated to the queen's troops in February. A battle was lost by the Miguelites near Almoester, where Saldanha was posted; and towns and provinces began to declare for the queen so rapidly that the cause of the usurper became desperate. He shut himself up at Santarem, with a view of keeping up his communications with the frontiers of Spain, whence he expected aid. It was a singular coincidence, that in Spain as well as in Portugal, an infant queen was supporting her cause by favoring popular privileges, with an uncle for her rival, as a representative of more despotic principles of government. The cause of the two queens being so far the same, a community of interest led to an alliance, to which the courts of Britain and France became parties. Each was recognized as lawful successor to the throne to which she aspired, and they both agreed to employ their arms jointly against their two rivals. Don Carlos was compelled to fly from Spain into Portugal,

nd thither he was pursued by a Spanish army, which proved even more fatal to Dom Miguel than to Don Carlos. The Miguelites, seeing all hope lost, rapidly disbanded, and only the miserable remnant of an army remained attached to the usurper. A suspension of arms was agreed to; and on the 26th of May, a convention was entered into, by which Miguel formally consented to abandon the country. The terms granted him were, that he should never again set foot either in Portugal or Spain, nor in any way concur in disturbing these kingdoms; that he should leave the country within fifteen days; that he should have a pension of about \$75,000, and be permitted to dispose of his personal property, after restoring the crown jewels and other articles; and finally, that, by his command, the troops still adhering to his cause should instantly lay down their arms, and the fortresses surrender to the queen. On the 2d of June, he embarked for Genoa, where he had no sooner arrived than he issued a declaration declaring that he had acted under compulsion in relinquishing the throne, and that the transaction was null and void.

The civil war being thus terminated, an extraordinary Cortes was assembled on the 14th of August. The regency was ultimately conferred on Dom Pedro, but he expired on the 22d of September, 1834, having, during the latter years of his life, acted a part which the earlier stages of his career gave the world little reason to expect. The queen's marriage with the Duke of Leuchtenberg, the son of Eugene Beauharnois, and the brother of Dom Pedro's wife, was soon afterwards resolved upon. A bill to exclude Dom Miguel and his descendants from the throne of Portugal, was passed without one dissentient voice. The budget for the year 1834, showed a considerable deficit, and this formed an excuse for treating the British auxiliaries, to whom they owed so much, with shameful ingratitude.

Prince Augustus of Leuchtenberg, the husband of the young queen, having arrived

in Portugal, in the beginning of the year 1835, was appointed commander-in-chief of the Portuguese army, a nomination which gave rise to much contention. But death soon cut short the discussion, for the young prince expired on the 28th of March. The chambers, however, did not allow the queen to indulge long in the sorrows of widowhood. The constitutional system depended greatly on a direct succession to the throne, and before the end of the year the queen's second marriage was arranged. The bridegroom selected was Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, a nephew of the King of the Belgians.

The prince arrived at Lisbon, in April, 1836. Government now became extremely annoyed by the question, whether the king should be appointed to the command of the army, when it turned out that this was one of the special conditions of the marriage treaty. The proceeding proved very unpopular, and materially hastened a revolution, in which the ministry and the constitution were shipwrecked together. It does not appear, however, that the government anticipated any serious changes, as the country, although a good deal irritated, exhibited no dangerous symptoms of discontent. Yet the revolutionary plot must have been arranged beforehand, for even the troops of the line were seduced. The queen was compelled to declare the political constitution of the 23d of September, 1822, to be in vigor; but it was at the same time agreed that it should undergo such modifications as circumstances had rendered necessary. A new ministry was immediately appointed, and Prince Ferdinand was deprived of his military commission. But neither the great body of the people nor the more influential classes showed any indications of accordance with the remodelers of government. Almost all the nobility, the superior clergy, and many persons holding official situations of greater or of less importance, refused promptly to take the oath to the new constitution. The peers whose existence as a separate legislative assembly was thus abolished, protested to the queen against



the measure. The queen, however, was obliged to accede to most of the demands of the liberal party, and thereupon dismissed her ministers.

The principal events which followed these changes were, the economizing of the expenditure, the imposition of a tax for the support of the priesthood, the introduction of a uniform system of duties on vessels sailing from Portuguese harbors, the abolition of the slave trade, and other measures of more or less moment. During the years 1837 and 1838 some provinces of Portugal were kept in constant terror, and, to a certain extent, ravaged by rebel banditti, whose ostensible object was to excite a rising in favor of Dom Miguel. The most noted of these guerilla chiefs, Remechido, was at length taken and shot.

To trace the tangled thread of Portuguese politics, to narrate all the changes of ministry, all the outbreaks of the people, during the last thirty years, would be tedious and uninteresting. It will be sufficient to mention the principal events. On the 4th April, 1838, the nineteenth anniversary of the queen's birthday, she and her husband solemnly swore to maintain the new constitution; and an amnesty was granted towards all political offenders in respect of events that had taken place since the 10th September, 1836. Viscount Sa de Bandeira was placed at the head of the new cabinet; and the general election of deputies was proceeded with. On the 31st October the queen was delivered of a son, who received the title of Duke of Oporto, and is now the reigning king. During the year 1839 there were two changes of ministry: in the latter Costa Cabral came into power. Early in 1840 the Cortes were suddenly dissolved, and a new Cortes summoned to meet in May. As the year wore away, disaffection showed itself in a part of the army, but the insurrectionary spirit was soon put down. About this time a quarrel broke out between the governments of Spain and Portugal as to the navigation of the Douro, which had been declared free to both nations throughout its course by a

convention signed in 1835, leaving certain regulations to be settled afterwards. The Portuguese government appearing to hold back, that of Spain threatened to enforce the treaty *vi et armis*, whereupon the former gave way, and the dispute was adjusted.

In January, 1842, Costa Cabral, who then held the port-folio of justice, suddenly left Lisbon for Oporto; and there, along with the military commander, proclaimed Dom Pedro's charter of 1826; forming, at the same time, a provisional government in the name of the queen, in the presence of the municipal authorities and the troops of the garrison. It was strongly suspected that the court connived with this proceeding; however the government compelled the queen to dismiss Cabral from his office, and to issue a proclamation against the insurrection. A new cabinet was formed, at the head of which was placed the Duke of Palmella; but the troops at Lisbon and the populace broke out into open revolt, demanding the restoration of the charter, whereupon the newly-appointed ministers resigned, and a royal decree issued proclaiming the charter to be the law of the land. Of the next cabinet the Duke of Terceira was nominal chief, and Costa Cabral came in as minister for home affairs. The Cortes met in July, and the queen told them, with reference to the charter, that their mission was to consolidate it. Matters went on pretty quietly until February, 1844, when a regiment mutinied, and the insurrectionary spirit spreading, the Count de Bomfin put himself at the head of about 700 men, and retired to Almeida, where he was besieged by the government forces. The alleged object of the insurgents was to procure the dismissal of the ministers. They made, however, a feeble resistance: the place was surrendered, and the leaders allowed to escape into Spain. After the close of the session the ministers did several arbitrary acts under the shelter of royal decrees, for which, however, they were afterwards indemnified by the Cortes. In April or May, 1846, the standard of revolt

was once more raised. The insurrection commenced in the Upper Minho, the immediate cause being the imposition of a new tax. Great dissatisfaction with the ministry had existed throughout the nation for some time; the conduct of Costa Cabral especially had excited indignation and disgust, his rapacity and venality being notorious, and his increasing wealth evident. A great part of Portugal was up in arms, and the ministers resigned; whereupon a new ministry was formed, with the Duke of Palmella at its head, and the Marquis of Saldanha and the queen issued a proclamation promising a redress of grievances, including a restoration of the liberty of the press. Cabral (who had been ennobled the previous year by the title of Count Thomar) made his escape into Spain. A royal decree authorized the Bank of Portugal to suspend its cash payments. The Chamber of Deputies was dissolved, and the Cortes assembled for the ensuing 1st of September. At the commencement of October the queen abruptly dismissed her ministry, and at once entrusted Saldanha with the task of forming a new one. The suddenness of the proceeding, and the names of some of the ministers, led a large section of the nation to believe that the crown wished to replace the Cabralista party in power. A considerable body of troops revolted, and placed themselves under the Condes das Antas and da Bomfin; whilst a revolutionary Junta was organized at Oporto. Affairs being in a very alarming position, the British government dispatched a special agent to watch the proceedings, and endeavor to effect a reconciliation between the parties; and a British fleet was ordered into the Tagus. In the confusion that ensued, an attempt was made to excite a movement in favor of Dom Miguel, but this utterly failed. Cabral wished to return to Portugal, but the ministers prevented him; giving him, however, the appointment of ambassador at Madrid. On the 23d December an engagement took place at Torres Vedras between the queen's troops, under Saldanha, and the insurgents, under

Bomfin, about 4000 men being engaged on each side. Bomfin was completely routed; 1300 of his men were taken prisoners, along with the commanders, at a loss to the queen's army of nearly 400 killed and wounded. Saldanha (now a duke) then marched into the north, a small force having been stationed at Estremoz, in the east. He remained inactive for some time in the neighborhood of Oporto, but being too weak to besiege or attack the place, the insurgents gathered strength and organized their plans. In April, 1847, several steamers having fallen into the hands of the insurgents, about 1200 troops under Sa da Bandeira were transferred from the north to the south; where, being augmented by a body of the local militia, they marched in the direction of Lisbon. Troops under the Conde de Mello raised this portion of the insurgent army to about 4000. On the 1st May an engagement took place in the neighborhood of St. Ubes (Setubal), in which 500 of the ante-ministerial troops were killed or wounded. The capital meantime was only kept quiet by the threatening attitude of the British fleet. The queen felt her throne trembling under her, and preparations were made to receive her and the royal family on board a British man-of-war. The government having appealed to the governments of Britain, France, and Spain, active negotiations were set on foot with the malcontents, and an amnesty for the past was offered; but the overture failed. There had been all along a strong disposition on the part of Spain to send a body of troops to the assistance of the queen. Spanish interference not being desirable for political reasons, it was at length arranged that the three governments should afford the queen the needful assistance; and a protocol was accordingly signed in London on the 21st of May. The ministers had previously resigned, and a transition ministry been appointed. An amnesty was issued, and the insurgents, seeing that the contest had become hopeless, laid down their arms, and Spanish troops occupied Oporto. The Cortes met, and new ministers were called to



power. Through 1848 the country was quiet, Saldanha being at the head of affairs. In March, 1849, Cabral had intrigued so successfully that he ousted Saldanha, and continued prime minister until April, 1851, when Saldanha broke out into open revolt. He marched northwards with an inconsiderable body of troops, and followed the queen's husband at the head of a strong force. Saldanha denounced the peculations and continued infractions of the constitution committed by Cabral, and he called upon the queen to dismiss him from her counsels. At first Saldanha's movement did not receive much encouragement; at length the city of Oporto declared for him. Cabral resigned, taking refuge on board a British steamer; and Saldanha returned in triumph to Lisbon. He was placed at the head of a new ministry, which continued in power until June, 1856. During this period the country remained quiet, but the ministry were guilty of a disgraceful act of bad faith towards the public creditors of the state. The finances for many years had been becoming worse and worse. The credit of the nation was very low, and the annual deficit large. Endeavoring by a vigorous effort to put the national affairs on a better footing, a royal decree issued on the 18th December, 1852, to reduce the rate of interest on the national debt, irrespective of the rate at which the money was borrowed, and without any offer of paying dissentient creditors in full. Large arrears of interest had been previously capitalized after deducting 10 per cent. of the amount. These dishonest acts were almost sufficient to justify the intervention of the British government, since a very large amount of the debt was owing to British subjects. The London Stock Exchange refused to allow any quotation of the funds in their lists; and this continued to be the case until 1856, when the Portuguese government came to an arrangement with its foreign creditors, of dubious advantage to them it is true, but the best that could be made under the circumstances.

Donna Maria died in childbirth on the

15th of November, 1853, whereupon the king-consort proclaimed himself regent until his eldest son should be of age. At the close of her troubled life she left behind five sons and two daughters. The eldest son quietly ascended the throne, with the title of Dom Pedro V., on the 16th September, 1855, the anniversary of his eighteenth birthday. Little occurred during his minority that needs to be chronicled here, save that the deficient harvest of 1854 compelled the government to admit for a time foreign grain free of duty; and that the young king paid a visit to England and part of the Continent, accompanied by his next brother, in pursuance of a wish expressed by their mother. His majesty married a German princess of the House of Hohenzollern. He is said to be of a reserved disposition; but he won golden opinions from the nation by his behavior during a pestilence resembling yellow fever that carried off nearly 5000 person at Lisbon in the autumn of 1857. The exciting cause of this fever was the poisonous atmosphere occasioned by defective drainage. The Saldanha ministry having proposed to raise a sum of £3,000,000, to make a grant to a French company of the right of constructing certain lines of railway, and to impose new taxes, their plans met with strong opposition in the lower chamber of the legislature. This, however, was surmounted; but a still more violent opposition was threatened in the chamber of peers; to avoid which the king was asked to create a number of new peers. As he refused to do this, the Saldanha ministry tendered their resignation in June, 1856. The king then empowered the Marquis de Loulé to form a new government, which contented itself with asking for authority to contract a loan of £330,000. This was given and the arrangement with the British bond holders was confirmed. An act was passed in the same session to abolish slavery in the Portuguese colonies on the west coast of Africa.

Nothing of much importance has since transpired in Portugal. What the future of

the country may be, it is not easy to foresee. The past affords a miserable story; the enormous debt must for a long period cripple the nation. The resources of the country are doubtless great, but they can only be developed by the enlightened and honest conduct of men in power, by a peaceful and law-respecting people, and by capital. This last requisite exists not at present in Portugal itself, nor can it be obtained from abroad as long as there are evidences of dishonest dealings or political disturbance. The conduct of the king since his accession to the throne has afforded ground for good hopes, but great tact is required to reconcile conflicting parties, as well as a firm determination to do justice to all, and to reign for the benefit of the whole body of the people.

The AZORES and the MADEIRAS (see these articles) are termed adjacent isles, and are not considered colonies. The Portuguese exercise sovereignty over the islands of Cape de Verde, the islands of Principe, S. Thomé and Anno Bom, off the African coast, near the equator; have possessions on the Guinea coast; and lay claim to a great region on the west coast of Africa, south of the line known as Angola and Benguela. The area of the country claimed by them in this part amounts to 153,000 square geographical miles, and the inhabitants are said to number 53,000, chiefly Negroes. On the east coast of Africa the Portuguese claim the territory of Mozambique, extending from the Bay of Lourenco Margues, in Lat. 26. S., to Cabo Delgado, in Lat. 10. S. The area is calculated at 216,000 square geographical miles, and the population at 300,000. In Hindustan the Portuguese have settlements at Goa, with a subject population of 350,000; a strip of land at Damao, in the Gulf of Cambay, with 34,000 inhabitants; and the fort of Diu, in Gujerat, with a piece of land inhabited by 11,000 persons. In China, Portugal claims nine square miles at Macao, with a population of 4600. She also claims the islands of Timor and Solor, lying between Australia and Java.

The language, like the Italian, may be described as a soft bastard Latin, for the majority of Portuguese words are derived from that tongue. It has a close affinity to the Spanish; so much so, that Spaniards and Portuguese can understand each other; and yet considerable differences have been produced by the separation of the two kingdoms through a long course of years, and by the efforts of the Portuguese themselves, who have always desired to make their language diverge as much as possible from their neighbors'. The Spanish tongue is more dignified, stately and rich; the Portuguese more concise, soft and fluent, with more conversational aptitude.

The literature of Portugal, almost ignored by the rest of Europe, contains, it must be admitted, no masterpieces, with the exception of "*Os Lusíadas*" of Camoens; and this poem is much oftener mentioned than read out of Portugal. It has, however, been translated into most European languages, there being three translations in English. The language lending itself readily to verse, poetry forms a disproportionately large section of the literature; and of this section love poems form the great bulk. Several early kings and members of the royal family composed verses, and thereby gave fashion to the occupation. In the fifteenth century romantic pastorals, the most artificial of all poetical compositions, came into vogue, and this class of poetry has ever since been much cultivated. At the close of the fifteenth century appeared Bernardino Riberio, one of the best of the early poets; and a little later the much-esteemed poems of Saa de Miranda saw the light, many of them, however, being written in the Castilian language. Camoens's great poem was first printed in 1572. Amongst modern poets the name of Almeida Garrett, only recently dead, is conspicuous. The first classical prose work is a romance entitled "*Corte na Aldea*," by Rodriguez Lobo, published towards the close of the sixteenth century; and at the same period the works of Cortereal, another classic writer,



saw the light. In the seventeenth century appeared several works of travel, one of which, Mendes Pinto's "*Perigrinaçam*" (1620), has been translated into most European languages, and has acquired a distinguished reputation for want of veracity. In one of Congreve's plays, a dealer in fictions is thus addressed: "Mendes Pinto was but a type of thee, thou liar of the first magnitude!"

In the department of history the writers are numerous. The national conquests in the sixteenth century are a favorite theme; and here the "*Decads*" of Barros (1553), the Livy of the Portuguese, are conspicuous. In the next century Andrade's "*Life of Don Joao de Castro*," fourth viceroy of the Indies, is considered a masterpiece of biographical composition. Almost the only complete history of the kingdom by a native writer is the "*Historia de Portugal*," by Lemos, 1786-1804, 20 vols. A valuable history of the kingdom is, however, in progress, and promises, by its critical spirit and elegant style, to form a classical work. We allude to the History of Alexandre Hereulano, the royal librarian. In a nation which has always boasted of its adherence to Romanism, it is only to be expected that theological and ecclesiastical writings should be numerous, and a glance at any library will show that such is the case. We shall content ourselves, however, with referring to Diniz's "*Das Ordens religiosas em Portugal*," 1853.

As to pieces for the theatre, the early dramas Antonio Ferreira, Camoens and Gil Vicente, the Plautus of Portugal, were original; then came imitations of the Spanish writers; and of late years the French stage has been the main support of the Portuguese drama. The best comedy in the language is thought by the Portuguese themselves to

be the Countess Vimieiro's "*Osmia*," which was crowned by the Academy. It is founded on an event in their early history.

In the department of fiction the Portuguese of the present time rely chiefly on importations or translations from other nations, chiefly the French. With regard to periodical literature, there are between forty and fifty newspapers published in the capital and in the principal towns; they are all of small size, and their circulation is very limited. The leading articles read like translations from the French applied to Portuguese topics. Those who wish to learn more of the literature of Portugal may consult Sismondi's "*History of the Literature of the South of Europe*."

In fine arts Portugal presents us with no name of eminence, with the exception of an old painter who is known as the Gran Vasco, and who in that country takes the rank that Raffaele takes in the rest of Europe. The events of his life are unknown the year, even the century of his birth, is a matter of dispute; and all that can be said with certainty is, that he was born either in the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. A vast number of pictures in different parts of the country are attributed to him, the majority, no doubt, quite erroneously. The best collection of his works is said to be found in the cathedral of Visen. The wealthier class of Portugal seems to have little taste for the fine arts; a few of the nobility, however, possess small collections. The national collection is deposited in the convent of St Francisco (at present the Academy of Fine Arts) at Lisbon; but not more than half a dozen pictures of real value are to be found in it. Exhibitions of the works of living artists occasionally take place here.

## ENGLAND.

THAT the aboriginal, or at least the earliest inhabitants of these islands were a people of Celtic origin and race, seems to be admitted on all hands, and is rendered highly probably, both from the intimations of history and the evidence of language. The former leave little doubt that the migrations and settlements of the Celtic tribes preceded those of the Seythian or Gothic nations by whom they were almost everywhere displaced; and this conclusion derives additional probability from the consideration, that the greater part of the names of mountains, lakes and rivers, in both the British islands, are still descriptive and significant in some dialect of the Celtic language.

To the Celtic population of Britain succeeded the Gothic, by whom they were, at a very early period, displaced to a considerable extent. Advancing from the northern parts of Asia and Europe, where they had enjoyed a wild independence, the Scythians or Goths drove the Cimbri or Northern Celts before them, and, seizing upon that part of Gaul which is nearest to Britain, they crossed over into England. The period of this immigration is uncertain; but at the time of Cæsar's invasion, the primitive or Celtic inhabitants had been driven into the interior and more inaccessible parts of the island, while the south-eastern portion was peopled with colonies of Gothic descent, who may, therefore, be regarded as the chief ancestors of the English nation. The expulsion of the aboriginal population from the south-eastern

coasts and lowland districts of the whole island was complete; so much so, in fact, that, but for the tenacity with which the names of natural objects adhere to them, and some other indications of a still fainter kind, not a trace or vestige of their original ascendancy would have remained. The Saxon conquest was of a different character. The invaders, inconsiderable in number, sought political supremacy rather than a settlement by means of extermination, and used the privileges of conquest with more moderation than their predecessors of the same race. There no longer existed between the conquerors and the conquered that radical diversity of physical conformation, habits and customs, which, in a barbarous age, is the source of inextinguishable hostility; they accordingly enslaved, but forebore from exterminating or utterly expelling the natives; a gradual amalgamation took place; and, from the commingled Gothic dialects of both, at length sprung the Anglo-Saxon, which is the parent of the English language.

The condition of the Britons in the time of Cæsar very much resembled that of the Gauls from whom they sprung. They were divided into a number of petty kingdoms or states, each of which was again subdivided among subordinate chieftains, who governed their respective tribes or clans with more than feudal authority. On great emergencies, indeed, they united under a common leader; but this "king of kings" had only a limited and precarious rule; and the con-



federacies of the ancient Britons, like those of the ancient Greeks, were neither numerous nor lasting. Like the mutually repellant atoms of the Epicurean philosophy, their union was fortuitous; and as there existed no principle of compression to retain them in the situation into which accident or a sense of common danger sometimes threw them, a separation speedily followed. It was this which gave the Romans so great an advantage in their contests with these warlike nations. Never consulting together for the benefit of the whole, it was rare that even two or three of them united against the common enemy. They fought, for the most part, separately, and, as a necessary consequence, were beaten in detail. Of the limits of the regal authority among the Britons little is known with any degree of certainty, though much probably depended on the personal character of the individual who exercised it.

But whatever may have been the power of the kings or the influence of the people, there existed an order which exercised an authority paramount to that of either, or of both united. This was the Druidical or sacred caste, which, in relation to the rest of society, occupied a station and enjoyed privileges in Britain, analogous to those possessed by the Brahmins of India at the period of their greatest glory. The power of the Druids was absolute, exclusive and peculiar to them as a body. Their sanction was necessary to all public transactions, which otherwise were of no validity. They could pardon malefactors who had been judicially condemned, or ordain victims to the sacrifice without the intervention of any trial or judgment. From the Druids the Romans seem to have borrowed the *aquæ et ignis interdictio*, which became the most terrible sentence of their law. It was, in fact, the Druidical excommunication slightly varied. An individual debarred from attending the holy rites, and interdicted the use of fire, received sentence of eternal banishment from the fellowship of his kind; and this sentence they could pronounce at pleasure. Their cere-

monies were at once mysterious and inhuman. The mistletoe, which they accounted peculiarly sacred, was gathered by them from the leaves of the oak with circumstances of extraordinary solemnity, though for what purpose or with what view is unknown. They dwelt in the centre of thick woods, and their retreats were defended from intrusion or violation by the power of a dark and gloomy superstition. On their rude but horrid altars they sacrificed human victims; and from the course of the blood as it flowed under the knife of the officiating priest, they prognosticated future events. They were the lawgivers, physicians, poets and philosophers of their country. They are said to have been acquainted with letters and the art of writing, though in what particular form is uncertain. They taught their disciples the doctrine of transmigration, and inculcated on them the duty of despising death in defence of their country. They practised celibacy, and continued their order by kidnapping children, whom they trained up and initiated in their mysteries. Some of their observances are described as excessively revolting; others would seem to have been of a more innocent and even humane character. Britain was the great sanctuary of this superstition.

The prevalence of such a system as Druidism is, even under the most favorable circumstances, incompatible with an advanced state of civilization; and in Britain it co-existed with a condition of society which, anterior to the Roman occupation, was but little elevated above absolute barbarism. The south-western shores of the island had, it is true, been early resorted to by foreigners for purposes of traffic; the Phœnicians and Massilians, for example, traded in the tin of Cornwall, and from them geographers spoke of the Cassiterides or Tin Islands; but this traffic was too limited in extent, and too confined in its sphere, to have any material influence on the general character of the people, who accordingly derived small benefit from their occasional intercourse with foreign-

ers. Their scanty clothing consisted of untanned skins; and the parts of the body left exposed were bedaubed with an azure coloring matter extracted from a particular herb. Tillage, which had been introduced by the Belgic Gauls, was not altogether unknown; but the principal articles of food were the milk and flesh of their herds. Superstition, with its usual blind absurdity, had forbidden them the use of fish, which abounded on all the coasts of the island. Their towns were merely clusters of wigwams, covered with turf, boughs, or skins, and situated in the midst of some forest or morass, with the avenues defended by ramparts of earth and felled trees. In their persons they were large and tall, excelling the Gauls alike in stature and in strength; but their features were heavy, their figures clumsy, and, according to Strabo, they did not stand firm on their legs. But although barbarians in point of art and industry, the ancient Britons commanded respect by their intellectual and moral qualities. According to Tacitus, they possessed a quicker apprehension than the Gauls; and Diodorus Siculus commends their integrity as greater than that of the Romans.

Such are the principal notices supplied by historians respecting the ancient inhabitants of Britain prior to the Roman conquest. The first events in the authentic history of Britain are the landing of Cæsar on the southern shores, in the fifty-fifth year before the Christian era, and his invasion of the country in the following year. The course of his conquests in Gaul had brought him in sight of an island hitherto known only by name, and, being probably desirous of dazzling the people of Rome by a new achievement, as well as of seeming to be engaged in objects remote from internal aggrandizement, he resolved on attempting a descent upon this unexplored region, on the pretence that the Britons had rendered some assistance to the Gauls in their struggle for independence. On the first occasion, when he disembarked near Deal, his landing was warmly disputed by the natives; but discipline and skill at

length prevailed over wild valor, and after a sanguinary struggle the Britons were defeated, and forced to sue for peace. Deputies were accordingly sent to lay their submission before Cæsar, and learn the conditions on which they were to be forgiven for the crime of defending their native soil. But having ascertained the number of the invaders, and learnt that accidents arising from ignorance of the navigation had damaged the Roman fleet, they acceded to whatever terms Cæsar thought proper to dictate, and secretly resolved to renew the attack. They were again repulsed, however, though not without inflicting a severe loss on the enemy; and Cæsar, surprised at the resistance he had encountered, as well as anxious to secure his return to Gaul, which the approach of winter had endangered, readily accepted the nominal submission proffered by the islanders. Thus ended the first descent of the Romans on Britain. After a brief but fierce struggle of little more than three weeks, Cæsar embarked his whole army, and returned to Gaul, glad to escape from a situation where his means were insufficient to enable him to keep his ground, and where the slightest reverse would undoubtedly have proved fatal.

In the ensuing spring the same commander again appeared on the British coast, with an armament of 800 vessels, having on board five legions and 2000 auxiliary horse. The sight of so formidable a fleet made the Britons despair of resisting the landing of the invaders, and they accordingly withdrew to their forests, where they could act with better chance of success. The Romans, therefore, disembarked without opposition, penetrated into the country, and passing the Thames above Kingston, entered the country of the Trinobantes, whose territory included the site of the present metropolis of Britain. The advance was bravely disputed, and in the course of this forest campaign, the military qualities of the invaders were put to a severe trial, by the incessant activity, the daring courage and the rapid move



ments of the hardy natives. Cassivelaunus, a British chief, particularly distinguished himself by his gallantry and enterprise, as well as by a natural talent for war, which was strikingly exhibited in the bold design of cutting off Cæsar from his fleet. But genius and science asserted their usual superiority. The Britons were at length vanquished; and the chiefs having promised to pay tribute, and to abstain from hostility against those of their countrymen who had abetted the Romans, the latter withdrew, content with the barren glory of having gained a victory without result, and conquered a country which they could not retain.

Britain was threatened with invasion by Augustus, who thereby extorted presents and tribute from the insular chiefs; Tiberius employed no menace, but exacted the tribute; and Caligula, in one of his insane freaks, landed at the head of a body of troops, whom he commanded to charge the ocean, and collect cockle-shells as fit emblems of his imaginary triumph over that boisterous enemy. The visit of the imperial madman took place ninety years after Cæsar's expedition, and formed a subject of derision to the whole Roman world. But the next attempt was of a more serious character, and productive of graver results. In the reign of Claudius, the adventurous and hitherto unprofitable enterprise was resumed under two distinguished officers, Aulus Plautius and Vespasian, who, landing at the head of an army 50,000 strong, marched through the territories of the Cassivelauni, and defeated Caractacus and Trocodumnus, the British leaders, in three successive engagements. But the retreating enemy was still too formidable to be seriously pressed; reinforcements were demanded by the emperor's lieutenants; and seven years elapsed before they succeeded in reducing the country southward of the Thames. This partial conquest cost the blood of thirty battles, in which the Romans were not always victorious.

Ostorius Scapula, who succeeded Aulus Plautius in the provincial government of

Britain, extended the province to the banks of the Severn, and built a chain of forts to check the incursions of the independent tribes. But Caradoc or Caractacus still lived. This renowned chief had lost his dominions; but, notwithstanding all his reverses, the ascendancy he had acquired over the minds of his countrymen remained unshaken, and, great in adversity, he was still formidable. Despairing of success in the open country, he transferred the war to the mountains of Wales, and at the head of the Silures and other tribes, he prepared to make another effort in defence of his country. The position he selected for this final stand shows him to have been possessed of that instinctive military genius which anticipates science and often defeats its combinations. It consisted of a rising ground or eminence, with a rapid and scarcely fordable river, which it commanded, in front, and was incapable of being turned by either flank, whilst its defensive strength was increased by a stone rampart built along the brow of the hill. Here he resolved to await the attack of the Romans; and exhorting his followers to remember that Cæsar himself had been driven from the shores of Britain, he called upon them to maintain by their valor the liberty which they had inherited from their ancestors. They vowed fidelity to the cause of their country, and promised that they would conquer or die where they stood. The Roman general was astonished. He saw that he had to encounter a desperate enemy, skillfully posted, and unassailable except where his position was strongest; and, in viewing the difficulties of his situation, his mind almost misgave him. But the spirit of his soldiers was roused, and they cried out that no position was impregnable to the brave. Having forded the river with extreme difficulty, they formed the *testudo*, or close column, covered overhead with their shields, to protect them from the missile weapons of the natives; ascended the hill in this compact order; broke through the rampart of loose stones; and charging home upon the

Britons, overthrew them with great slaughter. The brothers of the British prince surrendered; his wife and daughter were made captive; and the hero himself, who had escaped the casualties of the field, and taken refuge among the Brigantes in Yorkshire, was afterwards basely betrayed into the hands of the enemy by their queen, Cartismandua, his inhuman stepmother. He was sent captive to Italy, whither the fame of his achievements had preceded him; and the people flocked to behold the man who for nine years had defied the power of Rome. His family supplicated for mercy; but the magnanimous chief, sustaining in misfortune true greatness of character, stooped not to prefer any solicitation, and, addressing the emperor with a manly dignity, equally removed from abject submission and insolent defiance, made so great an impression on the mind of Claudius, that his fetters were ordered to be struck off, and both his family and himself treated with the most distinguished regard.

Meanwhile the Silures, beaten but not subdued, renewed their attacks on the Romans, and kept up the animosity of their countrymen by their example. They cut to pieces some cohorts employed in building forts in their country; harassed the enemy with continual skirmishes; and, although defeated in a general action which they afterwards risked, they escaped without entire rout under cover of night. Weary of an obscure and destructive warfare, barren of glory and productive of little save fatigue and anxiety, Ostorius died, and was succeeded by Aulus Didius. The latter checked the incursions of the Britons, who had again become formidable under a new leader; but not till after they had defeated a Roman legion, and reaped some other advantages of a minor description. Unfortunately for himself, however, Venusius, the leader in question, and chief of the Huicci of Warwick and Worcestershire, had married the betrayer of Caractacus, a woman as licentious in her personal conduct as she had proved herself devoid of

principle or patriotism. Having scandalized her subjects by admitting Villoعاتus, her armor-bearer, to a share of her bed and throne, Cartismandua implored the aid of the Romans against her husband, who had collected a force to expel the usurper. But the promised assistance proved too scanty for the protection of the adulteress, who, in the end, was driven from her kingdom; and although this civil war operated as a seasonable diversion, the efforts of the Romans were for several years confined to the preservation of what they had already acquired.

But the season for action in due time arrived. Suetonius Paulinus, an officer of high reputation, but ambitious, and prone to cruelty, having obtained the province of Britain, resolved to destroy the sacred seat of Druidism in the island of Mona or Anglesea, where the head of that order resided, considering it as the centre of the British nation, and the source whence emanated that spirit of resistance which had already cost the Romans so much blood. The project was equally bold and well conceived. Having crossed the strait, however, he found a host drawn up in order of battle to receive him, the declivities bristling with arms, soldiers occupying every defile, and women, in funeral apparel, running along the ranks like furies with burning torches in their hands, whilst Druids clustered around, imprecating the wrath of heaven on the sacrilegious intruders into their holy of holies. Awed by the spectacle, the legions for a moment stood powerless; but ashamed of their momentary panic, they rushed forward to the attack, drove all before them, and, after demolishing the altars and groves, burned the Druids in their own fires.

In the midst of this havoc, however, Suetonius received intelligence of a general insurrection of the conquered tribes. The immediate causes of an outbursting so little expected were the gross injustice done to the family of Prasutægus, King of the Iceni, and the atrocious outrages offered to his queen, Boadicea, who, having remonstrated against



the fraudulent exheredation of her children, was publicly whipped, and constrained to witness the violation of her daughters. Wrongs so great, and insults so intolerable, required not the general spoliation which followed to kindle the spirit of an indignant people, and to turn their vengeance on the oppressors. The standard of the injured queen was raised, and numerous tribes rallied round it. The infant colony of Camèlodunum was destroyed; the infantry of the ninth legion were annihilated; and in the more flourishing colony of Verulamium (St. Alban's) 70,000 persons are said to have been put to death with all the cruelties of a barbarous revenge. Suetonius flew to the assistance of his countrymen, and soon succeeded in bringing the Britons to a general action on open ground, where their superiority in point of numbers was of little avail against discipline and science. They were defeated with prodigious slaughter, whilst the victors, by their own account, lost only 500 men. Boadicea ended her miseries by taking poison; and Posthumus, the commander of a legion, fell on his sword, indignant at not having a share in so glorious a victory.

Broken by this blow, the spirit of the Britons would have soon been quenched had it not been kept alive by oppression. Suetonius, with all his abilities, was injudiciously vindictive, and frequently lost by his cruelty the advantages which he had gained by his talents. He was therefore recalled by Nero; and, under his more immediate successors, the Britons enjoyed a short interval of repose. But the Roman energies revived under Vespasian, who had gathered his first laurels in Britain. The Brigantes, commanded by Venusius, were at length overcome; and the Silures, after a gallant but hopeless resistance, were in like manner subdued. In this double contest Cerealis and Frontinus employed no less than seven years, a fact which sufficiently indicates the persevering energy with which these powerful tribes contended for independence.

These successes paved the way for the subjugation of the greater part of the island under Cnæus Julius Agricola, who was now appointed to the government of the province. The administration of this distinguished Roman would probably have been as little known to us as that of any of his predecessors, if it had not been for the circumstance of having as his son-in-law the most able and philosophical of the ancient historians.

Agricola began his military career in Britain by subduing the Ordovici of North Wales, and reducing Mona, which, after the fierce vigor of Suetonius was withdrawn in consequence of the insurrection under Boadicea, had regained its independence and religious pre-eminence as the grand seat of Druidism. This he effected without the aid of ships, by causing a sufficient force to swim across the narrowest part of the strait with their arms and horses, but unencumbered with baggage. In his second campaign he carried his arms to the northward, and subdued tribes who had never as yet come into contact with the Romans; showing clemency to such as submitted to the power of Rome, and never, in any instance, abusing victory for purposes of cruelty or oppression. To secure these advanced conquests, he built a chain of forts or military stations from sea to sea, in nearly the same line where the rampart of Hadrian and the wall of Severus were afterwards erected.

In his third campaign Agricola entered the country of the Caledonians by the head of the Solway, and traversed it as far as the Tay without encountering an enemy. Believing that the invaders would retire on the approach of winter, they abstained from committing any hostilities; but in this expectation they were deceived, for, when winter set in, they found the Romans established in fortified towns, well provided with all necessary stores, and secure alike against surprise or assault. Next year the Roman general built a line of forts between the friths of Forth and Clyde, with the double view of excluding the contagion of revolt, and

of protecting the inhabitants of the province against the inroads of the northern barbarians. In his fifth campaign he crossed the frith of Clyde; and, after a variety of skirmishes with the wild natives of Cantyre, Lorn, Argyleshire, and Lochaber, obtained a view of the coast of Ireland, which, from the information he collected as to the force necessary for subduing and retaining, he meditated adding to the Roman empire; but this design was never put in execution. During his sixth campaign he passed the friths of Forth and Tay, and led his army, which was attended and supported in all its movements by a fleet, along the eastern coast of Scotland. The Caledonians hung upon his line of march, and harassed him considerably; but, awed by the presence and sight of the fleet, which was to them a novel spectacle, they generally kept at a respectful distance. In a night attack, however, they threw a portion of his army into confusion; and, having penetrated into the camp of the ninth legion, would have overwhelmed them entirely if Agricola had not come with great celerity to their aid, and driven the assailants back to their woods and morasses. After this action, Agricola retired into winter quarters, and left the Caledonians a short respite to prepare for the final struggle in defence of their rude independence.

When the Roman commander took the field in his seventh campaign, he found the native host encamped in a position the exact locality of which has been much disputed (some fixing it at the base of the central and others at that of the eastern portion of the Grampian chain), under a chief whose name has been latinized into Galgaenus. The barbarians were estimated at near 30,000 men, whilst the Roman army was little, if at all, inferior in number. The Caledonians were defeated with great slaughter, ten thousand having fallen either in the battle or in the pursuit, whilst the loss of the Romans scarcely exceeded three hundred men. After the defeat of their main body, a reserve of the

Caledonians moved to take the Romans in flank; but the attempt was defeated by Agricola in person at the head of a strong body of legionaries, and the flight then became universal. The inhabitants mingled with the fugitives after setting fire to their dwellings, and the silence of desolation succeeded to the noise of conflict. The pursuit was soon discontinued; the vanquished found refuge in their mountain fastnesses; and, as the Grampian range which towered in front constituted the advanced bulwark of a country wholly unknown, Agricola did not attempt to penetrate into its dangerous defiles, but, marching into a country now called Angus, took it from the Horesti, whom he had previously subdued. Meanwhile his fleet returned from a voyage of discovery, which it had prosecuted as far as the Orcaes, and even Thule, supposed to be Foula, the most northerly of the Zetland islands; and Agricola established his winter quarters on the most level district, which lay to the northward of the natural frontier formed by the two friths. But in the reign of Domitian it was difficult for the most prudent general to be long successful with safety. Agricola was recalled; and, on his return to Rome, all the arts by which he shunned popularity proved insufficient to lull the suspicions of a jealous tyrant, by whose directions his days seem to have been shortened by poison.

Under Agricola the Roman dominion reached its utmost extent in Britain, and the natives, as we have seen, were driven into the rugged and inhospitable regions beyond the Grampians. From this time till the close of the third century the island is seldom noticed by the Roman historians. We know, indeed, though chiefly by the evidence of medals, that the mountaineers broke into the Roman province, and were driven back into their fastnesses by the vigorous arm of Hadrian, who erected a second wall, the remains of which are still traceable from the Solway Frith to the mouth of the Tyne. Under Antoninus the same species of fortification was constructed on the more northern fron



tier of the friths; while Severus, abandoning Agricola's rampart, which Antoninus had caused to be repaired, erected a stone wall almost parallel with that of Hadrian already mentioned, and in a manner equally solid and durable. These frontier works, executed on so large a scale, and requiring a numerous body of troops at the different stations for their defence, sufficiently attest the persevering and formidable character of the assaults of the ancient Britons on the Roman power.

The precise period of the introduction of Christianity into Britain is uncertain. About the end of the second century, however, we find Tertullian boasting that the gospel had subdued tribes yet unconquered by the Romans; and from this circumstance, as well as from our more accurate information respecting the diffusion of Christianity in Gaul, it may be reasonably supposed that its first planting in Britain was considerably earlier. Two centuries afterwards theological controversy had become so prevalent, that Pelagius and Celestius, the one a Welchman and the other a Scotchman, agitated all Christendom by their heretical notions on the subjects of original sin and free will. The received opinion, which ascribes to Constantine, who began his reign at York, the introduction of Christianity into Britain towards the middle of the fourth century, is founded upon the palpable error of confounding the first preaching of the gospel with the formal recognition or establishment of Christianity, upon the ruins of Paganism, as the religion of the empire. Long before that time intrepid and dauntless missionaries had carried the faith of the cross to the hearths and the homes of the barbarians; and the policy of Constantine only kept pace with, instead of outrunning, the natural course of events.

When Severus died at York, Caracalla, then known by his original name of Basianus, concluded a peace with the Caledonians, and, along with his brother Geta, hastened to Rome to plunge into all the debaucheries of the capital. There now occurs

in the history of Britain a chasm of seventy years, during which the silence of the Roman writers would lead us to infer that the island enjoyed peace. In the reign of Diocletian, Carnusius, intrusted with the command of a naval armament, fitted out to repress piracy on the coasts of Britain, usurped the purple, and maintained his assumed dignity for eight years. But while Constantius, the coadjutor of the emperor, was preparing to attack him, he was assassinated by Allectus, who, imitating the example of his master, usurped the sovereignty, and maintained it for three years. He was, however, defeated and slain by Constantius, who put an end to the rebellion, and dispersed the followers of the usurper. In the division of the empire between Galerius and Constantius, Britain fell to the share of the latter, who, in consequence, fixed his residence in the island, and, after some contests with the Caledonians, of which little is known, died at York, leaving his son Constantine his successor in the empire. This prince, not unjustly surnamed the Great, assumed the purple at York, where he staid some time to pay the last honors to his father's ashes, and to finish the war with the Meætæ and Caledonians, who at this time began to be known by the names of Piets and Scots. Called afterwards to a higher destiny, and recognized as the undisputed master of the Roman world, he overthrew the altars of Paganism, and established Christianity as the religion of the empire, including that portion of it where he had first been invested with the ensigns of the imperial dignity. About eighteen years after the accession of Constantine, Britain took part with the unsuccessful usurper Magnentius. This entailed on it the bitter resentment of Constantius, who sent into the island one Paulus, a Spaniard, with instructions to discover and punish those who had been concerned in the rebellion. Tyranny is not always so fortunate as to be provided with such instruments. This inquisitor, surnamed Catena, from his expertness in connecting criminal charges, entered at once on

his career, and soon filled all the western parts with tortures, confiscations and murders. Martinus, the British governor, unable to restrain his cruelties, attempted his life, but unhappily missing the aim, was obliged to pay the forfeit of his own. On the accession of Julian to the purple, that event was signalized by an act of exemplary justice; the unhuman Paulus was ordered to be burned alive.

For about a century and a half the southern part of the Roman province in Britain had suffered but little disturbance from the northern tribes, whose inroads were generally checked by the frontier defences and garrisons. About ten years, however, after the judicial campaign of Paulus, the Scots and Picts, recovering from the chastisements inflicted on them by the commanders of Julian, attacked with greater force the legions of Valentinian and Valens, and for three years ravaged the province with impunity. They were at length driven back by Theodosius, governor of Britain, and father of the celebrated emperor of that name, who defeated them in several battles, and, forcing them beyond the rampart of Agricola, once more extended the province to its utmost ancient limits. But the progressive decline of the empire having exposed its northern frontier to invasion at every point, the Roman troops were gradually withdrawn from the island for the more urgent purpose of protecting the seat of dominion; and about the middle of the fifth century Britain was abandoned to her own resources. Gallio of Ravenna commanded the last detachment of troops that Rome ever sent there. This was under Honorius. After repelling a furious inroad of the Scots and Picts, the Roman general, assembling the British chiefs, told them frankly that, since the empire, laboring under its own weight, could no longer afford them protection, they must henceforth take courage and defend themselves; and, in the name of the emperor, he formally absolved the different cities or townships of the province from their allegiance to Rome. Lastly,

having repaired the wall of Severus, erected useful forts, and supplied the natives with military weapons and engines, the Romans took their final departure from Britain exactly four hundred and seventy-five years after Julius Cæsar first landed on its shores.

These bequests, however, proved unavailing. The British youth who had been trained in the Roman army, more than once drove back the barbarous tribes of their own island; but the latter, increasing in numbers and audacity, at length "broke through their walls like wolves into a sheep-fold, retired with their booty, and returned every succeeding year." In their distress they made a vain appeal to Ætius, who for a moment propped the falling empire. "The barbarians," said they in a letter entitled the "Groans of the Britons," "drive us into the sea, and the sea drives us back upon the swords of the barbarians." But Ætius had to do with Attila, and, however much he might pity the suppliants, he could afford them no relief. Disappointed of aid in this quarter, and despairing of their ability any longer to resist their northern invaders, the British states were led to employ in their defence auxiliaries, who soon became more formidable than the enemies against whom they had been called in to combat. These mercenaries, who gradually rose to be conquerors, consisted chiefly of Saxons, intermingled with Angles, Jutes and Frisians from the Cimbric Chersonesus, or peninsula of Jutland. The Saxons, who appear to have had their chief seat on the Elbe, were previously known to the Britons only by predatory descents on their coasts; and, certainly, it does seem rather extraordinary that they should have thought of calling in the aid of such perilous auxiliaries. In the middle of the fifth century, the Saxon ships arrived on the British coast, where they disembarked a few hundred wild warriors of that roving nation under their leaders Hengist and Horsa. These fabled descendants of Odin immediately took the field at the head of their followers, and by their aid the



Picts and Scots were completely defeated. One evil was thus averted, but another, and, if possible, a greater, succeeded. The Saxons, acquiring a liking for the country they had been hired to defend, and eager to exchange the bleak shores and sandy wastes of the north for the rich fields and more genial climate of Britain, invited fresh bodies of their countrymen to join them, and, in a little time, from being the auxiliaries, they became the conquerors and masters of the ill-fated Britons. But the latter did not yield without a struggle. Displaying, when it was too late, a valor which, more opportunely exerted, would have spared them the miseries of this contest, they resisted their new tyrants, and occasionally with success. Horsa fell in battle; and so slow was the progress of the Saxon arms, that Hengist, with all his boasted victories, never penetrated beyond the county of Kent. The invaders, however, clung with desperate tenacity to the soil. By degrees the Saxon power reduced the natives to entire submission, or drove them to seek shelter in the mountains of Wales, Cornwall and Cumberland. Many emigrated to avoid the horrors of this conquest; and some settling in Armorica, the peninsula between the Seine and Loire, laid the foundation to that singular resemblance in language and manners to the insular Britons which has ever since distinguished the inhabitants of Bretagne.

About the year 700, the island of Great Britain was divided into no fewer than fifteen sovereignties. Of these, eight were Saxon; but the union of the two Northumbrian principalities reduced the number to seven; and from this circumstance, as well as from some vague alliance amongst these petty states, historians have designated the whole by the name of Heptarchy. They ruled over a considerable portion of England, and whilst they waged a fierce and endless war with every other kingdom in the island, they also maintained amongst themselves a continual struggle for the superiority. It would appear that one

state usually exercised an undefined power over all the others; and the prince who possessed this equivocal ascendancy had the title of *Bretwalda*, or wielder of the Britons, bestowed upon him. The history of this period is not characterized by any event which would lead us to take an interest in the fluctuating fortunes of the various states. Our information relating to the earliest portion of the Saxon rule is also scanty; but what we do possess is not of such a nature as to awaken any feelings of regret that more minute particulars have not been transmitted to us. Details of the shedding of kindred blood, and acts of oppression, treachery and cruelty, exercised towards the natives by the fierce invaders of their soil, are not calculated to interest human feelings. The re-introduction of Christianity, however, in some degree alleviated the darkness of the picture. The exact date of its first appearance in Britain is uncertain, but it had made some progress before the close of the second century. It disappeared, however, with the other traces of civilization, when the Saxons commenced their devastations. It was in the year 596 that Gregory the Great sent over St. Augustin, with forty other missionaries, to convert the Saxons and their arrival in Kent marks a new era in its history, and probably in that of the country. At this period Kent was governed by Ethelbert, an able and powerful monarch, and the third who bore the title of *Bretwalda*. He received kindly the deputies of Rome, and became a convert to their doctrine; an example which his subjects were not slow in following. From this period the spread of the Christian faith over the island appears to have been rapid; for we find that in about a century after the arrival of St. Augustin it was professed and believed throughout Anglo-Saxon Britain. The continual struggle amongst the Angle-Saxon principalities for the supremacy was now fast coming to a crisis. It is evident that such a state of affairs could not continue for any length of time, and that it must neces-

sarily end in the establishment of a regular hereditary magistracy in the island. This took place partially at the beginning of the eighth century, in the person of Egbert, King of Wessex, who was a lineal descendant, and the only surviving prince of the house of Cerdic, the founder of that kingdom. The great talents which he early exhibited had given offence to Brihtric, King of Wessex, who, jealous of his popularity, projected his destruction. Egbert, however, eluded his vengeance, and fled for protection to Offa, King of Mercia, a monarch illustrious for the talents he displayed and the prosperity he enjoyed, but whose name is stained with perfidy and blood. Thither the vindictive Brihtric pursued the youthful fugitive, who was finally compelled to cross the channel and to seek shelter beneath the broad shield of the victorious Charlemagne. France, governed by that renowned sovereign, excelled all the states of the West in civilization and the arts of government, as well as those of war. Trained in such a school, therefore, and early disciplined by adversity, he was undergoing an admirable probation for wielding with judgment and moderation the perilous sceptre which was destined to be transferred into his hands. The death of Brihtric, who perished by the machinations of his queen, recalled the fugitive from his exile. In Wessex the claim of Egbert was at once acknowledged, while his accession to the throne of his celebrated ancestor, an event highly popular in itself, was ennobled by a victory, the omen of many a future triumph.

At this period the island, though nominally under a hexarchy, was rapidly verging to a triarchy, from several of the smaller states becoming gradually blended and identified with their more powerful neighbors. Wessex had been enlarged by the incorporation of Sussex; and various favorable circumstances conspired to concentrate in the hands of Egbert a well-organized power, which he was prepared to wield when summoned by any great emergency. For sev-

eral years, however, after his accession to the throne, his sword remained in its sheath; and this propitious period of tranquillity afforded him an opportunity of turning his undivided attention to the affairs of government. His administration was as mild as it appears to have been politic; circumstances which completed the attachment of his subjects, and consolidated his growing strength. It was upon the unfortunate Britons of the west that he first made trial of his military prowess. About the year 809 the struggle between him and the natives commenced. The latter made a strenuous but unavailing resistance; and Egbert carried the havoc of war and the flames of destruction from the east to the west. In a few years the greater part of modern Wales, as well as the people who occupied the northern shore of the estuary of Severn, acknowledged his authority. The King of Mercia, whose strength had been augmented by the appropriation of the petty sovereignties of Kent, Essex and East Anglia, was now the only rival for the supreme authority whom Egbert had to fear or to contend withal. Their power was nearly equally balanced, for what Wessex wanted in numerical force was compensated by discipline and skill. War had now become inevitable; neither would brook a superior, and only one Bretwalda could be acknowledged. The conflict began, therefore, and was speedily brought to a termination. In an obstinate and bloody battle the King of Mercia was totally defeated, and Egbert became lord of the ascendant. State after state was annexed to Wessex; Mercia was invaded and subdued; and in nineteen years after he had first drawn the sword, Egbert was acknowledged over the greater part of the island as the eighth Bretwalda.

The authority of Egbert, however, still continued doubtful; and the Anglo-Saxon power was as yet very far from being consolidated. Wales still continued to annoy him; and it was not until he had marched an army to Snowden that North Wales quietly submitted to the rule of the Saxon Bret-



walda. But new and more formidable enemies than any he had yet encountered had begun to threaten England, and trouble the tranquillity which it in some measure enjoyed. These were Scandinavians, recognized in France by the name of Normans, and in England by that of Danes. Familiarized, from their maritime situation, to the dangers of the ocean, this people, like the Saxons of old, spent the greater portion of their time upon its waves. It was the custom of these pirates to set sail for some distant province in squadrons, under the command of chieftains called *Vikings*, or Sea-Kings. After pillaging the coast where they landed, they collected the spoil and returned to their own country, where they disencumbered themselves of their booty and prepared for fresh expeditions. Three descents upon England are recorded as having taken place in the eighth century, but these attempts produced no permanent alarm. Towards the termination of Egbert's reign, however, the numbers of the pirates greatly increased; whilst their visits were annually renewed; and for two centuries to come the country was destined to become a prey to these fierce and fearless invaders.

After making several successful inroads into various parts of England, in 835 they landed on the coast of Cornwall, where they succeeded in seducing the Britons from their allegiance. The King of Wessex met the united forces of the enemy at Hengstone Hill, and gained a bloody but decisive victory, which restored the glory of his arms. This was the last exploit of Egbert, who died the year following, after a reign as prosperous as it was long, and which, allowing something for the condition of society at the period, may also be termed glorious.

Ethelwolf succeeded his father on the throne of Wessex; but an unfortunate arrangement, by which the former king bequeathed all his dominions except Wessex to a younger son, greatly weakened the power of his successor, and lessened the influence of the Bretwalda. Ethelwolf had

been a monk, and appears to have been better adapted for the cloister which he had left than the throne which he now ascended. The history of his reign presents little of interest or variety. It is merely an account of the atrocities of the Danes, who made repeated descents upon England, laying waste the country, plundering towns, and despoiling the rich monasteries, where treasure was supposed to have been accumulated. No defeat, however signal and decisive for the time, was capable of permanently expelling them from the island; and, although routed, and compelled to flee for shelter to their ships one year, they returned the next with persevering audacity. In the meanwhile Ethelwolf found leisure to perform a pilgrimage to Rome; and in passing through France on his journey homewards, he espoused Judith, the daughter of Charles the Bald, King of the Franks. But he was not permitted to enjoy undisturbed domestic tranquillity. On his return to England he found his son Ethelbald at the head of a formidable conspiracy, which threatened him with deposition and exile. The two parties, however, came without bloodshed to terms of accommodation. It was agreed that Ethelwolf should possess the eastern states appertaining to Wessex, whilst the kingdom of Wessex Proper, which belonged of right to the head of the family, should be enjoyed by Ethelbald, but it would appear, with a nominal subjection to his father. Ethelwolf survived these arrangements only a few years, having died in 858.

After his demise Ethelbald continued to occupy the throne of Wessex; whilst Ethelbert, a younger brother, succeeded to the government which had been left vacant by the death of his father; but both these princes died in a few years, and left their thrones to their brother Ethelred, who assumed the sceptre at a most unpropitious period. Not only was the kingdom divided against itself, but the Danes, acting now in a well-organized confederacy, and terrible from their numbers as well as from the fre

quency of their inroads, threatened the total annihilation of the Saxon dynasty and the subjugation of the island. The conflicts were numerous and sanguinary; and in one of these, which took place at Merton in the year 870, the king received a wound of which he soon afterwards died.

By the death of Ethelred the throne of Wessex devolved upon Alfred, the fifth and favorite son of Ethelwolf. On his accession to the throne, in the twenty second year of his age, he found himself involved in a dangerous war with the Danes, and placed in circumstances fitted to call forth all the great qualities by which he was distinguished. The Danes had already penetrated into the heart of his kingdom; and before he had been a month upon the throne, he was obliged to take the field against those formidable enemies. After many battles gained on both sides, he was at length reduced to the greatest distress, and was entirely abandoned by his subjects. In this situation Alfred, laying aside the useless insignia of royalty, took shelter in the house of one of his own herdsmen. He afterwards retired to Ethelingey, in Somersetshire, the modern Athelney, where he built a fort for the security of himself and family, and his few faithful followers. When he had been about a year in this retreat, having been informed that some of his subjects had routed a great army of the Danes, killed their chief, and taken their magical standard, he issued his letters, giving notice where he was, and inviting his nobility to come and consult with him. Before they came to a final determination, Alfred, putting on the habit of a harper, went into the enemy's camp, where, without suspicion, he was everywhere admitted, and introduced to play before their chief. Having thus acquired an exact knowledge of their situation, he returned in great secrecy to his nobility, whom he ordered to their respective homes, there to draw together each man as great a force as he could; appointing a day for a general rendezvous at the forest of *Selwood*, in Wiltshire. This affair was

transacted so secretly and expeditiously, that the king, at the head of his army, was close upon the Danes before they had the least intelligence of his design. Alfred, taking advantage of their surprise and terror, fell upon them, and totally defeated them at Æthen dune, now Eddington. Those who escaped fled to a neighboring castle, where they were soon besieged, and obliged to surrender at discretion. Alfred granted them better terms than they had reason to expect. He agreed to give up the whole kingdom of the East Angles to such as would embrace the Christian religion, on condition that they would oblige the rest of their countrymen to quit the island, and, as much as it was in their power, prevent the landing of any more foreigners. For the performance of this treaty he took hostages; and when, in pursuance of the stipulation, Godrun, the Danish chief, came, with thirty of his chief officers, to be baptized, Alfred answered for him at the font, and gave him the name of *Ethelstane*; and certain laws were drawn up betwixt the king and Godrun for the regulation and government of the Danes settled in England. In 884 a fresh swarm of Danes landed in Kent and laid siege to Rochester; but the king coming to the relief of that city, they were obliged to abandon their design. Alfred had now great success, which was chiefly owing to his fleet, an advantage of his own creating. Having secured the sea-coasts, he fortified the rest of the kingdom with castles and walled towns; and he besieged and recovered from the Danes the city of London, which he resolved to repair, and to keep as a frontier.

After some years' respite, Alfred was again called into the field; for a body of Danes, being worsted in the west of France, came with a fleet of 250 sail on the coast of Kent and, having landed, fixed themselves at Appuldre. Shortly after, another fleet of eighty vessels coming up the Thames, the men landed and built a fort at Milton. Before Alfred marched against the enemy, he obliged the Danes settled in Northumberland and



Essex to give him hostages for their good behaviour. He then moved towards the invaders, and pitched his camp between their armies, to prevent their junction. A great body, however, moved off to Essex, and crossing the river, came to Farnham in Surrey, where they were defeated by the king's forces. Meanwhile the Danes settled in Northumberland, in breach of treaty, and notwithstanding the hostages given, equipped two fleets, and, after plundering the northern and southern coasts, sailed to Exeter and besieged it. The king, as soon as he received the intelligence, marched against them; but before he reached Exeter they had got possession of it. He kept them, however, blocked up on all sides, and reduced them at last to such extremities that they were obliged to eat their horses, and were even ready to devour each other. Being at length rendered desperate, they made a general sally on the besiegers; but were defeated, though with great loss on the king's side. The remainder of this body of Danes fled into Essex, to the fort they had built there, and to their ships. Before Alfred had time to recruit himself, Laff, another Danish leader, came with a great army out of Northumberland, and ravaged all before him, marching on to the city of Werheal in the west (supposed to be Chester), where they remained the rest of the year. The year following they invaded North Wales; and after having plundered and destroyed everything, they divided, one body returning to Northumberland, another into the territories of the East Angles, from whence they proceeded to Essex, and took possession of a small island called *Meresig*. Here they did not long remain; for, having separated, some sailed up the river Thames, and others up the Lea road, where, drawing up their ships, they built a fort not far from London, which proved a great check upon the citizens, who went in a body and attacked it, but were repulsed with great loss. At harvest-time the king himself was obliged to encamp with a body of troops in the neighbourhood of the

city, in order to cover the reapers from the excursions of the Danes. As he was one day riding by the side of the river Lea, after some observations he began to think that the Danish ships might be laid quite dry. This he attempted; and having succeeded, the Danes were forced to desert their fort and ships, and march away to the banks of the Severn, where they built a fort, and wintered at a place called *Quatbrig*. Such of the Danish ships as could be got off, the Londoners carried into their own road; the rest they burned and destroyed.

Alfred enjoyed a profound peace during the last three years of his reign, which he chiefly employed in establishing and regulating his government, for the security of himself and his successors, as well as the ease and benefit of his subjects in general. After a troubled reign of twenty-eight years, he died on the 28th of October, A.D. 900, and was buried at Winchester, in Hyde Abbey. A monument of porphyry was erected over his tomb.

In private life Alfred was singularly amiable; of so equal a temper, that he never suffered either sadness or unbecoming gaiety to disturb his mind; but appeared always of a calm yet cheerful disposition, familiar to his friends, just even to his enemies, kind and tender to all. He was a remarkable economist of his time; and Asser has given us an account of the method he took for dividing and keeping an account of it. He caused six wax-candles to be made, each of twelve inches long, and of as many ounces weight; on the candles the inches were regularly marked, and having found that one of them burned just four hours, he committed them to the care of the keepers of his chapel, who from time to time gave him notice how the hours went.

This prince, we are told, was twelve years of age before a master could be procured in the western kingdom to teach him the alphabet; such was the state of learning when Alfred began to reign. He had felt the misery of ignorance, and determined even

to rival his contemporary Charlemagne in the encouragement of literature. He is supposed to have appointed persons to read lectures at Oxford, and is thence considered as the founder of that university. By other suitable measures, and by his general encouragement of learning and abilities, he did everything in his power to diffuse knowledge throughout his dominions. Nor was this end promoted more by his countenance and encouragement than by his own example and his writings; for, notwithstanding the lateness of his education, he had acquired extraordinary erudition; and, had he not been illustrious as a king, he would have been famous as an author. He was succeeded by his son Edward, who ascended what may now almost be termed the throne of England, in the year 901. Alfred had been called to the crown in preference to the children of his elder brother, who were considered at the time as too young to be entrusted with the government. Their pretensions being also set aside at his death, Ethelwold, one of the rejected princes, attempted by violence to seize hold of the royal authority. He formed an alliance with the Danes and other enemies of Edward; but in a battle with the men of Kent he met his fate, and the island was once more rescued from a destructive competition for the crown.

Previously to this event the Danes had contrived, by a union with some of the disaffected provinces, to obtain a kind of permanent footing in the country. They possessed the north of England from the Humber to the Tweed, and the eastern districts from the Ouse to the sea. Emboldened by their strength, they invaded Mercia, but were met by Edward, who obtained over them a decisive victory, which effectually restored his supremacy. The most remarkable individual after Edward was his sister Ethelfleda, upon whom the mantle of Alfred seems to have descended. She governed Mercia, and vigorously seconded her brother in fortifying the country against the common enemy. Upon her death in 920 the Anglo-

Saxon monarchy received additional security from the final incorporation of Mercia with Wessex. After various successes over his northern and other enemies, Edward the elder expired at Farrington, in Berkshire, in the year 924.

He was succeeded by his son Athelstane, whom historians, on the faith of an old song, are in the habit of styling illegitimate; but a contemporary poetess has recognized his mother as the partner of Edward's throne, a circumstance which fairly balances the former authority.

Athelstane was thirty years of age when his father expired; and Mercia immediately, and Wessex shortly afterwards, recognized him as king. Opposition was, however, experienced in other quarters; but he ultimately succeeded in seating himself firmly upon the throne, and fully justified the early popularity he enjoyed with his grandfather. In the person of Athelstane the Anglo-Saxon sovereign became a character of dignity and consequence in Europe. His connections with the most respectable potentates on the Continent gave to his reign a political importance, and he is moreover entitled to be considered as the first monarch of England.

The sovereignty of the whole island appears to have been the object of Athelstane's ambition. In his military enterprises he was completely successful, and compelled the princes of the Scots, Cambrians and Britons to swear fealty to him, in the same manner as the Saxon vassal was accustomed to swear to his lord. But his prosperity was interrupted by a powerful confederacy formed against him, which threatened not only to emancipate Northumbria from his authority, but even to overwhelm his hereditary government. The confederates were Constantine, king of the Scots, and Anlaf, the son of Sigtryg, or Sihtric, who was king of Northumbria at the time of Athelstane's accession. Anlaf had received the hand of Athelstane's sister; but he drove her from his court, for which barbarous conduct the Anglo-Saxon monarch stripped him of his



kingdom and ejected him from the island. Anlaff had fled to Ireland, whence he returned with a large fleet, in order to retaliate the insult of his expulsion. The remaining malcontents were the Welsh princes who had been humbled into submission, the Danes who inhabited the eastern coast from Tweed to Thames, the petty states of Cambria, and a constantly increasing host of lawless pirates and freebooters from Scandinavia.

Athelstane prepared with firmness and energy to meet the storm which threatened him with destruction. The armies met at Brunanburgh in Northumbria, and a battle was fought, celebrated in Saxon and Scandinavian poetry. The confederates were routed with great slaughter, and Anlaff and Constantine effected their escape with great difficulty. So complete was the overthrow, and so decisive the victory, that the remainder of Athelstane's reign was undisturbed by the rebellion of his subjects or the invasion of a foreign enemy. Athelstane died in the year 940, regretted by his subjects, amongst whom he was revered as a prince alike distinguished for wisdom, justice and benevolence.

Having left no issue, he was succeeded by his brother Edmund, who perished by the dagger of an assassin six years afterwards. The life of this king is not characterized by any events of importance. He was succeeded by his brother Edred, whose reign was short and distinguished by no remarkable circumstance, except the complete incorporation of Northumbria with the rest of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom.

Edred died in 955, and left the throne to Edwin, who is usually styled Edwy, the eldest son of Edmund the Elder. The name of this monarch is intimately connected with that of the celebrated Dunstan, Abbot of Glastonbury. The reign of his uncle Edred had been looked upon by Edwy as a usurpation, and when he himself ascended the throne, the counselors of the former monarch became the objects of his antipathy. He discarded them altogether, and surround-

ed himself with a host of young courtiers, more ready to emulate the vices of their master than to suggest prudent measures of government. At their instigation Edwy imposed unjust taxes upon his subjects, despoiled the clergy, and committed other unseemly acts. Dunstan, having been one of the leading advisers of Edred, was most probably obnoxious to the young king; and at his coronation a circumstance occurred which brought the hostile parties immediately into collision. On that day Edwin, after the ceremony, withdrew from the festive board at which the nobles and clergy were regaling themselves, and retired to his own apartments. This indecorous act appears to have displeased the assembly; and Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury, deputed Dunstan and another individual to bring back the king to join in their carousals. Dunstan penetrated into the private apartments of his sovereign, whom he found in company with Ethelgiva or Elgiva, his wife or mistress; the mother of the latter was also present. The two deputies forcibly tore the king from the company of the ladies, and brought him back to that of the nobles. This daring and insolent conduct of the monk towards the newly-consecrated monarch drew down upon him the royal vengeance. At the instigation of Elgiva, Dunstan was deprived of his honors, and condemned to exile. During his absence, Odo contrived to take Elgiva from her husband's residence, and send her a prisoner to Ireland, where her face was branded with red-hot irons, for the purpose of obliterating her charms; but in vain. They revived with the healing of the wounds; but on her return to England she was pursued by the opposite party, who, falling in with her at Gloucester, actually hamstringed the unfortunate fair one. In a few days death released her from the vengeance of her enemies and from her own sufferings. In the meanwhile a conspiracy was formed against the now unpopular Edwy; and at the head of it was his brother Edgar, who, supported by the

Northumbrians and Mercians, drove the unfortunate monarch beyond the Thames. His sufferings and humiliation, however, were of short duration, for he died in 959, ere he had attained the full age of manhood. By some historians he is said to have been assassinated; others state that he pined to death for the loss of his throne, and his Elgiva, whom he tenderly loved; but all agree that his demise was as miserable as it was premature. His youth was the source of all his calamities, for it seems certain that he was only sixteen or seventeen years of age when he assumed the sceptre.

The death of Edwin put his brother and rival, Edgar, in peaceable possession of the whole Anglo-Saxon territory. His reign was tranquil, neither foreign enemy nor domestic broils having interrupted its quiet, so that posterity has styled him "the peaceful." The only event of a warlike character ascribed to him is an invasion of Wales. In his personal character he was distinguished alike for his religious zeal and for his licentiousness. He espoused the cause of the monks, and, during the sixteen years of his reign, erected a vast number of Benedictine monasteries. He recalled Dunstan from exile, placed the bold saint at his right hand as chief counsellor, and conferred upon him the see of Canterbury. In this situation that celebrated ecclesiastic prosecuted his ambitious schemes connected with the order to which he belonged with redoubled vigor. He expelled the clergy from the monasteries, and supplied their places with Benedictines, making the rule of their founder everywhere predominant throughout the nation.

We now find the Church so intimately mixed up with political affairs, that some account of it is necessary for the elucidation of history. Although religious individuals had been collected in monasteries from the period of Augustin's landing in Kent, yet the order of Benedictines seems to be the most ancient example of monastic rule. Each congregation of recluses lived according to its own internal regulations, nor were the several

monasteries consolidated into one community before the time of Dunstan. The Scotch or Irish, the Pictish and British churches, though in communion with Rome, were still independent of the papal see; and it was the object of the popes to suppress this independence of the different national churches; a cause which was warmly espoused by Dunstan. His policy was to enforce clerical celibacy; to expel at least all the married clergy from canonries and prebends in cathedrals, in order to make way for Benedictines; and to reduce all monasteries to the rule of the founder of that order. The opposition he encountered was formidable, and the cause of the clergy was espoused by the laity. Amongst the latter the secular priests found many powerful partizans, and the schisms of the Church at last degenerated into factions amongst the people. But Dunstan was impetuous, and determined to carry through the reformation which he had begun, for he looked upon himself in the light of a reformer; and, although the extension of his own power and that of his order may have been so blended with his zeal for the service of God as to deceive even himself, yet there seems no reason to doubt his sincerity. That there were many clerical abuses to be corrected, is consistent with the history of religion in all ages. The Danish invasions, and other national calamities, dispersed the clergy amongst the laity, with whose vices they doubtless became contaminated. The necessities of his situation compelled the prelate to be a statesman and an intriguer. He made some progress during the reign of Edred; in that of Edwy we have seen him checked; but in the present one, invested with the highest ecclesiastical dignities, and backed by the power of his sovereign, he appears before us under auspices which enabled him to carry his loftiest projects into execution. And he was not slow in seizing the opportunity. Not content with the ordinary engines of intrigue and supple policy, he drew upon the superstitious feelings of the time, and



arrogated to himself divine intuition and the power of working miracles. He succeeded in deceiving that unenlightened age, and perhaps also himself.

The foregoing remarks may afford a key to some of the more prominent events of Edgar's reign. A national synod was held, at which the king publicly expressed his sentiments in favor of the Benedictine cause. It followed as a consequence of this, that the unfortunate seculars were ejected if they refused to comply with the enactments made by Dunstan and his party, under the sanction of the sovereign; whilst monks were everywhere received with honor, and the erection of monasteries was for a time a royal mania. During the sixteen years of his reign Edgar built no less than forty-eight of these establishments.

Edgar's second marriage was connected with circumstances of a very tragical nature. The beauty of a young and noble lady having been praised to him, he commissioned Ethelwold, a favorite minister, to visit her residence, and report upon her charms. The deputy was himself captivated with the lady. He represented her in an unfavorable light to his sovereign, and married her himself; but Edgar, not being satisfied with the report, paid a personal visit to Elfrida, and, fascinated by her beauty, he procured the destruction of her husband, and espoused the bereaved lady himself.

Edgar died in 975, in the thirty-second year of his age, and was succeeded by Edward, surnamed the Martyr, his eldest son. A younger brother, Ethelred, by Elfrida, disputed the crown with Edward; but the latter was finally established upon the throne through the influence of Dunstan. His reign was chiefly occupied with disputes between the two clerical systems before-mentioned, Elfrida having, on account of her son Ethelred, espoused the cause of the seculars, in opposition to Dunstan, who headed the regulars, and who was also the means of supplanting her son. The monks gained a complete victory over the seculars, who were

now totally expelled from their convents. During this reign occurred that tragical circumstance which has afforded modern historians an opportunity of accusing the primate of murder. A council of nobles had been summoned to meet at Calne. During the proceedings, and just as the wily Dunstan had pronounced these words, "I confess I am unwilling to be overcome; I commit the cause of the Church to the decision of God," the floor fell instantly down, and numbers of his opponents were killed and wounded. The primate, and probably his partizans, escaped unhurt, a circumstance which can only be accounted for by supposing that their seat remained unmoved. Some historians charge Dunstan with having secretly loosened the floor from the walls, and affirm that during the debate the temporary props which supported it were withdrawn according to his directions. This is very improbable; but there can be little doubt that he interpreted the occurrence as a divine judgment upon his enemies, and thus wrought upon the prejudices of that superstitious age. Several heinous crimes are laid to the charge of the queen dowager, but the last was the darkest and most atrocious of all. Edward, in one of his hunting excursions, visited Corfe Castle, in Dorsetshire, where Elfrida resided with her son Ethelred. He was received with the utmost cordiality, and invited to enter the castle, but declined, requesting at the same time to see his brother, and also the favor of some refreshment. Whilst in the act of raising a cup of wine to his lips, he was mortally stabbed in the back by the orders of his stepmother. On account of his violent death he has been surnamed the Martyr.

Edward was succeeded in 978 by Ethelred. When the latter attained the crown he was only in his boyhood, and throughout a long life he never rose above it. This is one of those reigns which it is painful to narrate. It was the saddest which the descendants of Alfred yet had seen, and presents a strong contrast to that of his father. His son by

Elfrida became the sport of traitors; and having five times purchased his crown from the roving Danes, he was forced at last to make an ignominious surrender of it to a foreign invader.

For more than a century the Northmen had formed the chief part of the population of Northumberland and East Anglia, and they now stretched their power to the utmost in order to place one of their chiefs upon the Saxon throne. In 980, and for ten years thereafter, England was insulted by a series of inroads, which, although unimportant of themselves, were calculated to excite some alarm amongst the people, when the latter contemplated on the one hand the power and audacity of the Danes, and on the other a pusillanimous monarch and an unguarded country. But these petty aggressions were followed, in 991, by the appearance of a formidable armament upon the English coast. The invaders advanced without opposition as far as Malden, where they gained a victory, and their retreat was disgracefully purchased by a bribe of ten thousand pounds. Repeatedly afterwards did the Northmen play the same game, and Ethelred make the same debasing submission, by purchasing a momentary respite from their ravages. But the very means which were employed to rid the kingdom of these invaders one year, insured their return the next. Treason, famine and disease also aggravated the calamities which overwhelmed the nation.

The Danes repulsed in the south, transferred their arms to the north of England, where they extended their ravages; but in 994 appeared two new and more powerful chieftains, Sweyn, King of Denmark, and Olave, King of Norway. With ninety-four ships they sailed up the Thames, and, although repulsed at London, they succeeded in ravaging several counties. But another humiliating subsidy redeemed England from their grasp; and, what is more astonishing still, Olave was honorably received at the court of Ethelred, where he pledged his word never to molest England more. This prom-

ise is only remarkable inasmuch as it was faithfully kept. The army of his companion, Sweyn, however, continued to occupy the country, to which in course of time it became almost naturalized.

In 1002, Ethelred having lost his first wife, who bore him ten children, married a Norman princess, who assumed the name of Elgiva. The same year became memorable in the history of England for the crime known by the name of the Massacre of the Danes. On the 13th of November, the festival of St. Bride, the unsuspecting Northmen, with their wives, children, and all belonging to them, were cruelly put to death by a royal warrant. No place, however sacred, saved the victims from their pursuers; and when they fled to the churches for shelter, they were slaughtered in crowds around the altars. One painful episode is interwoven with this tale of blood. Gunhilda, the sister of Sweyn, King of Denmark, who was wedded to an English earl, saw her husband and children massacred before her eyes, and was herself afterwards beheaded. It is related by all historians, that in the agonies of death she foretold the vengeance which would descend upon the English nation for the barbarous act which it had committed.

The calamities of England seemed now to thicken as the atrocities of its ruler grew darker. Sweyn was not slow in revenging the fate of his countrymen; and, through negligence and perfidy on the part of England, he succeeded in ravaging the island, for several years, almost with impunity. In 1007, thirty-six thousand pounds of silver abated his thirst of revenge. Two years afterwards the most powerful armament which had yet obeyed the flag of England was collected at Sandwich; but treason paralyzed its operations. The captains abandoned their vessels, which were steered up the Thames by the mariners. The surrender of sixteen counties and forty-eight thousand pounds, stayed for a short period the rapacity of the Northmen. The picture which the now fallen and devoted England pre-



sents, it is painful to contemplate. Accumulated treasons and defeats had unnerved the courage of the natives; whilst the numerous victories of the Danes had swelled their pride, and inspired them with a preposterous idea of their warlike powers. Many fortified cities withstood all their assaults; but the open country was abandoned to their rapacity. Systematic destruction and spoliation was their principle; and the fields, deserted by the husbandmen, ceased to yield the necessary supplies of food, so that the Danes themselves were compelled to quit the island in search of provisions. Taxation, direct and annual, which must be traced to this period, weighed also upon the energies of the people, and materially increased the now almost universal discontent.

Sweyn made his last incursion into the country in 1013. Terrified at the universal disaffection, Ethelred fled at last to Normandy, whence he returned on hearing of Sweyn's death, which occurred shortly afterwards. The latter was succeeded by his son Canute; for the Danes would now appear to have put in a claim for the sovereignty of the whole country. Ethelred was recalled by the English chiefs, who exacted a promise from him that he would govern with less tyranny than formerly; and pledges were also interchanged between the Danes and English. But a contest soon ensued between the two parties; and, although Ethelred succeeded in repeating upon a small scale that system of treacherous massacre for which he had so severely suffered, yet Canute maintained his superiority in open warfare, and took a barbarous revenge upon the hostages in his hands, for the murder of his friends. Treason again added a fearful contribution to the accumulated evils which surrounded the unfortunate Ethelred. His son Edmund, arraigned from his hardihood, Ironside, vainly attempted to make head against the Danes; for Canute penetrated to York, where he was joined by the Earl of Northumbria and a number of the people. The country was now a prey to two contending armies; but

just at this crisis it was relieved from its greatest enemy, Ethelred, who died towards the end of 1016, worn out by care and disease.

Edmund Ironside was immediately chosen king by the English; and if the exertions of one man could have saved the country, this achievement would have been performed by the new king. During his short reign, for it extended to only a few months, he gave proofs of bravery and ability equal to any exigency, and worthy of a happier fortune. The first struggle between him and Canute was for the possession of London, which was held by the English. During the siege Edmund fought two battles in the provinces, one of which took place at Searston. Twice the darkness of night came to the relief of the exhausted armies, which had both suffered severely; but the dawn of the third morning showed the result to be in favor of the English. Canute, however, had taken advantage of the night, and marched upon London. Not long afterwards another battle was fought, in which Edric, a traitor thrice steeped in infamy by his defection, threw the victory into the hands of Canute. After this calamitous event the greatness of Edmund's soul became more conspicuous. Although a numerous army had again rallied around his standard, he shuddered to lavish more of his country's blood in this murderous warfare, and challenged Canute to decide their quarrel by single combat. Whether this proposal was accepted or not, is matter of uncertainty; but at all events a pacification was shortly afterwards agreed upon, and England was divided between the rivals; the north being given up to Canute, whilst Edmund retained possession of the south. The latter, however, died shortly afterwards; and there is reason to believe that he perished through the machinations of the perfidious Edric.

Edmund left two sons, infants; but by the unanimous voice of the nation Canute obtained the sovereignty of England. This remarkable prince was only twenty years of

age when he assumed the reigns of government. His qualities as a monarch were of a very high order, not unalloyed, however, with the ferocity natural to the Northmen of the period. The first object of his policy was the removal of the children of the two preceding kings. Some of the sons of Ethelred were slain, and the rest consigned to banishment; whilst those of Edmund were sent over to Sweden, for the purpose of being dispatched. But their fate was averted by the prince to whom they were conveyed. He sent them both to the King of Hungary, by whom they were educated in a manner befitting their station. One died in his youth, the other married the daughter of Henry, the Emperor of Germany; and their issue was Edgar Atheling, who will be mentioned hereafter.

Canute divided the kingdom into four governments. He retained Wessex to himself. East Anglia was conferred on a chief named Thurchil, who had formerly distinguished himself; and Eric and Edric were continued in Northumberland and Mercia. But the latter shortly afterwards received the full reward of his crimes and perfidy. At a Christmas festival celebrated in London, he had the audacity to boast of his services, when Canute ordered him to be cut down, and his body thrown into the Thames. The Danish king had embraced Christianity, and also taken to wife Emma, widow of Ethelred. The profession of the former removed the main barrier between his English and Danish subjects; and his espousal of a royal female was no doubt intended to conciliate the affections of the Saxons; and it seems to have had a considerable influence in this respect. He died at Shaftesbury in 1035, and was interred at Winchester. By his wife Emma he had a son and daughter; the former called Hardicanute, or Canute the Hardy. But previously to his marriage he had by another lady two sons, named Sweyn and Harold. The former was installed in the sovereignty of Norway, and the latter ascended the throne of England.

Harold was not entitled to the crown; for it had been provided in the marriage settlement of Emma, that the issue of Canute by her alone should reign; yet he being on the spot, succeeded in obtaining the sceptre as well as the treasure of his father. Edward, the son of Ethelred, certainly the legitimate sovereign of the kingdom, made an attempt to obtain it, but proved unsuccessful. His brother Alfred renewed the enterprise, which proved fatal to him and to most of his followers. This prince received a letter, which purported to be from his mother, inviting him to come over and take possession of his father's dominions. The proposition was flattering, and in an unlucky moment he yielded to it. Having landed with 600 followers, he was treacherously made prisoner, along with his companions. Every tenth man was set at liberty, a few more were reserved as slaves, and the remainder were massacred and mutilated with the most capricious cruelty. Prince Alfred himself was deprived of his eyes; and this shocking barbarity soon afterwards terminated in his death. The unfortunate sufferer was the dupe of a forgery; and the whole villainous transaction seems to have been planned by Harold, and executed by his minions, particularly Earl Godwin. This remarkable individual, according to the only account of him which we possess, was the son of a Saxon herdsman. In his youth he had assisted Ulfr, a Danish chieftain, to make his escape to the ships of Canute. The Northman took him under his charge, and by successive steps he rose to the dignity of a Jarl, and to the possession of power little less than sovereign during three reigns. The atrocious deed of blood above related is the only event of importance associated with the name of Harold the First. He died in 1040, and was succeeded by Hardicanute, his brother by the half blood.

This sovereign reigned about two years; and the little that is recorded of him is of a very mixed character. He came over from Denmark, breathing revenge against the



murderers of Alfred, and even went so far as brutally to insult the lifeless remains of Harold. Godwin stood prominently forward as an object of punishment, but a splendid present turned aside the shaft of vengeance. Others also escaped by appealing to his avarice, which seems to have been his ruling passion. Edward the son of Ethelred was kindly and honorably received at his court—a noble act of generosity; yet the author of it died of intemperance at the nuptial feast of a Danish lord.

Edward, surnamed the Confessor, the surviving son of Ethelred, was chosen King of England in 1042. He was a weak and feeble prince, and incompetent to the task of vigorous government; yet the commencement of his reign was characterized by an act of severity. He despoiled his mother Emma of her property, and deprived her of her influence. These proceedings were prompted by the antipathy which she bore to the king, and by her lukewarmness in not punishing the murderers of her son Alfred, of whose blood it was even whispered she was not entirely guiltless. The weak and irresolute character of the king threw the power entirely into the hands of three noblemen, who divided the Saxon territory amongst them, Siward, Earl of Northumberland, Leofric, Earl of Mercia, and Godwin, Earl of Kent, whose daughter, Editha, Edward had been induced to marry. Godwin was by far the most powerful of the three; for besides his own territory in Wessex, his two sons, Sweyn and Harold, held large domains northward of the Thames. In 1051, he at last presumed to bid defiance to his sovereign and son-in-law. Edward who had sojourned a long time in Normandy, where he was well treated, when he ascended the throne invited the guardians and friends of his youth to accompany him to England. They accordingly flocked to him in great numbers, and received ample preferment. One of them, named Robert, obtained the primacy, at that time the station of highest dignity and power. Amongst those who resorted

to England was Eustace, Count of Boulogne, who had married Edward's sister. At Dover, one of Godwin's towns, a foolish affray took place between the followers of the count and the English. This circumstance gave vent to the popular jealousy of the people against foreigners. Godwin assembled a force, and claimed the surrender of Eustace; but the latter was supported by the king, who ultimately succeeded in driving Godwin and his sons into exile. The star of Godwin seemed now to have fairly set; but just then arose another of far more disastrous omen to the Saxon line. William, Duke of Normandy, came to England with many of his followers, on a visit to his cousin Edward. He was received with great honor, and loaded with presents when he returned to his own country.

In about a year after this the Godwins were restored to their honors and estates; and Editha, who had been repudiated by the king, was called from her prison to the throne. She was innocent of any participation in her father's guilt. The annalists of the time represent her in the most amiable light. On his re-installment in his earldom and possessions, Godwin succeeded in inducing the king to outlaw Archbishop Robert and all the Frenchmen; and not long after he died. In 1055, Siward followed him to the grave; and two years afterwards expired Leofric, the wise and powerful Duke of Mercia, who was succeeded in his dukedom by his son Algar. Tostig, brother of Harold, received the earldom of the former; but in a few years afterwards (1065), he was deposed for his cruelties, and his sovereignty conferred upon Morecar, son of the Duke of Mercia.

Soon after these transactions, the pacific monarch of England began to sicken. When he saw his end approaching, he ordered the magnificent church of St. Peter at Westminster, which he had built, to be consecrated with solemnity and splendor. He died two days after, on the 4th or 5th of January, 1066, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, and was interred in the church which he had

so recently dedicated. He left no issue; for he had taken a vow of continence for life. Edward Atheling, the only surviving son of Edmund Ironside, had landed from Hungary with his wife and children, for the purpose of being proclaimed heir to the crown; but shortly after his arrival in London, he expired, bequeathing his claim to his son Edgar.

The day which witnessed the funeral of Edward, saw the coronation of Harold, the son of Godwin. A report had been circulated that the Confessor had appointed him his successor, which greatly conciliated the chiefs; indeed, the only opposition which he experienced was from his own unnatural family. On Edgar Atheling, the last surviving prince of the house of Cerdic, was conferred the earldom of Oxford, in lieu of the crown. Tostig, the brother of the king, was a competitor for the crown. Harold Hardrada, King of Norway, promised him his support, and the politic Duke of Normandy did the same. In Flanders he was permitted to raise an army, with which he landed in Northumberland; but he was defeated by Morcar, on whom the earldom of the province had been conferred. The discomfited Tostig fled to Malcolm, King of Scotland, where he was well received. The Caledonian monarch had himself been sheltered at the English court during the usurpation of Macbeth, and was established on the throne of his ancestors by the aid of England. As a grateful return for the attentions he had received in that country, he always readily welcomed the malcontents who fled from it. The arrival of his Norwegian ally recalled Tostig from his exile. They joined forces at the mouth of the Tyne, and marched upon York, in the neighborhood of which city the Saxon army sustained a defeat. But this was only a prelude to the grand struggle. Harold, the king, notwithstanding the necessity under which he lay of watching the south-eastern extremity of the island from a still more formidable rival, collected a considerable army, and

marched with promptitude and secrecy to meet Tostig and his Norwegian ally. So rapid had been the movements of the king that he took the enemy in some degree by surprise. They, however, retired upon Stamfordbridge on the Derwent, where they drew out their line of battle. The contest which ensued was bloody, and long of doubtful issue. For a while the firm array of the Norwegians bade defiance to all the efforts of the English cavalry, which, accustomed to charge in detached masses, fell in this dispersed state almost harmless upon the bristling rampart of Scandinavian spears. The King of Norway, conspicuous by his blue tunic and glittering helmet, made the most heroic exertions; but victory forsook his standard; a dart pierced his throat, and he fell lifeless to the ground. Tostig assumed the command, and after a desperate effort to turn the fortune of the day, he perished, with the flower of the Norwegian army. This victory, which is memorable on account of the dreadful slaughter that distinguished it, was gained on the 25th of September, 1066. It must be recorded to the honor of Harold, that twice he offered peace and pardon to his rebellious brother, once before and once during the heat of battle, when the Norwegian had fallen, but both times these offers were refused. Three days after this conflict William, Duke of Normandy landed in England, and Harold had to prepare for another desperate struggle to retain the crown.

This celebrated claimant to the sceptre of England was the descendant of Rollo, a renowned *Vikingr*, or Sea-King, who flourished at the beginning of the tenth century. Rognvaldr, the father of Rollo, was one of those earls appointed by Harold Harfager, or the fair-haired, to guard his conquests. He had two sons, Thoror and Rolfr, better known by his more celebrated name of Rollo. The progenitor of William the Conqueror was expelled from his country on account of a violation of the law which forbade freebooters, under pain of death, to destroy cattle on



the Norwegian shore. Driven from his paternal shores, he resolved to seek for a kingdom elsewhere; and after much successful valor he succeeded in establishing a Scandinavian state in France. Rollo proved himself a prince worthy of a kingdom, and his acquisition in course of time assumed the name of Normandy. His exertions for the improvement of his dominions, the civilization of the rude Northmen, and the humanizing of their minds to the love of order, justice and the arts of peace, class him with those illustrious individuals who have proved themselves benefactors of the human race. He died in 931, and was succeeded by his son William. After two others, Robert, the Magnificent, or the Devil, as he was perhaps more appropriately designated, succeeded. He was father to the duke who now appears before us as a competitor for the English throne. William was an illegitimate child by a damsel of humble condition, of whom his father was enamored, but could not wed during the lifetime of his duchess, the sister of Canute. Like their northern progenitors, the nobles of the Norman duke were careless of the distinction between concubinage and wedlock, so that on the death of Robert in 1035, William, although then only eight years of age, was triumphantly placed upon the ducal throne, which he filled with renown for fifty-three years.

The circumstance of numerous Norman barons having settled in England during the reign of Edward the Confessor, who was the grandson of a duke of Normandy, has already been noticed; as also the visit paid by William to the childless monarch. It was afterwards asserted by the Duke of Normandy, that, upon one occasion, probably that to which we have already alluded, Edward had bequeathed to him the crown of England. He also alleged a testamentary bequest, as well as Harold. Both were alike destitute of any claim founded on the modern principles of hereditary descent, but both by consanguinity made out a species of right to inherit; William as the grand uncle of

Emma the king's mother, and Harold as the king's brother-in-law. The claims of the champions were therefore nearly balanced, and seem to have contented their partizans; the sword alone could decide to whom the real title should belong.

In the meantime the claim of Harold suffered considerably on account of a circumstance which occurred a short time before the demise of the late king. The Saxon had been shipwrecked in France, but obtained leave to proceed to Normandy by alleging that he was intrusted with some communications to Duke William. That prince received him kindly, and imparted to him the hopes which he cherished of obtaining the English crown. He received a promise of aid from Harold, and by an artifice succeeded in making him swear fealty to his cause. Underneath the missal on which the Saxon had sworn were concealed various sacred relics, such as the bones of saints and martyrs, and thus he had unconsciously bound himself by the most solemn oath. When the struggle came, Harold urged the plea of compulsion as releasing him from any obligation to keep his vow. Abhorrence of oath-breakers, however, is characteristic of a superstitious age; and whilst the circumstance materially weakened the cause of Harold, it strengthened in a corresponding degree that of his rival. There is also every reason to believe that it was the principal means of enabling William to obtain from the holy see a declaration in favor of his enterprise. At such a period a bull from the pope was itself worth an army, and this the adventurer not only obtained, but also a consecrated standard, a ring, and a lock of his holiness's hair.

William now set busily to work in preparing the means of offensive aggression. When his purpose was known, he was speedily joined by all the young knights of the neighboring countries who sought fortune or renown, and by all the freebooters whom the hope of spoil allured to his standard. With an armament more formidable than the west-

ern nations had yet witnessed, he accordingly put to sea. Annalists have greatly exaggerated the number of his troops; for altogether they did not probably much exceed 25,000 men. With this army he landed without opposition at Pevensey, in the county of Sussex, as has already been observed. He made no stay at that place, however, but proceeded immediately to Hastings to procure provisions. Harold, apprised of the arrival of his most dreaded enemy, flew to attack him. William, informed of his victory and advance, was counselled by some to remain in his entrenchments, and not to hazard an open engagement. But the mind of the future conqueror was not liable to the agitations of fear. In this emergency the conduct of Harold has been severely censured. He appropriated to himself all the spoils of the late battle, which added to his unpopularity; whilst the death of his brother was by common report imputed to him. On his march against William, a considerable portion of his army deserted him, and their place had to be supplied by raw and undisciplined levies. When the two rivals were near enough to interchange messages, the Norman offered Harold the choice of abdication, of single combat, or of appeal to the pope. These propositions being rejected, he was then offered Northumberland for himself, whilst Kent would be conceded to his brother Gurth; but the latter proposal shared the fate of the former one; upon which William declared his intention of giving battle to his rival, whom he looked upon and designated as a liar and a perjured wretch, excommunicated by the holy father. He even expressed astonishment that an individual conscious of such guilt as that with which Harold was chargeable should venture his person in battle. We are told that such a feeling also prevailed in the English army, and that the king was advised by his brothers Gurth and Leofwin to withdraw, whilst they would lead on the battle. Harold, however, only smiled at their apprehensions, and expressed his resolution of commanding the army in person.

On the morning of Saturday the 14th of October, William advanced to the attack of the Saxons, after having solemnly heard mass and received the sacrament. The previous night is also said to have been passed in devotion, whilst songs and revelry resounded throughout the Saxon camp. The spot which Harold had fixed upon for this important contest was a piece of rising ground about eight miles inland from Hastings. It was open towards the south, and was covered at the back by an extensive wood. On the front of the declivity the troops were arranged in one compact mass, in the centre of which floated the royal banner, with the king and his two brothers near it. On an opposite hill stood William in front of his warriors, with the relics upon which Harold had sworn hung round his neck, and the consecrated standard waving by his side. After a short address to animate his soldiers, he advanced upon the enemy, shouting the national war-cry "God is our help;" whilst the cry of "Christ's rood, the holy rood," rose from the adverse ranks. The impetuous onset of the Normans was received by the English with their battle-axes, with which they broke the lances and cut the coats of mail, on which their opponents placed great reliance. The confidence of the Normans began to waver, and the left wing, both horse and foot, actually gave way. With eager rashness the English pursued, and thus exposed themselves to the hazard of being cut off; for William with dauntless fortitude and presence of mind had succeeded in rallying his fugitive bands. The attack was renewed, and again the English repulsed it. The duke had now recourse to an artifice which ultimately proved the destruction of the enemy's army. By a feigned flight he allured a body of them from their strong position, and, whilst the latter too eagerly pursued, he turned upon them with his cavalry, and hewed them in pieces. Twice was this stratagem repeated, and each time with perfect success. Still the main body of the English presented an unbroken rampart



of shields, against which the mass of Norman chivalry for a long time was hurled in vain.

During the conflict both leaders gave proofs of personal bravery and skill worthy of the crown which the one was combating to retain and the other to wrench from his grasp. William had three horses killed under him, and hand to hand he had grappled on foot with his adversaries. A little before sunset Harold, both of whose brothers had already fallen, received an arrow in the eye, which penetrated to the brain. His fall relaxed the vigor of the English. Their lines were penetrated, their standard taken; and a panic having seized upon them, they broke and dispersed through the wood, whilst darkness closed upon the spoils of the field and the hopes of the Saxons.

On the morning after the battle, the victors, having stripped the bodies of the slain, pranced wantonly over them with their heres. The mother of Harold, like another Andromache, begged the corpse of her son from the conqueror; but whether her maternal request was complied with or not is a matter of great uncertainty.

The conquest of England did not altogether terminate with the battle of Hasting. London and other important towns were put in a posture of defence, whilst a numerous fleet had assembled at Dover to interrupt the proceedings and distract the attention of the invader. Edgar, the legitimate heir to the throne, appears to have been either crowned or acknowledged as sovereign at London, where the two powerful Earls of Morcar and Edwin, with the loyal inhabitants, resolved to make a desperate stand against the advancing foe.

William, however, was the candidate favored by the see of Rome, and the bishops interfered in his behalf. Stigand, the metropolitan, was the first to throw himself on the mercy of William, whom he met as the conqueror crossed the Thames at Wallingford, and swore fealty to him as his sovereign; others followed his example, as did Edgar,

Edwin, and Morcar upon the part of the nobility. The crown was offered to him, and he was formally invested with it in Westminster Abbey, on Christmas, 1066. During the ceremony a tumult arose which made the stout heart of the conqueror tremble beneath its iron mail; and, had an English force, led by any competent commander, and capable of making head against the Normans, appeared at the moment, it might have cost him his crown and his life. Whilst, by loud acclamations, both English and Normans expressed their willingness to have William for king, his troops set fire to the houses, and commenced the plunder of the city. The coronation service was hastily concluded, and the insurrection quelled without much difficulty, although the English looked upon it as a bad omen, and William as a most unfortunate occurrence. It was his interest to propitiate the affections of the people whom he had now been appointed to govern, and he anxiously wished to do so. In explanation of this occurrence, it is usually alleged that the Normans mistook the acclamations of those who shouted within the church for an alarm of the English to rise in revolt. But if this had been the case, why did they not instantly fly to the rescue of their king, instead of spreading themselves about and firing and pillaging the city? His safety was surely their first care; for had he fallen their fate was inevitable. The whole unquestionably originated in the desire of the troops for sack and pillage.

Hitherto William had been called the Bastard; from this period he obtained the surname of the Conqueror, a term which at the time was employed to designate a person who had sought and obtained his right, as well as a subjugator. It was necessary for William to maintain a strong military force in order to compel the obedience of his subjects; and he could only feel himself secure surrounded by his trusty Norman barons. But the duration of their services being limited to a certain term, they naturally

expected to be released from their engagements, and re-conveyed to their country, when the period of servitude had expired. In order to encourage them to remain, he put into their hands the strongholds and principal towns of the kingdom, whilst all the conquered territory of the English, which he had at his command, was likewise distributed amongst them. Having thus put his dominions in a secure condition, he embarked for Normandy, carrying along with him Morear, Edgar, and Edwin, and leaving the chief management of affairs in England in the hands of William Fitzosbern, a Norman baron, and Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, the son of his mother by a plebeian husband. During the absence of the Conqueror, the Saxons began to mutter threats of vengeance, and even went so far as to enter into a conspiracy to cut off the Normans as their forefathers had done the Danes. It appears, from the testimony of several credible annalists, that the oppression which the English suffered at the hands of the insolent soldiery was most galling, and called loudly for retaliation. These alarming rumors crossed the channel, and reached the ears of William, who hastened from his continental dominions, and, landing in England in December, 1067, made a sort of second conquest of that country. The Saxons of Devonshire, joined by the neighboring Britons in Cornwall, had thrown off their allegiance to him, and against them he first turned his arms. They made a gallant stand; but William having reduced Exeter, succeeded in breaking the spirit of resistance for a time. About this period, Edgar, with his mother and two sisters, having embarked for Hungary, were driven by a tempest upon the coast of Scotland. That country was at the time governed by Malcolm, surnamed Ceanmore, who gladly received the fugitives, and made them a return for that kindness which he had himself experienced under similar circumstances at the English court. Many Saxon nobles followed Edgar, who, with subsequent emigrations of disaffected Normans, founded the

greater number of the Scottish noble families. Malcolm afterwards married Matilda, the eldest sister of Edgar.

William the Conqueror now turned his attention to the north, where his authority had not yet been properly established. From the heart of Mercia to the confines of Scotland a spirit of open insubordination prevailed, and was fostered by Edwin, who had been at one time promised the hand of William's daughter, but was afterwards refused it. The insurrection became formidable; but it was soon quelled and this served more and more to confirm the power of the Normans. William penetrated as far as York, which opened its gates to him, scattered the isolated and feeble bands who opposed his march, and reduced all the important towns on his way. During this expedition he also fortified a number of castles. The tranquillity thus produced was, however, of short duration. At Durham, the English succeeded in massacring the whole Norman force established there, excepting two men. York followed the example of Durham, and rising upon the garrison, killed the governor, with many of his retainers. Shortly after this event, the sons of Harold, the late king, landed from Ireland with the intention of making an effort to recover the crown; but they were utterly defeated in two engagements, by Brian, son of the Earl of Bretagne.

A new and formidable auxiliary of the malecontents had now, however, arrived in the Humber; this was a powerful Danish armament. Edgar Atheling, several illustrious Saxons, and crowds of the English, having joined them, they successfully assaulted York; but William, apprised of their descent, hastened to the scene of war. His usual good fortune attended him; and the Danes were compelled to quit the country without crossing arms with the Normans in any conflict worthy the name of a battle. Hints have occasionally been thrown out that they were bribed by the Conqueror; but of this circumstance there is no direct evidence.



Upon another point, however, all historians are agreed, namely, that, piqued by these repeated insurrections, the king, in a transport of passion, had sworn to extirpate Northumbria. This merciless vow was performed nearly to the letter. Unbounded license was given to the soldiery, who ravaged the country with fire and sword.

William was now undisputed master of England. The conquest of the country, properly speaking, only began with the battle of Hastings. It was not until seven years thereafter, when he carried the terror of his arms to York that the country was completely subdued. Before that period not one half of England acknowledged his authority. But the spirit of the Saxons was now fairly broken, and finding themselves pursued with such extirpating vengeance, many of them sought refuge amongst the hills and forests, whilst others emigrated to foreign lands. A party of them under Hereward, a resolute chief, attempted to make a stand in the island of Ely, immediately after the northern massacre. This land of fens and marshes was the last asylum of Saxon independence; and Morecar, with some bishops and the remainder of the most conspicuous Saxons, repaired thither. For a while William disdained to notice the efforts of Hereward; but at last he invaded his circumscribed territory, and, scattering his little band, compelled him to fly. This bold and patriotic chieftain afterwards gave in his submission, and being allowed to retain his paternal possessions, the end of his days proved happy. He was the last of the Saxons who drew the sword in the cause of national independence.

William having now quieted the tumults at home, turned his attention to Malcolm, King of Scotland, whom he compelled to submit. The affairs of the church also occupied him for a time; and several changes were effected, not, it may well be believed, to the advantage of the Saxon prelates. One of them, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was deposed, and his place supplied by Lanfranc,

who, although a worthy man, was the creature of William, and in bondage to Rome. In the meanwhile, Edgar Atheling, had sought and obtained the friendship of the Conqueror, who, to his honor, ever afterwards maintained this weak and almost imbecile youth in ease and affluence at his court.

During the visit of William to his continental possessions, which took place at this time, the Norman barons rebelled against him, and were joined by some Saxon chiefs. The king hastened across seas with a band of auxiliaries, and made an easy conquest of the insurgents. The remaining events of his reign are not sufficiently important to require a minute recital. The most remarkable is the revolt of his son Robert, who had been promised the duchy of Normandy when William first invaded England. The French monarch fomented the hostilities between the father and son, which existed for several years, and closed with a most romantic incident. Robert, being besieged in the castle of Gorberoi, engaged a knight enveloped in complete armor, and unhorsed him, at the same time inflicting a wound in his arm. When about to pursue his advantage, Robert recognized in the fallen warrior the voice of his father. A reconciliation was finally effected by the tears and entreaties of Matilda, the mother of Robert.

Whilst engaged in a desolating warfare against Philip, King of France, William came before the town of Montes in July, 1087, and ordered it to be burned. He rode to view the scene, and galloping among the smouldering ruins, his horse reared and plunged so violently as severely to wound the rider, who at the time was very corpulent and unwieldy. He was carried in a dangerous state to the vicinity of Rouen, where he breathed his last, on the 9th of September. On his death-bed the conscience of the Conqueror appears to have stung him deeply; for he ordered that several prisoners in England, amongst whom was Odo his half-brother, should be set at large; and that restitution should be made for what he had violently destroyed. But

these atonements were inadequate to expiate the crimes of which he had been guilty.

The Conqueror left three sons by his wife Matilda. Robert, the eldest, was installed in the duchy of Normandy; whilst William, surnamed Rufus or the Red, from his complexion, obtained the throne of England, and was crowned on the 26th of September, 1087. An attempt was made by his half-uncle Odo to dethrone him, and to set up his brother Robert in his stead. But William, alarmed at the formidable demonstrations which were made against him, appealed to the English for aid, and his call was most loyally obeyed. The Normans who had invaded England were compelled to fly, and William carried the war into Normandy, where a reconciliation was effected in the year 1091. The King of England had acquired several continental fortresses, of which he was still to retain possession. It was also stipulated between the brothers, that on the decease of either, the survivor should succeed to the dominions of the other. Henry, the younger brother, who suffered by the treaty, held out several strong places in Normandy; but they joined their forces together, and besieged him in St. Michael's Mount, whence he was compelled to fly from want of water.

Robert accompanied his brother to England, where he had been promised possessions as an equivalent for the fortresses which he had yielded up in Normandy. But William did not find it convenient to fulfill the terms of the treaty; upon which his brother, who had again crossed the channel, sent over two heralds for the purpose of declaring him a false and perjured knight. In order to defend his honor, the king followed them into Normandy; but his transactions there belong rather to his own individual history than to that of the country which he governed. The possession of his brother's dominions was a leading object of William's ambition; and he gradually acquired an ascendancy in Normandy, which he repeatedly invaded, obtaining new cessions at each adventure. Robert finally mortgaged the whole

country to him for three years, at an equivalent of ten thousand marks.

The other events of William's reign were an invasion of Wales, which was crowned with the usual success; and a war with Scotland, in which the monarch of that country was slain. His government of England was most unpopular. For the gratification of his own appetites, and the enriching of worthless favorites, he plundered the country with impunity. During the life of Lanfranc, his undisciplined rapacity was checked by the wisdom and influence of that excellent prelate. His death, however, removed every restraint, for the king supplied his place by the appointment of an able but remorseless counsellor, who, according to the king himself, was capable of braving the execrations and the vengeance of mankind, in order to gratify his master's desires. Many bishoprics, including amongst those the see of Canterbury, were kept vacant by the king for several years, until a severe illness convinced him of the necessity of appointing a primate. The individual whom he fixed upon was Anselm, one of the most learned and meritorious men of his age. Anselm at first murmured to accept the archbishopric, dreading the violence of the king; but the earnest solicitations of his friends at last induced him to comply, and he thus became primate of England. William, as long as his illness was of a dangerous character, showed himself penitent and submissive. He commanded all his prisoners to be released, all his debtors to be forgiven, and all offences to be remitted; and he solemnly vowed that if he recovered he would govern the land in righteousness. But no sooner was he convalescent than he showed that his profession of amendment was only a matter of convenience, and extorted from an unforgiving spirit by the terrors of death. Anselm, as was usual in such cases, brought a voluntary present to his master as an acknowledgment for the dignity which had been conferred upon him; but the gift, not corresponding to the avaricious views of the monarch,



was refused, and the unfortunate primate was ever afterwards persecuted by him with the most unrelenting tyranny. Anselm at last sought shelter in Rome, where he continued until William's demise.

The death of the monarch, like his life, was violent. Whilst hunting in the New Forest, he was accidentally struck by an arrow, which buried itself in his breast, and he expired on the spot. The shaft is believed to have been shot at random, and to have come from the bow of Walter Tyrrel, a French knight, who immediately made his escape. This event happened on the 2d of August, in the year 1100.

Henry the First, surnamed Beaulerk or the Scholar, ascended the throne of England three days after the death of his brother, the preceding monarch. The compact which had been made between William and Robert was set aside; but the latter, considering himself as aggrieved, invaded England. The formidable demonstrations made by his brother, however, intimidated him, and a pacification was at last effected at the accession of Henry; and the latter propitiated the favor of his subjects by many wise acts. He removed the unpopular agents of his unfortunate brother, particularly Flambard, the obnoxious minister formerly alluded to, and also abolished the oppressive exactions which the latter had enforced. Anselm was recalled, and the clergy conciliated, whilst the people had restored to them the Anglo-Saxon laws and privileges as amended by Henry's father. He also gratified the nation by espousing Matilda, or Maud, daughter of Malcolm, King of Scotland, by Margaret, the sister of Edgar Atheling.

The king now turned his attention to the punishment of the outlaws who had thrown off his authority. Amongst these were included several noblemen, and particularly Robert de Belesme, the most powerful subject in England, and a man haughty, rapacious, and deceitful. He had secured himself within the walls of Shrewsbury, but on the arrival of Henry before this place he

made a humiliating surrender, upon which his life was spared, but he was condemned to perpetual exile. Some time after these events Robert unexpectedly arrived in England, where he was received with apparent affection by his brother, but very soon discovered that he was in reality a captive. The purpose of his visit was to intercede with Henry in favor of the rebels; but instead of compounding for their liberation, he was reduced to solicit his own, which he obtained by consenting to pay an annuity of three thousand marks. After his return to Normandy he entered into terms of friendship with the outlaw Belesme, who possessed numerous castles in the country. Intelligence of this having reached Henry, he renounced the alliance by which he had bound himself to keep the peace with Robert. This compact was similar to that which had subsisted between William and Robert, and a second time the latter became a brother's dupe. Henry invaded Normandy, and a decisive conflict before the walls of Tinchebrai, on the 27th of April, 1106, decided the fate of Robert. His army was completely routed, and he himself taken prisoner and sent to England, where he remained in close confinement till his death, which happened in 1135. The cruel fate of this prince has served as a foil to the virtues which he possessed, and shed over them an artificial or spurious lustre. There can be no doubt, however, that his qualities as a warrior were brilliant, and his mind would seem to have been forgiving and conciliatory. Perhaps an amiable weakness in the latter respect was the ultimate cause of his misfortunes. Amongst the prisoners taken at Tinchebrai was Edgar Atheling. Either from his inherent weakness precluding any thing like fear on his account, or from a desire to retain the golden opinions of the Saxons, Henry pardoned him, and from this period the descendant of Alfred intrudes himself no more upon the page of English history.

Robert had a son about five years of age named William, whom a faithful vassal suc-

ceeded in conveying to the French court. As the age of this prince advanced, the hopes of his partizans proportionally increased. Henry, after obtaining possession of Normandy, had succeeded in tranquillizing it, and restoring peace and order; but as his nephew grew up, the claims which he possessed to the duchy of his father became more and more popular, and disturbed the quiet both of his uncle and the country. Henry should have at once yielded his paternal inheritance to the young prince; and the withholding of it was an act of injustice which harassed his life and dishonored his name. The Norman barons, along with the King of France, took part with the injured youth; but this coalition terminated with the battle of Brenville, which was fought in the year 1119. Louis, the French king, had four hundred, and Henry of England five hundred knights. Both princes displayed great bravery during the engagement, which ended, with comparatively but little bloodshed, in favor of the English. William of Normandy made his escape; and the pope, who paid a visit to Henry at Gisors, effected a reconciliation between him and Louis, without touching upon the main cause of quarrel, namely, the difference between the English monarch and his brother Robert, or rather his nephew William, the father being now politically dead.

Matters having been once more pacifically arranged, and the ambition of Henry gratified, he set sail for England towards the end of November, 1120. Upon this occasion a most calamitous event occurred in his family, namely, the loss of his only son William. The prince, with a large retinue of gay young knights and noblemen, embarked shortly after his father. Festivity, riot, and intoxication prevailed on board; but in the midst of this feasting and debauchery, the care of the vessel being forgotten altogether, she struck upon a rock near Harfeur, and went down. Of three hundred individuals who were on board,

only one escaped to record the dismal fate of his companions. Prince William would have been saved but for the shrieks of his natural sister, which recalled him to the wreck with the boat in which he was proceeding towards shore; and it sunk under the multitudes who crowded into it.

This sudden calamity revived the hopes of Henry's nephew William, and disturbed all the arrangements of the king in Normandy. A new war was kindled in that country; but it terminated in 1124 in favor of the English monarch. The discomfited youth, however, received a new favor of fortune. Louis of France bestowed upon him the hand of his sister-in-law; and along with her he received several of the provinces nearest to Paris, which had been united to Normandy by conquest. Soon afterwards he was invested with the earldom of Flanders, which had been left vacant by the assassination of Charles the Good in 1127. In the meanwhile, Henry had endeavored to perpetuate the succession in his own family, by marrying a second time, after the death of Matilda, his first wife, who had brought him a son and daughter. The premature fate of the former we have already noticed; and the latter, named Matilda, had espoused the Emperor of Germany. The marriage of the king proved to be without issue; and his daughter having recently become a widow, was invited to England, for the purpose of settling upon her the succession to the throne. In a general assembly of the prelates and chief tenants of the crown she was proposed by her father and acknowledged by the meeting as heiress presumptive; and shortly after this transaction her father privately married her to the Count of Anjou. This secret negotiation drew forth loud complaints from the barons; and many of them declared that the duplicity of the king had released them from the obligation of their oath. This doubtless disturbed the serenity of the king's reign; but another and more important cause of disquietude arose from the increasing power and fame of his nephew



in Flanders. However, the death of that prince soon afterwards removed all uneasiness on his account, and restored at least the prospect of tranquillity. But this was not realized; for a quarrel with his son-in-law retained him in Normandy, and embroiled the last years of his reign, which was now drawing towards a close. Robert, the unfortunate duke of Normandy, died at Cardiff Castle, in Wales, in the eightieth year of his age and twenty-eighth of his captivity, a great part of which had been spent in total blindness; for an unsuccessful attempt to escape had provoked his brother to deprive him of sight. All the historians of the period do not mention this circumstance, and some state that the prisoner enjoyed every indulgence; so that the point is doubtful, and for the honor of humanity we leave it in this state. In about a year thereafter, he was followed to the grave by King Henry, who died of a surfeit of lampreys, on the 1st of December, 1135, in the sixty-seventh year of his age and thirty-fifth of his reign.

It was the darling plan of Henry that his beloved daughter Maud should be his successor. By her second husband she had three sons, one or other of whom their uncle no doubt looked upon as the future monarch of England. But the claims of the ex-Empress of Germany were waived, and Stephen, Earl of Boulogne, son of Adela, the daughter of William the Conqueror, succeeded to the throne. He was crowned upon the 26th of December, 1135, and soon made himself very popular. According to custom, he immediately issued a charter, which promised, of course, good government and ample redress of grievances. His courts at the solemn festivals were held with extraordinary magnificence. He repulsed the invasion of David, King of Scotland, who received a severe defeat at the Battle of the Standard, which was fought near Northallerton; he subdued his enemies in Normandy; and, by a yearly pension, he pacified the husband of the lady whom he had supplanted upon the throne. Robert, Earl of Gloucester, natural

son of Henry, and the great supporter of Maud's rights, perceiving all hostility to be unavailing, at last swore fealty to the king. For the first two or three years of his reign, Stephen sat securely upon the throne; but he was doomed to be overtaken by a series of calamities. These arose partly from the inevitable consequences of his usurpation, and partly from his defects as a sovereign. That passion for depredation and conflict which the preceding monarch had subdued, again broke out. Every one built his own castle and maintained his own band of mercenary ruffians, who sallied forth day and night to plunder the surrounding country, and drag into dungeons such as they expected would give a high ransom for their freedom. A contemporary chronicler has drawn a horrible picture of the atrocities thus committed with impunity; for the mildness of Stephen's character, and probably the recollection of his own conduct in obtaining the crown, induced him to be forbearing and indulgent. His popularity rapidly declined; and in the fourth year of his reign it appears to have altogether ceased. In 1139, Matilda, with a few attendants, landed in England, for the purpose of recovering her lost inheritance. She was joined by Robert, Earl of Gloucester, with a hundred and fifty knights, who commenced a warfare which nearly hurled Stephen from the throne. After many conflicts, which were only characterized by the misery attendant upon them, the army of the Empress Matilda, or Maud, defeated that of Stephen near Lincoln, in the year 1141. The king was captured after a brave resistance; and Matilda was soon afterwards crowned queen of England at Winchester. The clergy, although they countenanced the accession of Stephen, now acknowledged her prior claim; and the queen, proceeding to London, was joyfully hailed by the citizens.

But her popularity was of short duration. By her arrogance and contemptuous conduct towards the friends of Stephen, she soon alienated the affections of the people, and was at last compelled to fly from the city

and to establish her head-quarters at Oxford. In one of the numerous struggles which followed, the Earl of Gloucester was taken prisoner, which put the fortunes of the belligerents nearly upon a level. The king and the earl were exchanged for each other; and as both parties had now a commander on whom they could depend, the conflict was perpetuated, with increasing misery to the nation. For some years the balance of power hung nearly in equipoise between them. Stephen reduced Oxford, but Robert defeated him at Wilton; and this miserable warfare continued, until, on the death of her brother Robert, Matilda returned to Normandy in 1147, when a breathing time of two years intervened.

In the meanwhile Henry, the son of Matilda, was advancing in years and in fortune. By his uncle David, King of Scotland, he had been knighted at the age of sixteen; a year thereafter he obtained from his father the cession of the duchy of Normandy; and at the death of that prince he succeeded to the earldom of Anjou. In 1152, by a politic marriage, he annexed the extensive duchy of Aquitaine to his dominions. This aggrandizement of her son's power having elevated the hopes of Matilda and those of her partizans, Prince Henry landed in England; but in consequence of the death of Eustace, the oldest son of Stephen, the two parties agreed to terms of peace. Stephen adopted Henry, and appointed him as his successor, one of the best acts of his troubled reign. They lived in harmony with each other for about a year, when Stephen died on the 25th of October, 1154. He reigned nineteen years, during the greater part of which time England from causes alluded to exhibited a scene of misery unequalled since the invasion of the Danes. The character of Stephen is not so deeply stained with atrocities as that of some of his predecessors, probably because it was not so determined. In comparison with them, the grasp which he held of the sceptre was as feeble as his right to seize it at all was equivocal.

Henry II., or Plantagenet, the son of Matilda, ascended the throne without a dissenting murmur. He was crowned, along with his queen Eleanor, at Westminster, on the 19th of December, 1154, in presence of an immense concourse of people. The prospect which opened up to this young sovereign was more glorious than that of any of his forerunners in England, or his contemporaries in other countries. An unprecedented power was concentrated in his hands. A third part of France, including almost the whole western coast from the borders of Picardy to the mountains of Navarre, acknowledged his authority. These possessions, along with England, comprehended the most warlike portion of Europe; and had the ambition of the individual who ruled over them been commensurate with his power, the humiliation, if not entire subjugation, of France would not have been reserved for the Henries and Edwards of after times. Although by no means destitute of a passion for power, Henry possessed a love of literature, which led him to eschew the cloudy and troubled atmosphere of war. The civil discord which prevailed during the reign of his predecessor had inflicted numerous evils on the nation, and to the alleviation of these Henry devoted the first years of his reign. He issued a new coinage, of standard weight and purity; he drove beyond seas the foreign mercenaries who had harbored in England during the reign of Stephen; he seized the royal castles which had been usurped, and demolished those which had been reared for the purpose of systematic plunder. By these vigorous steps of reformation Henry secured the effective administration of justice in his English dominions. One of the leading features of his character was restless activity. On foot or on horseback he was perpetually in motion; and the moments which he could spare from more important concerns were usually devoted to the chase.

Some of the leading events of Henry's reign are associated with the name of Thomas à Becket, who has been portrayed as a



saint and martyr, or a hypocrite and traitor, according to the religious bias of the historian who happened to draw the picture. One of Henry's first measures was the promotion of this individual to the chancellorship of England, in which capacity he vigorously seconded the measures of reform which the king had undertaken. His administration has been characterized as alike beneficial to the country and to the sovereign, who loaded his favorite minister with honors and emoluments. By the advice of Becket, Henry proposed a treaty of marriage between his eldest son and the daughter of Louis, King of France. On this occasion the chancellor undertook a journey to Paris, displaying upon the occasion a pomp and parade transcendently elaborate. Henry himself followed; and, although a rupture ensued between the sovereigns about the city of Toulouse, which belonged of right to the King of England, the enmities terminated with the marriage of their children whilst the infants were as yet in the cradle. In 1161, Theobald, the Archbishop of Canterbury, died, and Becket was recommended as his successor by the king. The clergy of England, however, resisted the nomination, declaring it to be unseemly for a man who was rather a soldier than a priest, and whose life had been devoted to hunting and falconry, to be appointed an archbishop. More than twelve months elapsed between the nomination and appointment, during which time Becket still retained the chancellorship, and evinced no change in his feelings or way of living, which was eminently worldly. He even went so far as to smile at the idea of metamorphosing the gay and pompous Chancellor of England into the Archbishop of Canterbury; and he appears himself to have thought that the choice arose from Henry's confidence that he would become the pliable instrument of his will in ecclesiastical affairs. If the king anticipated such a consummation, never were the hopes of man more miserably disappointed. For no sooner was Becket invested

with the primacy, than a change took place in his manners, more strongly contrasted with his former life than were the two offices which he had held. Instead of a train, which in splendor and fastidious pomp had rivalled the retinue of kings, he chose a few monks the most conspicuous for their humility and mortification. Instead of the oriental magnificence and gorgeousness of apparel with which he loved to dazzle the eyes even of courtiers, he selected as his chosen garment the roughest sackcloth. His sports and revels were exchanged for deeds of penitence and humiliation.

The first step which Becket took after his promotion was to return the seals of his former office to Henry, on the ground of his incompetency to hold two such offices. This measure is said to have at first excited the indignation of the king, who had never before heard Becket object to the prelacy on that account. But it was not until 1163, when hostilities commenced between the church and the state, that Becket and the king came fairly into collision. Previously to the Norman conquest, ecclesiastical affairs had, like others, been decided before the hundred, with the addition of the metropolitan sitting as one of the judges. The Conqueror, however, had instituted a separate tribunal, where the clergy were judged by a court composed of themselves, and from that time they were independent of secular jurisdiction. Becket upheld this claim with firmness, as he ought to have done, until it was formally set aside by the king and his counsellors. This, however, did not justify the decisions which were pronounced, and which had now become notoriously partial. Crimes of the darkest description had frequently been perpetrated by ecclesiastics with the most scandalous impunity; for the judges could not inflict capital, nor indeed any adequate punishment. An abominable instance of seduction having attracted the notice of the king, he determined that those chargeable with such atrocities should be tried before the criminal tribunals of the state.

For this purpose he summoned a great council at Westminster, where he demanded that ecclesiastics, whenever convicted of such offences, should be degraded, and handed over to a secular judiciary. His question was, Would they agree to observe the ancient customs of the realm? Becket answered "Yes, saving his order;" an ambiguous reply, which was echoed by the conclave of bishops present, with only one exception. But, although not at this assembly, he was afterwards compelled to yield the point without any reservation respecting his order. This formal assent was obtained at the celebrated council of Clarendon, which took place on the 25th of January, 1164. At this great or common council of the realm, for the word parliament had not yet been introduced, Becket was compelled to yield compliance to the demands of his sovereign. At first he peremptorily refused his acquiescence; but the king, incensed at his obstinacy, menaced him with exile or death, whilst several individuals of rank present entreated him with genuflections and tears to submit; by which means a compliance was at last reluctantly wrung from him. He was now not only mortified in the highest degree, but, pretending extreme contrition for what he had done, did open penance for his supposed delinquency. He attempted to make his escape to France, but was arrested for an offence against the institutions which he had recently signed. Henry was now exasperated beyond all bounds at the archbishop, and assembled a parliament at Northampton, obviously for the purpose of crushing him. Becket was accordingly summoned to account for rents and profits connected with his primacy. He arrayed himself in his sacerdotal vestments, and, with the cross in his hand, proceeded to the place appointed. The king complained to the council of the insolent behaviour of Becket, and the whole assembly joined in condemning his inconsistency. The suit regarding rents, which was only intended as a menace, he attempted to free himself from, by pleading a release by

Henry, the king's son, but this was overruled. After being condemned as a perjured traitor, he left the palace, his eyes fixed upon the cross, which he held uplifted in his hands; and, traveling in disguise, he reached the port of Sandwich, whence he immediately embarked for the Continent.

Becket was received with marks of esteem by the King of France, and likewise by the pope, whose cause he had so strenuously defended in England. When Henry learned the flattering reception which the obnoxious exile had received, he dispatched an embassy to expostulate with Louis, and sent another to Rome, to justify his conduct to the pontiff. But the ambassadors were received with coolness, if not with something which bordered upon contempt. The judgment of the barons and bishops was annulled by the pope, and those who should invade the property of the church were declared to be cut off from the society of the faithful. Henry's irritation had now reached its climax, and he resolved upon taking a bold step, which, had the human mind been ripe for such a measure, might have ended in the separation of the English Church from that of Rome; but this achievement was reserved for the Henry of a future day. He gave orders to his justiciaries, prohibiting, under severe penalties, all appeals to the pope or the archbishop, and forbidding any person to receive mandates from them, or to apply to their authority; and he declared it treasonable to bring over from either any interdict against the kingdom. On the other hand the pope was not slow in issuing his fulminations. Becket was ordered to excommunicate Henry's chief ministers, and put the see of Canterbury, including about three-fourths of the kingdom, under an interdict. But Henry stood firm, and looked with indifference upon the papal lightnings which played around him. At last, however, he began to dread the powers of his victim, chiefly on account of his continental dominions, and proposed a reconciliation. The treaty of accommodation, although more than once



broken off, was finally concluded, and Becket returned to the see of Canterbury without having been compelled to make any express submission to the institutions of Clarendon.

But the wounds had been too deep to be thus suddenly healed, and, though closed at the surface, the venom still rankled underneath. The arrogance and presumption of the primate returned along with his dignity. He refused compliance with the terms of the general amnesty, and would not submit to take the oath of homage for his barony; neither would he withdraw the whole of the ecclesiastical censure from the prelates who lay under it on account of their obedience to the king's commands. Several very imprudent excommunications soon followed, and so provoked Henry that he is said to have dropped certain passionate expressions, intimating something which was interpreted into a desire that Becket's life might be taken away. The supposed will of the king was instantly accomplished by four knights of distinguished rank, who repaired to the church of Canterbury, where the primate then officiated, and barbarously slew him at the foot of the altar.

That Henry did not intend the murder of Becket, appears certain from his subsequent conduct. He was thrown into the utmost consternation on hearing of it, knowing well that the primate's death would accomplish what his most violent opposition during his lifetime could never have effected. He abandoned himself to sorrow and mortification, and for some time refused to take any nourishment. The pope was with some difficulty made sensible of the king's innocence; but declined to grant him a pardon, except on condition that he should make every future submission, and perform every injunction which the holy see thought proper to prescribe or impose. He was likewise enjoined to perform a humiliating penance at the tomb of Becket, who was in due time canonized as a saint and venerated as a martyr. The assassins, despairing of pardon, sought refuge in a distant castle. By

the pope they were enjoined to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, where they all died, and were buried before the gate of the temple at Jerusalem.

We come now to a very important event in the reign of Henry II., that is, the annexation of Ireland to the English crown; but the details of his invasion it is unnecessary to relate here, as they will come in due order to be treated of under the head of IRELAND.

The king was scarcely freed from the Irish war, and the dangerous controversy in which he had engaged with the church of Rome, when he found himself involved in the most unnatural contests with his own children, to whom he had always behaved in the most tender and affectionate manner. He had ordered Henry, his eldest son, to be anointed king; and he had destined that prince as his successor in the kingdom of England, the duchy of Normandy, and the counties of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, territories which lay contiguous, and which might thus easily afford mutual assistance to each other when necessity required. Richard, his second son, was invested with the duchy of Guienne and the county of Poitou; Geoffrey, his third son, inherited, in right of his wife, the duchy of Brittany; and the new conquest of Ireland was destined for John, his fourth and youngest son. The last sixteen years of Henry's life were embittered by family hostilities. A mighty confederacy was secretly formed against him, in which his three eldest sons participated. Louis VII. King of France, fed the disorder; for the power of the English monarch had now become so formidable as to excite alarm and kindle jealousy in the breasts of the continental sovereigns. The young prince was persuaded to demand of his father some of the dominions which he had been promised, and of which he was nominal sovereign; but he was refused. Upon this the prince made his escape, and put himself under the protection of the King of France. The French monarch then invaded Normandy; and Richard and

Geoffrey, the sons of King Henry, severally raised the standard of revolt in Guienne and Bretagne. William the Lion, King of Scotland, considering this as a favorable opportunity for invading England, advanced into the northern counties, destroying all he met with. A great force of foreign mercenaries, called Brabançons, landed in Sussex, under the command of the Earl of Leicester, whilst Prince Henry collected another army in France in order to co-operate with them. To meet this formidable coalition against his authority, King Henry made the best preparations which circumstances admitted of; and if we may judge of these by the results which followed, he must have taxed his constitutional activity to the utmost in collecting forces, and in opposing a barrier to the tide of war which thus rolled onward from every quarter, threatening to overwhelm his throne. Few of his own barons could be depended upon, and he had recourse to foreign mercenaries so largely employed by his adversaries. Twenty thousand of these auxiliaries enlisted under his banners, and with them were united such of his own nobles and retainers as could be trusted.

The enmity of the young princes against their father had been in no inconsiderable degree excited and fostered by Eleanor their mother, whom the incontinent and licentious life of Henry had for ever estranged from her affections. She attempted to make her escape; but was taken prisoner, and consigned to close imprisonment, where, with the exception of a short interval, she remained till the death of her husband.

In the meanwhile, the plan devised by the allies began to be acted upon, as already indicated; but Henry of England proved himself superior to the emergency. His foreign enemies were on all sides discomfited, and William of Scotland having accidentally fallen into the hands of Henry, the Scottish army broke up and dispersed. Their sovereign afterwards obtained his freedom by the humiliating surrender of his authority as king of Scotland; for conceding to Henry

the title of lord paramount of his kingdom was virtually casting his crown at the feet of his enemy. A pacification was brought about at Falaise, on the 28th of September, 1174, by which the princes were pardoned and enriched with new liberalities.

King Henry, however, was permitted to enjoy but a few years of repose. The dissensions between him and his children again broke out. The latter also quarreled amongst themselves, and a most unnatural war ensued, in which neither party gave quarter. But the death of Henry, the eldest son, for a time suspended these disputes. This unfortunate prince died in 1183, of a fever brought on by vexation and fatigue. Three years afterwards Geoffrey perished beneath the feet of a horse in a tournament at Paris, so that the subjects of discord were diminished. The widow of Geoffrey, soon after his decease, was delivered of a son, who was named Arthur, and invested with the duchy of Brittany, under the guardianship of his grandfather, who, as duke of Normandy, was also suzerain lord of that territory. Philip, as lord paramount, disputed the title of the English king to this wardship; but he was obliged to yield to the wishes of the Bretons, who preferred the government of Henry. Some other causes inflamed the dissension between these monarchs, and Philip once more seduced Richard from his duty. He insisted that the marriage of that prince with Adelais, his sister, should be immediately completed, and threatened to enforce his demands with a formidable army. This lady had been confined for a long time in a castle by Henry, who procrastinated the nuptials, until a suspicion arose that he intended to appropriate her to himself. At the conclusion of the truce which had followed the death of Geoffrey, Richard finally forsook his father, and did homage to the King of France for his continental dominions.

For some time the eyes of the monarchs of Christendom had been turned to Palestine, which the Sultan Saladin was overrun



ning with his mighty hosts. Henry of England was desirous of taking the cross and proceeding to Syria, but his perpetual contests with his family detained him until the holy city was taken by the infidels. The news of this event awakened feelings of regret and indignation throughout Christendom. The Emperor of Germany marched his bravest knights towards Asia. Philip of France and Henry agreed to follow, but the union of the former with Richard the son of the latter compelled the King of England, in the first place, to look to the defence of his own territories, which were once more invaded by the confederates. The war proved very unfortunate for Henry, who lost several towns, and very narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the enemy. A treaty was at length agreed to, but the terms of it were very humiliating to the English monarch. With a heart overwhelmed with grief, he returned to the castle of Chillon, where he soon afterwards expired, on the 6th of July 1189, in the thirty-fifth year of his reign and the fifty-seventh of his age. Upon his death-bed he was sedulously attended by one of his natural sons, the fruit of an amour with Rosamond, whom popular romance and tradition have surnamed the Fair, and invested with every virtue but one. Henry was interred with little pomp in the convent of Fontevraud, in the presence of his rebellious son Richard, and a few knights; but Eleanor, his queen, survived him many years, having been liberated by her son Richard.

Richard I. succeeded to the throne without opposition, and was crowned on the 3d of September, 1189. The reign of this monarch, the Achilles of modern Europe, is interwoven with events which are more akin to romance than to real history. His life is made up of the adventures of a knight-errant. His character was a singular compound of qualities noble and mean; of the grand and the grovelling, the sublime and the grotesque. He had no sooner ascended the throne than he began to make arrangements for joining

the new levies of crusaders preparing to embark for the Holy Land. In such a sphere nature had fitted the King of England to shine without a rival. His landing in Palestine was destined to mark an era, when the Moslems were to encounter a warrior superior even to the most distinguished of their own in lofty daring and proud contempt of danger, and when the brows of their bravest chieftains were to darken at the name of Richard.

At his coronation an event occurred which it is painful to mention, and too shocking to give in detail. The Jews, eager to express their fealty to their new sovereign, approached him in numbers, bearing rich presents of gold and silver, commodities which they well knew would be peculiarly acceptable to the king. In their endeavors to press forward towards the hall door during the state dinner, a scuffle ensued. The Jews resisted the ill treatment they received, which so inflamed the passions of the English mob that they arose on the defenceless strangers, and drove away or destroyed them. This example of violence spread not only over the city, but throughout the country; and the unfortunate Israelites were massacred and plundered without mercy. It was in vain that the king attempted to allay the tumult; the sanguinary rabble would not desist until its ferocity and rapacity were completely satiated.

Richard having equipped his armament, and acquired the necessary treasure by every means in his power (and from his natural impatience he was never scrupulous on that point), joined Philip of France and marched with him to Lyons. On his way Richard relieved Portugal by joining the sovereign of that country with five hundred knights, and bidding defiance to the Moors or Saracens. This was an evil omen for the followers of the Prophet. After landing at Messina, he remained there six months, which were chiefly occupied in warm disputes with Tancred, who had usurped the Sicilian crown. On the 10th of April, 1191, Richard

set sail from this place; but his fleet having been dispersed by a storm, and the ship in which were his sister Joan, and his betrothed wife Berengaria, being driven into Cyprus, he landed on that island for the purpose of chastising the governor, who had treated the royal ladies with some discourtesy. Richard reduced the whole island, and after marrying Berengaria, and causing her to be crowned queen of England, he set sail for St. Jean d'Acre, which afterwards surrendered to him. The fall of this place opened the way to Jerusalem, towards which he now advanced, performing on his way those chivalrous deeds which taught the infidels to shudder at his name. In October, 1192, Richard set sail from the Holy Land for England, with a fleet which contained his wife and sister, who appear to have reached their destination in safety. But a storm having dispersed the ships, Richard was driven near Marseilles. Having learned, however, that plans were in agitation to seize his person (for Philip of France and other continental sovereigns, together with his brother, were leagued against him), he formed the unfortunate resolution of passing through Germany in disguise.

He landed at Zara, and after a variety of adventures and hairbreadth escapes, he was at last arrested by Leopold, duke of Austria, who immediately ordered him to be loaded with fetters. This prince had served under Richard at the siege of Acre, where he received, or imagined he had received, some injury at his hands, and took this base method of revenging himself. Henry VI., emperor of Germany, was then equally an enemy to Richard, on account of his having married Berengaria, the daughter of Tancred, King of Sicily. He therefore required the royal captive to be delivered into his hands, and stipulated to pay a large sum of money to the duke as a reward for his services.

The disaster which had befallen the English monarch could not long be concealed. The news of his captivity spread general

indignation at home; a feeling which was responded to by the disinterested portion of Europe. Richard's mother, along with the clergy of Germany, appealed to the pope; and the emperor, finding that his conduct was condemned as disgraceful, made an attempt to justify it, by charging his prisoner with several weighty crimes. These were, his behaviour in Sicily, his conquest of Cyprus, and the alleged murder of Conrad, who was assassinated whilst contending for the Christian kingdom of Palestine. The latter charge being by far the most serious, every effort was made to vindicate Richard from the guilt of the alleged crime. At home the ministry exerted themselves to the utmost; and the most able prelates set out for the Continent to bargain for his ransom. He was removed from a dungeon in the Tyrol to the residence of the emperor at Hagenau, and was taken from thence to Worms, for a final adjustment of differences.

In the meanwhile, his brother John, with Philip of France, were busily prosecuting their plans for his destruction. Their design was to effect the utter ruin of Richard; and every method was tried to accomplish this purpose. John made his feudal submission to Philip for his brother's continental possessions; and having assembled an army, he returned to England with the intention of seizing the crown, whilst his colleague invaded Normandy. Both the confederates were completely unsuccessful. John, by circulating false reports of his brother's death, attempted to give a gloss of right to his projected usurpation; but his duplicity was too well known, and his armament of foreign mercenaries was repulsed from the coast.

The negotiations for Richard's liberation ended at last in the agreement that a ransom of one hundred thousand marks of silver should be paid for it. It was in vain that his mortal enemies, Philip and John, protracted his imprisonment. By a general tax the sum was raised; and soon after his emancipation he set out for England, where he



arrived on the 13th of March, 1194. The remainder of his reign is very unimportant; it was chiefly occupied with a species of petty bickerings with Philip of France. The money required for the crusade, and the ransom of Richard, had so exhausted the finances of England, that the king found himself unable to undertake war upon a grand scale. If we contemplate the character of the individual who found himself thus fettered by pecuniary necessities, this was a fortunate circumstance. It would be difficult to estimate the amount of human misery which was thus saved. After various undecisive battles and equivocal victories, Richard was mortally wounded before Chaluze, an obscure castle in the province of Limousin, held by a rebellious vassal, and expired on the 6th of April, 1199, in the forty-second year of his age and the tenth of his reign.

John, the brother of the late king, and the youngest legitimate son of Henry II., succeeded to the throne without opposition; for, although the hereditary right, according to the modern acceptance of the term, was vested in his nephew Arthur, son of John's elder brother Geoffrey, the uncle had also a hereditary claim, as being nearest of kin to the deceased monarch, and the nation decided in his favor. His coronation took place on the 27th of May, 1199. The character of John is perhaps more strongly marked, and possesses more individuality than that of any other monarch on the list of English kings. In cowardly villainy, in perfidious malignity, in base ingratitude, in unprincipled cruelty, in grossness of appetite, in meanness, weakness, and every vicious infirmity, this prince figures in the page of history almost without a rival. Other kings there may have been whose vices are black enough to call forth the execrations of posterity; but the halo of talent which emblazons their names serves to mitigate the severity of censure. John, however, stands before us utterly divested of any such quality; his character is unredeemed by one solitary virtue; his reign is unillustrated by one solitary

good action performed without compulsion. He is altogether alone, the lowest and most abject slave that ever wore a crown.

Richard had destined Arthur as his successor, and on his death, Mons, Tours, and Anjou, appointed the youth, then Earl of Bretagne, their lord. On the assumption of the crown of England and the dukedom of Normandy by John, Constance, the mother of Arthur, gave her son over to the care of Philip, king of France, who claimed for him his continental possessions. A struggle ensued between the monarchs of France and England. Philip, who, it would appear, used Arthur entirely as a tool to suit his own purposes, sent him with a military retinue into the dominions to which he laid claim. He took the town of Mirabeau, saving a tower which held out under Eleanor, the widow of Henry II.; but on the night between the 31st of July, and the 1st of August, 1202, John arrived and compelled the besiegers to surrender. The prisoners were treated with a cruelty truly demoniacal, and worthy of the man; but this was only the opening scene in the tragedy. Prince Arthur was brought to Falaise, where he was confined for some time. He then all of a sudden disappeared, and contemporary history has ascribed to John the guilt of his murder. That the hapless youth met with a violent death is evident, and that he fell either by his uncle's own hands, or by his orders, there seems no reason to doubt. Even in that semi-barbarous age, there was scarcely an individual capable of committing such an atrocity, excepting the wretch who, a few years afterwards took a diabolical pleasure in starving to death the wife and childrer of a nobleman who had offended him, and hanging twenty-eight Welsh hostages, besides other atrocities too horrible to be named.

By this foul deed, a third part of John's dominions were wrenched from his grasp. Philip Augustus summoned John, as duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, to answer before a court of peers to the charge of having

murdered Arthur, Duke of Brittany. But he dreaded the tribunal, and having refused to appear, he was branded as a murderer, condemned to death, and adjudged to lose all his French territories. The King of France moved onwards from conquest, to conquest, and one by one the provinces of the English monarch were seized and annexed to the dominions of Philip; Touraine, Maine and Anjou in 1203, the duchy of Normandy in 1205, and the county of Poitou in 1206.

Another important event in the reign of John was his contest with the pope, the only contest indeed in which he ever displayed anything of that spirit which had fired the bosoms of his ancestors. The clergy had for some time acted as a community independent of the civil power, owning subjection to the pope alone, by whom their elections were usually confirmed. The election of the Archbishop of Canterbury had been a subject of contention between the suffragan bishops of the province, and the monks of St. Augustin's abbey in that city. Each party claimed the right of choosing; but under this question was concealed the more important one, whether the king or the pope had the power of nomination; for the bishops were accessible to the influence of the crown, and the monks, in consistency with the genius of their order, were biassed by Rome. In the mean time the archbishop died, and the monks privately elected Reginald their superior in his room. The bishops remonstrated against this as an innovation on their privileges; and the king took part in the contest, with the resolution of raising the Bishop of Norwich to the primacy. The cause was appealed to Rome; and Pope Innocent III., eager to extend his power in England, commanded the election of Stephen Langton, a most unexceptionable individual, and one who, in the sequel, proved himself eminently worthy of the highest station. John, however, incensed at this proceeding, violently expelled the monks from their convent, took possession of it himself, and seized upon the revenues. The tiara, however,

was not to be thus contemptuously treated. An interdict was threatened, unless compliance with the wishes of the papal court was immediately yielded. In vain the prelates in the most supplicating manner entreated the king to give his consent to the measure. With that stoical indifference to human suffering which he uniformly evinced, he determined that both himself and the nation should brave the vengeance of Rome. He swore that if it descended upon him, he would banish the whole clergy, and confiscate their possessions. The pope, however, laughed his menaces to scorn, and published that terrible interdict, which in those ages was calculated to make the heart of a nation tremble. A stop was immediately put to divine service, and the administration of all the rites of religion except baptism, and the confession, absolution, and extreme unction to the dying. The church doors were shut, and the images of the saints deposed. The dead were refused Christian burial, and thrown promiscuously into ditches and on the highways without any funeral solemnity. Other injunctions, equally severe, were included in this formidable interdict; and John, in revenge, persecuted the clergy with unsparing rigour. But his furious and imprudent efforts proved useless. Innocent remained firm, and two years thereafter, 1209, launched his last thunderbolt at the English monarch. He excommunicated John, absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and soon afterwards deposed him. He also commissioned the King of France to take his crown; and published a crusade all over Christendom against King John, exhorting the chivalry of Europe to take up arms against him, and enlist under the French banner. Philip was not less active on his part. He summoned all the vassals of the crown to attend him at Rouen; and having collected a fleet of 1700 vessels, was ready, in 1213, to invade England.

But the fulminations of the pope were alike disregarded by John and his subjects, who had now become familiar with them.



His strength does not appear to have been lessened, for the only successful expeditions of his reign, those against Ireland and Wales, were undertaken during the period of his proscription by the see of Rome. In order to meet the king of France, he assembled a vast army; but it was not the interest of his holiness to allow matters to be carried to extremities. He accordingly sent over two legates, Pandulf and Durand, who, in a meeting of Parliament holden at Northampton, ventured to declare to John, that he was bound to obey the holy see as much in temporal as in spiritual affairs. After shuffling according to custom, John, at the head of an army capable of bidding defiance to any invader, surrendered himself to the will of the pope, and acceded to all the terms which Pandulf had exacted. With a meanness of spirit almost exceeding belief, he laid his crown at the feet of the haughty legate, resigned England and Ireland into the hands of the pope, swore homage to him as his liege lord, and took an oath of fealty to his successors.

This oath was taken by the king before all the people, kneeling, and with his hands held up between those of the legate. Having then agreed to install Langton in the primacy, he received the crown which he had been supposed to have forfeited; whilst the legate, to add to his former insolence, trampled under his feet the tribute which John had consented to pay, but afterwards stooped to gather it up. The King of France was enraged at this behaviour of the pope, and resolved to execute his project of conquering England in spite of him and his censures. His fleet, however, was attacked in their harbors by the English, who took three hundred vessels, and destroyed about a hundred more; whilst Philip, finding it impossible to prevent the rest from falling into the hands of the enemy, set fire to them himself, and thus abandoned the enterprise.

John being thus delivered from all danger, continued to follow the same cruel and tyrannical measures which had hitherto rendered

him odious to his subjects. His scandalous subjection to the clergy now gave the barons an opportunity of exerting themselves, in order to reduce the enormous prerogatives of the crown. Their designs were greatly facilitated by the concurrence of Langton, the primate, who on all occasions showed a sincere regard for the interests of the kingdom. At a synod of his prelates and clergy, convened in St. Paul's on pretence of examining into the losses of some bishops who had been exiled by John, he privately conferred with a number of barons, to whom he expatiated upon the vices and injustice of their sovereign. He showed them a copy of Henry I.'s charter, the only one in the kingdom, having been found amidst the rubbish of an obscure monastery. Langton exhorted the barons to insist on a renewal thereof; and this they solemnly swore to perform. The same agreement was afterwards renewed at a more numerous meeting of barons summoned by Langton at St. Edmundsbury. Here it was resolved that at Christmas they should prefer their common petition in a body, and in the mean time they separated, intending to put themselves in a posture of defence, to enlist men, and to make other warlike preparations. In the beginning of January, 1215, they repaired to London, accoutred in the military garb and with their equipage, and presented their petition to the king, alleging that he had promised to grant a confirmation of the laws of Edward the Confessor, at the time when he was absolved from his excommunication. John resented their presumption; and required a promise under their hands and seals that they would never demand or attempt to extort such privileges in future. But this they refused with such unanimity and resolution, that the king desired time to consider of their petition; at the same time promising that, at the festival of Easter, he would give a positive answer. He also offered securities, which the barons accepted, and thereafter withdrew.

John, however, had no intention of com-







plying with their demands, for it is evident that his promise was extorted from him by fear. He had recourse to the clergy, whose favor he propitiated by promising many things which he had not the slightest intention of ever performing. The pope was likewise appealed to, who threw the weight of his authority into the scale of his vassal, and exhorted the barons to abandon their treasonable enterprise. At the same time his holiness also agreed to consider their petition, and to endeavor to obtain for them the concession of those demands which appeared to be just. But, happily for English liberty, the confederates disregarded the injunctions of Innocent III., who by his decision had now more embroiled the fray. Both parties gave up all hopes of a peaceful negociation at the ensuing festival, and made the best preparations they could for war, in which the barons had an unequivocal superiority.

After waiting until Easter, when the king promised to return them an answer, they met by agreement at Stamford. There they assembled a force of above two thousand knights, with a prodigious number of foot, and thence marched to Brackley, about fifteen miles from Oxford, then the court residence. John hearing of their approach, sent the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Pembroke, and others of his council, to know the particulars of their request, and what those liberties were which they so much importuned him to grant. The barons delivered a schedule containing the chief articles of their demands, founded on the charters of Henry and Edward, but which were in the highest degree displeasing to the king. He burst into a furious passion, and, asking the barons why they did not also demand his kingdom, swore that he would never comply with such exorbitant requests. The confederates then as their general chose Robert Fitzwalter, whom they dignified with the title of Mareschal of the army of God and of the holy church. They laid siege to Northampton, but were repulsed; they, how-

ever, took Bedford, and were joyfully received in London.

The concurrence of the metropolis proved decisive of the contest. It was in vain that the pope fulminated a bull in favor of his vassal John; the many were unanimous, and the few were compelled to yield the point. The king, with a court now reduced to seven attendants, retired to Odiham, where, seeing the necessity of submitting, he agreed to a friendly conference. The barons named, as a proper place for meeting, Runnymede. It was a meadow situated between Staines and Windsor, and, like the holy ground of the Hebrews, it is still held in veneration as the spot where the standard of English freedom was first unfurled. On the 15th of June, 1215, both parties met there; and, having taken up separate stations, a long discussion ensued, which terminated in the king signing the charter, called, by way of pre-eminence, *Magna Charta*.

This charter, however, at the time when it was granted, secured liberty to the clergy, the barons, and the gentlemen, much more than to the bulk of the people, who did not for a long time obtain any privileges of importance.

But, although John had thus been obliged to recognize the liberty of his subjects, he had no mind that they should in reality enjoy it. The sense of his subjection to his own vassals sunk deep into his soul, and he became sullen, silent and reserved. He shunned the society of his former friends, and retired into the Isle of Wight, as if to hide his disgrace in solitude, but, in reality, to meditate plans of revenge. He sent to the Continent in order to enlist a large body of mercenary troops, and made heavy complaints to the pope on account of the insurrections of the barons against him. The pontiff, as might be expected, warmly espoused his cause; a bull was sent over, annulling the whole charter; the principal barons were excommunicated by name, and declared to be worse than Saracens; and at the same time, the foreign troops arriving



the king once more found himself in a condition to demand his own terms from his untractable subjects.

The barons had made no preparations for war, not suspecting the introduction of a foreign army. The king, therefore, was for some time undisputed master of the field, and the most horrid cruelties were committed by his army. The nobility, who had been most active in procuring the great charter, accordingly fled with their families to Scotland, where they obtained the protection of King Alexander by doing homage to him. The barons, finding themselves totally unable to raise an army capable of contending with that of John, resorted to the equivocal and perilous expedient of calling in foreign aid. They applied to their old enemy Philip of France, offering the crown to his eldest son Louis, upon the condition of their being protected from the fury of John, and the unprincipled mercenaries whom he commanded. The French king eagerly accepted their proposals, and dispatched his son with a powerful army to England. He was received by the barons with great acclamations, and having united their forces, they secured all the southern counties. Essex and Sussex were soon after added; and they advanced successfully into Norfolk, spreading around them all the devastations of civil war. The forces of John occupied the northern districts, where the King of Scotland harassed him by an invasion of Northumberland. But these hostilities, which might ultimately have ruined the independence of the country, by sinking it to the level of a French province, were happily terminated by the death of John, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and seventeenth of his reign. His demise took place at Newark, on the 19th of October, 1216.

John left six legitimate children, namely, three sons and three daughters. The eldest of the former, Henry of Winchester, was only ten years of age when he found himself in possession of the title, although not entirely of the power, of king. He was crown-

ed as Henry III., upon the 28th of October, 1216, nine days after he succeeded to the inchoate right to the throne. The care of his person was entrusted to the Earl of Pembroke, earl-marshal, with the style and title of guardian of the kingdom. Through the instrumentality of this nobleman the great charter of liberties was revived, and the claims of the crown were reconciled with those of the subject, to the satisfaction of the adverse barons. Besides the eldest son of John, there was another competitor for the crown, namely, Louis of France, who had been called over by the barons of Runnymede, in order to take possession of the English throne. For some time Louis kept the field, and not without success; but he was defeated at Lincoln; and a fleet which his father had sent to him with succors having been totally destroyed by the English, he was compelled to abandon the enterprise, and to make an honorable retreat.

A peaceful king is looked upon either as imbecile or as pusillanimous by an age which feels the intoxication of military glory, and considers the principal duties of a monarch to be "to go out and in before his people, and fight their battles." The reign of Henry III. is but little adorned with the triumphs of war; and, if we are not mistaken, it has been too much depreciated on this account. But this fact, as well as his monarchical character, we shall be enabled to ascertain with more certainty after we have passed in review the principal events of his reign. Its early history exhibits only some of those evils incident to an injudicious, but not, strictly speaking, wicked administration. In 1225, the great charter was a third time confirmed, upon the occasion of Henry assembling a great council, and urgently demanding aid against a pretended invasion of the French. In consequence of this, it has ever since retained its place at the head of English statutes. The wardship of the young king had now solely devolved upon Hubert de Burgh, the grand justiciary, and a man of ability and spirit, but nurtured under

Richard and John. For several years he ruled as the favorite without control, repressing the disorders of the times with a vigorous, but, in the eye of an enlightened age, cruel policy. In 1227, Henry was declared in parliament to have attained to the years of discretion; and two years afterwards he resumed the project of conquering France, and landed there with a considerable army. The expedition proved most disgraceful to the English arms; and in a year after he returned to his country not a little humbled in its estimation, as well as his own. The next event of importance which we meet with is the disgrace of De Burgh, who was accused of negligence and treachery in the discharge of his duties; with what degree of truth it is difficult now to determine. He was imprisoned for some time, but afterwards restored to liberty, honors and emoluments.

In 1236, Henry espoused Eleanor of Provence. This event gave rise to a new immigration of foreigners of higher rank and more specious pretensions than those who usually flocked to the soil of England. One of the queen's uncles became prime minister, a second was made primate, and a third Earl of Richmond. This favoritism excited much discontent both amongst the native barons and the people. The other events of this long reign consist of petty wars and bickerings with France, Scotland and Wales. The prodigality of the king was extreme, and he was repeatedly compelled to lay his necessities before Parliament and solicit supplies. These were as often afforded; but notwithstanding these grants, he had frequent recourse, under specious pretenses, to the most unjust exactions. Meanwhile England rapidly increased in wealth, and widely extended her commercial relations with other countries.

In the year 1254, at the instance of the pope, Henry accepted of the crown of Sicily for his son Edmund. It had been formerly offered to his brother Richard, who was wise enough not to accept of it, probably because he felt himself unable to compete with the

other powerful princes who aspired to it. In order to raise the money necessary to carry his foolish project into execution, Henry had recourse to every expedient which the regal or papal ministers could devise. The principal burden fell upon the clergy, who, by the menace of excommunication on the one side, and of forfeiture on the other, were compelled to submit. This oppression widened more and more the breach between the king and his people; and he found it necessary at last to look to the security of his own crown, instead of fighting for a foreign diadem to grace the brow of his son.

Amongst the foreigners of distinction who established themselves in England during the reign of Henry III. was Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester. He was the younger son of the Count de Montfort, celebrated in the annals of religious warfare for his savage crusade against those dissenters from the Roman faith called Albigois or Albigenses. Simon the younger received the hand of King Henry's sister in marriage, and very early began to act a conspicuous part in the civil commotions which agitated the country. He was a bold and ambitious man; and, placing himself at the head of the disaffected barons, he formed a powerful confederacy against the king. In the year 1258, a famous parliament was summoned at Oxford, in order to digest the new plan of government, and to elect to the chief authority such individuals as were deemed worthy of trust. This assembly, afterwards celebrated in English annals by the derisive name of the *Mad Parliament*, went very expeditiously to work in the business of reformation. Twenty-four barons were appointed, with supreme authority, in order to reform the abuses of the state; and Leicester was placed at their head. Twelve of these barons were chosen by the king's council, and twelve by the Parliament. Their first step was to order four knights to be chosen out of each county, who should examine into the state of their respective constituents, and attend at the ensuing Parliament to give informa-



tion of their complaints. They ordained that three sessions of Parliament should be regularly held every year; that a new high sheriff should be elected annually; that no wards nor castles should be entrusted to foreigners, no new forests made, nor the revenues of any counties farmed out. Thus far these provisions were good, and an approximation to popular representation, although some modern writers have designated the whole transaction as a revolution.

The twenty-four barons continued to conduct the affairs of government for several years; but they at last began to quarrel amongst themselves. The Earls of Gloucester and Leicester pursued opposite interests, and formed opposite parties, who eyed each other with mutual jealousy. Leicester, perceiving that his rival was likely to gain the ascendancy, retired to France; but the balance was again restored in his favor by the union of Prince Edward with his friends. A short time after this event, the rival parties seem to have assumed, if not the reality, at least the appearance of unanimity. In 1262, Henry made a fruitless attempt to escape from the authority of the barons; but his son Edward remained firm to their cause, on account of his having sworn to observe the provisions of Oxford. After other ineffectual attempts upon the part of the king, he agreed that the twenty-four noblemen should continue to govern, not only during his own reign, but also during that of his successor. By this stipulation, Edward joined his father, which restored vigor to the royalists, and more equally balanced the power of the parties. It was proposed that the differences between them should be submitted for arbitration to Louis IX., and both swore to abide by his decision. That excellent monarch enjoined the restoration of all castles, possessions and royal rights enjoyed by the crown before the Parliament of Oxford, upon condition of universal amnesty, and of the full enjoyment of all the privileges and liberties granted by the charter. The award was confirmed by the pope, who empowered

the Archbishop of Canterbury to excommunicate all who refused to submit to it.

The moment the decision was made known to the barons, they declared it to be contrary to truth and justice, and immediately took the field. The contest was at first favorable to the royal prerogative; but in 1264 Prince Edward lost a great battle by his impetuosity in pursuing too far one of the wings of the enemy's army, which he had defeated. His father and uncle were taken prisoners, and placed in the castle of Lewes, where he contrived to join them. They acceded to the propositions submitted to them, and the administration of the kingdom fell into the hands of the Earls of Gloucester and Leicester, and the Bishop of Chichester.

The situation to which the kingdom was now reduced proved at last the means of settling the government upon a more proper foundation. Leicester, in order to secure himself, was obliged to have recourse to an aid, till now entirely unknown in England—namely, that of the body of the people. He called a parliament, where, besides the barons of his own party, and several ecclesiastics who were not properly tenants of the crown, he ordered returns to be made of two knights from every shire; and also deputies from the boroughs, which had been hitherto considered as too inconsiderable to be allowed any share in the legislation. This Parliament was called on the 22d of January, 1265; and here we find the first outline of an English House of Commons; an institution which has ever since been considered, and justly, as the bulwark of British liberty.

The new Parliament was far from being so compliant to Leicester as he had desired or expected. Many of the barons who had hitherto steadfastly adhered to his party were disgusted with his boundless ambition; and the people, who found that a change of masters was not a change of circumstances, began to wish for the re-establishment of royal authority. Leicester, at last making a virtue of necessity, released Prince Edward from his confinement, and had him introduced at

Westminster-hall, where his freedom was confirmed by the unanimous voice of the barons. But though Leicester had all the popularity of restoring the prince, he was yet politic enough to keep a strict watch over him. Edward was nominally free, but in reality a prisoner. At last, however, he found means to effect his escape. The Duke of Gloucester, being disgusted with Leicester, left the court, and retired to his estates upon the borders of Wales. His antagonist pursued him thither, and, in order to give the greater authority to his arms, carried the king and Prince Edward along with him. This afforded young Edward an opportunity which he had long desired of making his escape. Being furnished by the Earl of Gloucester with a horse of extraordinary speed, he took leave of his attendants, or rather his guards, under pretence of trying the mettle of his steed. He was hotly followed; but an end was put to the pursuit by the appearance of some of Gloucester's troops.

No sooner was the prince at liberty than the royalists joined him from all quarters, and an army was soon assembled which proved more than sufficient to meet the forces of Leicester. The latter now found himself in a remote quarter of the kingdom, surrounded by his enemies, and shut out from all communication with his friends by the river Severn, the bridges on which Edward had broken down. In this extremity he wrote to his son to hasten to his assistance from London, with a considerable body of troops which the latter had under his command. With this view his son advanced to Kenilworth; but here he was surprised by Prince Edward, and the greater portion of his followers were made prisoners. The young prince immediately advanced upon Leicester himself, whose last anchor had given way with the defeat of his son. He was by no means able to cope with the royalists; his men were inferior both in numbers and resolution to their antagonists. In the battle which ensued, the royalists gained a signal victory over their opponents, defeating

them with great slaughter. Leicester himself was slain, together with his eldest son Henry, and about 160 knights and other gentlemen. The body of the fallen earl was mutilated in a frightful manner, and portions of it sent to various places. His memory was long revered by the people, who looked upon him as a martyr to the liberties of the realm. But a vigorous reign ensued, and the national feeling was suppressed, or directed to other objects. He left, however, an imperishable name, as the first who had called together a Parliament of which the lower house composed part.

The victory of Evesham restored the fortunes of the royalists. The followers of Leicester were proscribed, and their lands distributed amongst the victors. With the death of Montfort the spirit departed from the baronial party, whose members hastened to give in their submission, and open the gates of their castles to the king. Several places, however, still held out; but by the activity and valor of Prince Edward they were all finally reduced. The country submitted, and the royal authority was completely re-established throughout the realm. The good sense of Edward, however, infused a wiser and more popular spirit into the conduct of government. So judicious appears to have been his administration, indeed, that, in a few years after the battle of Evesham, he felt himself in a capacity to take the cross, and enlist under the banners of the crusaders. This step of the heir-apparent to the crown of England may appear somewhat extraordinary, when we consider the advanced period of life to which his father had now attained, and the civil commotions from which he had so recently emerged. But in an age when it was common to ascribe any sudden transition of fortune from one extreme to another, to the immediate interposition of Providence, it is less to be wondered at. The recent deliverance of himself and his father from their enemies had incurred a debt of gratitude to heaven which it was now his desire to pay off. His expedition to



the Holy Land was of little importance, and was moreover in no way connected with the history of his country, although it was distinguished by those romantic adventures and chivalrous feats of arms peculiar to the age, and more especially to the wars of Palestine.

The remaining events of Henry III.'s reign afford no materials for history. He died on the 16th of November, 1272, in the fifty-seventh year of his reign.

Edward, upon hearing the news of his father's death, and feeling himself secure of the throne, returned slowly from the Holy Land. He arrived in England in August, 1274, and was crowned at Westminster on the 19th of the same month. Two years afterwards he undertook an expedition against Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, who had refused to do homage for his crown. The conquest of that country cost him some trouble, and was not completed until the year 1283. After this period the principality of Wales was annexed to the crown of England, and thenceforth conferred a title upon the king's eldest son. In 1286, Wales had been so entirely broken into subjection, that Edward undertook a journey to the Continent for the purpose of mediating a peace between Alonzo of Aragon and Philip the Fair of France. These two monarchs had differed about the kingdom of Sicily; but a negociation was effected, and the King of England returned to his country after an absence of three years, during which period much disorder had been introduced into his dominions. Robbery and violence had become frightfully prevalent, and the corruption of the judges had poisoned the fountains of justice. In order to remedy these evils, Edward summoned a Parliament, and cited the delinquents to appear and take their trial. All of them, except two clergymen, having been convicted of flagrant acts of corruption and bribery, were accordingly fined, and deposed from their office.

The next great event of Edward's reign was an attempt to subjugate Scotland. This he never altogether effected, although he suc-

ceeded in reducing the country to great distress, and in even nominally attaching it to the English crown as a conquered province (For an account of these transactions, see the article SCOTLAND.) Edward was at the same time engaged in expensive contests with France; and these multiplied wars, by obliging him to have frequent recourse to parliamentary supplies, became the remote causes of great and important changes in the government. The Parliament was modelled into the form which it has ever since retained. As a great part of the property of the kingdom, by the introduction of commerce and by improvements in agriculture, was transferred from the barons to the lower classes of the people, so their consent was thought necessary in order to raise the supplies. For this reason the king issued writs to the sheriffs, enjoining them to send to Parliament, along with two knights of the shire, two deputies from each borough within their county; and these, too, provided with sufficient powers from their constituents to grant such demands as they should think reasonable for the safety of the state. The charges of these deputies were to be borne by the boroughs which sent them; and so far were they from considering this deputation as an honor, that nothing could be more displeasing to any borough than to be thus obliged to send a deputy, or to any individual than to be thus chosen. The authority of these commoners, however, increased in course of time. Their union gave them weight; and it became customary among them, in return for the supplies which they granted, to prefer petitions to the crown for the redress of grievances. The more the king's necessities increased, the more he found it necessary to give them an early hearing, until, from requesting, the commons proceeded to demanding; and, having all the property of the nation, they by degrees began also to be possessed of a considerable share of the power.

Edward I. died of a dysentery, near Carlisle, on the 7th of July, 1307, as he was

leading a great army into Scotland, against the inhabitants of which he had vowed the most dreadful vengeance. He was succeeded by the eldest of his surviving sons, who bore his father's name, but inherited nothing of his capacity, and who was crowned on the 8th of July, 1307, with great magnificence. His father had charged him upon his death-bed to prosecute the war against Scotland until he had finally subdued the kingdom; but war had few attractions for Edward II., and he withdrew his army ingloriously from the country which his father went to subjugate. The first years of Edward's reign are distinguished for nothing but bickerings with his barons, who finally extorted from him a reformation of abuses in full Parliament. The Scots in the meantime gradually recovered their power; and Edward having invaded their country with a prodigious force, was met by Robert Bruce at Bannockburn, near Stirling, who totally defeated the puissant army of the English on the 24th of June, 1314.

The reign of Edward II. was one continued series of quarrels with his turbulent subjects. His favorites were the most general causes of discontent. The first of these was one Pierce Gaveston, the son of a Gascon knight of some distinction. The latter had honorably served the late king, and, in reward for his services, had obtained an establishment for his son in the family of the Prince of Wales. To be the favorite of any king whatsoever is no doubt in itself a sufficient offence to the rest of the courtiers. Numberless faults were therefore found with Gaveston by the English barons. When the king went over to France to espouse the Princess Isabella, to whom he had been long contracted, Gaveston was left guardian of the realm, with more ample powers than had usually been conferred in such cases. But upon the arrival of the queen, who was of an imperious and intriguing spirit, Gaveston had the misfortune to fall under her displeasure, on account of the ascendancy he had acquired over the king. A conspiracy was

soon formed against the favorite, at the head of which was the queen and the Earl of Lancaster, a relation of the king's, and the most powerful nobleman in England. Edward found himself unable to protect his favorite against such a formidable combination, and was compelled to banish him. His recall some time afterwards again spread alarm over the country, and kindled a civil war. The nobility were successful in obtaining possession of the obnoxious Gaveston; and, in order to free themselves for ever from uneasiness on his account, they put him to death.

After the defeat of Bannockburn, King Edward chose a new favorite named Hugh le Despencer. He was a young man of a noble English family, and possessed some merit, and engaging accomplishments. His father was a person of apparently unimpeachable character, but he also enjoyed the king's favor, and that was a sufficient crime. The king imprudently dispossessed some lords of their estates, in order to bestow them upon young Despencer. This afforded a sufficient pretext to the barons for openly attacking both the father and son. The Earls of Lancaster and Mortimer, chief of the Welsh marshes, flew to arms; and sentence of perpetual exile against the two Spencers, with a forfeiture of all their estates, was procured from Parliament. At last the king took the field, and obtained a signal victory over the other party at Boroughbridge. The Earl of Lancaster was made prisoner, and beheaded a few days afterwards at his own castle of Pomfret. This individual was canonized in 1389. Many other noblemen suffered the same punishment without having the same respect paid to their memory, whilst Mortimer was condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

The triumph of the Spencers was now complete; but the partiality with which the king regarded his two favorites had the effect of alienating not only the affections of his subjects, but also those of his queen. Other charges are brought against Edward



as having contributed to effect this estrangement, and Isabella sought an opportunity of escaping from her husband. The palace of her brother at Paris was her natural place of refuge. A rupture having commenced between England and France, the queen proceeded to the court of the latter as negotiator, and concluded a peace humiliating to her husband. But she had another object in view in visiting her native country. Her residence became a sanctuary for the English malcontents, who flocked to her in great numbers; and amongst these came Mortimer, who had contrived to effect his escape, and for whom she had been charged with entertaining a stronger passion than that of friendship. The cause of quarrel between these two powers was the county of Guienne, for which the monarch of France required Edward to do homage and fealty. The disputed territory was resigned to the young Prince of Wales, who joined his mother, and made the necessary submissions. When Isabella considered that matters were sufficiently matured for executing her purpose, she landed in England on the 22d of September, 1326, where she was universally welcomed, and immediately joined by the most potent barons. The unfortunate king found that the spirit of disloyalty had spread over the whole kingdom. Some dependence was placed upon the garrison of Bristol, which was commanded by the elder Spencer; but the soldiers rebelled against their governor, and delivered him into the hands of the barons, by whom he was cruelly put to death. Young Spencer did not long survive his father. Along with some others who had followed the fortunes of the wretched king, he was made prisoner in an obscure convent in Wales; and the queen having no patience to wait the formality of a trial, gave orders for his immediate execution.

In the meantime the king was discovered and delivered up to his adversaries, who loaded him with insults. He was conducted to the capital, and consigned to the Tower. The charge against him exhibited no other

crimes than his incapacity to govern, his indolence, his love of pleasure, and his accessibility to evil counsel. His disposition was quickly voted by Parliament; he was assigned a pension for his support; his son Edward, a youth of fourteen, was appointed to succeed him, and the queen was nominated regent during the minority. But the deposed monarch did long survive his disgrace. He was at first put into the custody of the Earl of Lancaster; but this nobleman having shown some marks of respect and pity for the misfortunes of his sovereign, the latter was taken out of his hands and delivered over to the Lords Berkeley, Maltravers and Gournay, who were entrusted alternately, each for a month, with the charge of guarding him. Whilst he was in Berkeley's custody, he was still treated with some degree of humanity; but when the turn of Maltravers and Gournay came, every species of indignity was practiced upon him, as if they had designed to accelerate his death by accumulating his mental sufferings. As his persecutors, however, saw that his death might not speedily arrive, even under every cruelty which ingenuity could devise, and as they were daily afraid of a revolution in his favor, they determined to put their fears to rest by destroying him at once. Mortimer, therefore, secretly gave orders to the two keepers to dispatch the king; and these ruffians contrived to render the manner of his death as barbarous as possible. Taking advantage of Berkeley's sickness, in whose custody he then was, and who was thereby incapacitated from attending to his charge, they came to Berkeley Castle, and obtained possession of the king's person. They threw him on a bed, and held him down with a table which they had placed over him. They then ran a horn pipe into his bowels, through which they conveyed a red-hot iron; and thus deprived him of life without disfiguring his body. The murderers fled on the perpetration of this horrible enormity; for the dying agonies of the king created suspicions which ended in the discovery of the crime.

Or. of the fugitives was taken at Marseilles, and beheaded on his way to England. The other concealed himself for some years in Germany; but having found means of rendering some services to Edward III. he ventured to approach the person of that monarch, and by his humiliating submission received a pardon.

By the death of Edward II. the government fell entirely into the hands of the queen and Mortimer, who had now the disgraceful pre-eminence of royal paramour. The Parliament, which had raised young Edward to the throne, had indeed appointed twelve persons as his privy council, to direct the operations of government. Mortimer excluded himself, under a show of moderation; but at the same time secretly influenced all the measures which came under their deliberation. As this influence began very soon to be perceived, and the queen's criminal attachment to Mortimer was universally known, the administration soon became obnoxious to the people. It had continued four years, when a circumstance occurred which added greatly to its unpopularity. The Scots having made an irruption into England, were met by an overwhelming force under young Edward, or rather Mortimer. The results of this mighty expedition were most ludicrous. By their superior skill and activity, the Scots foiled the English commanders, and made their escape into their own country. Soon after this inglorious campaign, a solemn treaty of peace was concluded, in which Edward, for a sum of money, renounced every claim of superiority over Scotland. This, although a commendable act of moderation, was not calculated to propitiate the favor of the English people. It was not long before another stroke of Mortimer's power and policy startled the nation from its propriety, and paved the way for his own destruction. Amongst those who began to betray indignation against the encroaching spirit of Mortimer, was Edmund, Earl of Kent, who, deceived into a belief that his brother Edward II. was still alive, wrote a

letter to that prince, which was betrayed into the hands of Mortimer, now Earl of March, by the individual who had undertaken to deliver it. The writer of the epistle was immediately tried for high treason, condemned and executed. There is little doubt that the whole affair of the letter was a plot laid for the destruction of Kent, not only to get him out of the way, but to show that there was no one too high not to be struck down by the vengeance of Mortimer.

Edward finding the restraint under which he was retained becoming irksome, resolved to shake it off, and to rid himself and the nation at once of an authority which had now become alike odious to both. The queen and her paramour had repaired to Nottingham, where a Parliament was then held. They had chosen the castle as a place of residence, and taken every precaution to ensure their safety; for fear follows guilt like its shadow. The enemies of Mortimer, however, found means to obtain admission at dead of night; and having seized him as he lay in an apartment adjoining to that of the queen, he was taken prisoner to London, tried before his peers for various crimes, convicted and executed.

The queen, who was perhaps the most culpable of the two, was screened from capital punishment by the dignity of her station, but stripped of all power, and confined for life to the castle of Rising. From this imprisonment she was never liberated, but during her life the king paid her an annual visit of ceremony.

Edward III. proved one of the greatest warriors who had ever sat on the English throne. His first attempt was to raise Edward Baliol to the throne of Scotland: this however he failed in effecting. But his mind now began to be diverted to loftier and more ambitious speculations. The crown of France became the object of contest between Edward, the son of Philip the Fair's daughter Isabella, and Philip of Valois, the son of the brother of Philip. The question was, whether the crown was descendible only through



males, or whether it might be claimed by the nearest male although his descent was by females. Charles the Fair died in 1328, and left the crown of France without direct male descendants to inherit it. The three last kings were the sons of Philip the Fair, and they all reigned successively, but died without issue. According to the English law, the son of the daughter precedes the nephew in inheritance; but the French Salic law excluded females. Edward contended that the feudal laws of France forbade females to inherit who could not perform the feudal duties, yet that their male heirs were not debarred by the spirit of this law, because they were competent to discharge all the military services required. On the other hand, it was insisted by the French advocates for Philip de Valois, that the exclusion of the female in the first instance was an exclusion of all the descendants of either sex. If it had been a question of succession to the English crown, it would have been rightfully determined by the Parliament and law of England; but as it concerned the crown and law of France, it was clearly a matter for the French state and lawyers to decide. They decided in favor of Philip de Valois, and he was accordingly crowned King of France. In this decision they displayed the soundest principles of national policy, and Edward ought undoubtedly to have acquiesced. The King of England, however, thought otherwise, and accordingly began to make preparations for an invasion of France.

By doing homage to Philip for the duchy of Guienne, Edward gained time to collect such an army and treasure as were necessary for the enterprise. Two powerful continental allies appeared in his favor; namely, Robert of Artois, who had been excluded from the county to make way for his aunt Matilda, a nearer relative by blood to the preceding count, and James von Artaveldt, a famous brewer of Ghent, and leader of the democratical party among the Flemings. It was at the suggestion of the latter that Edward assumed the title of King of the French, as a

pledge that he would pursue his undertaking with inflexibility of purpose. The King of England landed at Antwerp in July, 1338; but it was not until more than a year thereafter that he reached the confines of France. His first campaign was unimportant, but in the second he achieved a considerable naval victory on the 22d of June, 1340. Flushed with this success, he marched to the siege of Tournay at the head of 100,000 men. Near this town the King of France had encamped himself in a situation so strong as to bid defiance to attack. Edward challenged him to single combat, but this was refused; and the English were at last compelled to raise the siege, and to retire sullen and discontented from the place.

The efforts of Edward began now to be much crippled for want of money. The exchequer of England was unable to satisfy his demands, and his allies had become clamorous for their arrears. Some of his courtiers having instilled into his mind suspicions of the fidelity of his ministers, he suddenly returned to London, where he landed about midnight at the Tower. Next morning he displaced the chancellor, treasurer, and master of the rolls, confined three of the judges, and ordered the arrest of most of the officers employed in the collection of the revenue. Archbishop Stratford, however, boldly opposed his career of resentment and cruelty, and vindicated the cause of the ministers. The king was compelled at last to abandon his process against the primate, for the urgency of his wants admitted of no delay.

The failure of his first two campaigns did not wean Edward from his attachment to foreign alliances. By a disputed succession to the duchy of Brittany, in which he took the part of the individual who opposed Philip of France, a new road was opened up to him into that country. He collected a vast army, with which he landed near Cape la Hogue about the end of July, 1346. His career in France was a series of triumphs most glorious to the English arms. On the 26th of August, 1346, was fought the decisive battle of

Cressy, which is still memorable after the lapse of many centuries. In this celebrated conflict, Edward the Black Prince, a youth only sixteen years of age, gained unfading laurels. The siege of Calais followed, and the place was reduced after an obstinate defence. The first fruit of the reduction of this place, was a truce, which lasted till 1355, when Edward the Black Prince, who governed his father's dominions in France, undertook an expedition into the neighboring provinces, and in the following year carried his arms into the heart of France. The victory of Poitiers was another mortifying humiliation to the French. John their king was taken prisoner, and treated with noble hospitality and respect by his renowned conqueror. He was conveyed to England, where his reception resembled rather the return of a victorious prince than the humiliation of a captive monarch. For a particular account of these and other transactions of the English in France, the reader is referred to the article FRANCE.

During the absence of the King of England on the Continent, his country was harassed by the Scots, who invaded it, but experienced a defeat at Nevelles Cross. In 1355, Edward himself invaded Scotland; and the havoc caused by this expedition was long remembered by the natives. The death of Edward Baliol in 1364, left David Bruce without a rival to the Scottish throne; and the pretensions of the Plantagenets to Scotland were terminated by Edward III.'s recognition of his brother-in-law. See SCOTLAND.

In the mean time Edward the Black Prince, after a Spanish campaign, in which he gained the celebrated battle of Navarete, returned to England in pursuit of health and quiet. But thirty years of toil and war had exhausted his robust frame, and he expired at Canterbury on the 8th of June, 1376, in the forty-sixth year of his age. He left behind him a lofty reputation for bravery and skill as a commander, generosity as a knight, and wisdom and vigor as a statesman. His

father Edward III. did not long survive his loss. He died on the 21st of June in the year following. The reign of this monarch is generally considered by Englishmen as the most illustrious period of their ancient annals. Edward III. was succeeded by Richard II. son of the beloved Black Prince. He commenced his reign, being only eleven years of age, on the 22d of June, 1377, with many expressions of congratulation from his subjects. His coronation took place on the following year, and parliament was opened with a speech from the Archbishop of Canbury, which, being "soothing and gracious," was meant to propitiate the favor of the representatives of the nation in behalf of the young sovereign. The Dukes of Lancaster, York, and Gloucester, uncles to the king, with some other noblemen, were appointed regents during Richard's minority. The war, which was still prosecuted in France on a small scale, and the expenses necessary for retaining the towns already taken, required supplies of money which could not be raised without additional taxation; and this gave rise to much discontent among the people. An imposition of three groats upon each person of both sexes and every condition who had passed the age of sixteen, particularly excited the minds of the common people against the government. The manner, too, of collecting this tax, soon furnished an occasion of revolt. The insurrection began in Essex, where a report was industriously spread that the peasants were to be destroyed, their houses burned, and their farms plundered. At Dartford, an individual, well known by the name of *Wat Tyler*, was the first who excited the malcontents to arms. The tax-gatherers proceeded to this man's house whilst he was at work, and demanded payment for his daughter. He refused to comply, on the ground that she was under the age stipulated in the act; upon which one of these fellows offered to prove the contrary in a very indecent manner, and for this purpose laid hold of the maiden. Such insolence, however, roused the spirit of the



father, and with one blow he laid the ruffian dead at his feet. A shout of applause burst from the bystanders, who declared themselves prepared to protect Wat from the vengeance of his enemies. The cry of the men of Kent was responded to by those of the neighboring counties, and Wat soon found himself at the head of an enormous body of insurgents. They advanced to Blackheath in the month of May, 1381, and proceeded to enforce their counsels by an attack upon London, in which they succeeded. The king, finding that resistance was vain, agreed to listen to their demands. On this they made a very humble remonstrance; requiring a general pardon, the abolition of slavery, freedom of commerce in the market-towns, and a fixed rent instead of those services required by the tenure of villenage. The king granted all these requests; and charters were made out by which the grant was ratified. In the mean time, another body of these insurgents had broken into the Tower, and murdered the chancellor, the primate, and the treasurer, with some other officers of distinction. They then divided themselves into parties, and took up their quarters in different parts of the city. At the head of one of these was Wat Tyler, who led his men into Smithfield, where he was met by the king, who invited him to a conference, under pretence of hearing and redressing his grievances. Tyler ordered his companions to retire till he should give them a signal, and boldly ventured to begin a conference with the king in the midst of his retinue. His demands were, that all slaves should be set free, that all commonages should be open to the poor as well as to the rich, and that a general pardon should be granted for the late outrages. During the interview, the rebel kept playing with his dagger, and at last he is said to have laid his hand on the bridle of his sovereign's horse; upon which Walworth, Lord Mayor of London, alarmed for the king, plunged a basiliard in the throat of Tyler; and at the same moment another esquire dis-

patched him with his sword. This is the tale told by the writers of the victorious party, for the partisans of Wat Tyler had no historian to give their version of the story. The insurgents who witnessed the fall of their leader bent their bows with the design of revenging his death. But Richard, though only sixteen years of age, with admirable presence of mind galloped up to them, exclaiming, "What are you doing, my lieges? Tyler was a traitor. Follow me, and I will be your leader." With sullen and wavering discontent they followed him into the fields at Islington, where a body of troops had been collected for the protection of the young king. The insurgents were ordered to return to their homes instantly, and under the penalty of death they were forbidden to skulk about the city during night. But the whole of the rebels did not thus escape, and the revolt was not finally extinguished without much bloodshed and cruelty.

The courage, address, and presence of mind which the king had discovered in quelling such a dangerous tumult, gave great hopes to the nation: but, in proportion as Richard advanced in years, these hopes began to wither; and his want of capacity, or at least of solid judgment, appeared in every enterprise which he attempted. The king had unluckily lost the favor of the common people after the insurrection just mentioned. He allowed the parliament to revoke the charters of enfranchisement and pardon which had been granted; some of the ringleaders in the late disorders had been severely punished, and others were put to death without any form or process of trial. Thus the popular leaders were greatly exasperated by this cruelty, though probably the king did not in this follow the dictates of his own mind so much as the advice of his counselors. But having thus lost the favor of one party, he quickly afterwards fell under the displeasure of the other also. Conceiving himself to be in too great subjection to his uncles, particularly the Duke of Gloucester, he attempted to shake off the yoke, by

raising others to an equal share of rank and favor. Accordingly one of his favorites, Michael de la Pole, was created Earl of Suffolk, and raised to the chancellorship; whilst another, Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, a young man of agreeable person, but dissolute in his behavior, soon acquired an absolute ascendancy over him. This nobleman was first created Marquis of Dublin, and afterwards Duke of Ireland, both preposterous and invidious titles. The duke having soon become the dispenser of all the king's favors, a conspiracy was formed against him by some of the most powerful nobility in the kingdom. The Earl of Suffolk was impeached in parliament, and, being convicted of certain charges brought against him, was condemned to pay a suitable fine. Soon afterwards the king was prevailed upon to vest the government in the hands of eleven commissioners along with the three great officers of state. This measure was carried into effect by the Duke of Gloucester, who stood at the head of the committee; and the king could not without regret perceive himself thus totally deprived of authority. He first endeavored to gain over the parliament to his interests, by influencing the sheriffs of each county, who were then the only returning officers; and this measure failing, he next applied to the judges, who declared that the commission which had deprived the king of his authority was unlawful, and that those who procured or advised it deserved condign punishment; but their sentence was quickly opposed by declarations from the lords. The Duke of Gloucester armed his partisans, and appeared at the head of a body of men sufficient to intimidate both the king and his adherents. These insurgents, sensible of their own power, began by demanding of the king the names of those who had advised the adoption of the late rash measures. A few days afterwards they appeared armed in his presence, and accused by name the Archbishop of York, the Duke of Ireland, the Earl of Suffolk, and Sir Robert Tresillian, one of the judges who had declared in his

favor, together with Sir Nicholas Brembre, as public and dangerous enemies to the state. The parliament which met on the 3d of February, 1388, condemned the five accused persons to suffer the death of traitors. The Duke of Ireland escaped to Flanders, where he expired four years afterwards; De la Pole died at Paris in the same year; Tresillian and Brembre were put to death, and the Archbishop of York became a Flemish curate, and died in that humble capacity. The other individuals who had subscribed the bold opinion were condemned to perpetual imprisonment; with the exception of Black, who had drawn up the questions, and Usk, appointed under-sheriff to arrest the Duke of Gloucester, who were both executed.

But the king became restive in the traces with which his uncle restrained him. In a meeting of parliament he declared himself competent to manage his own affairs, as he had by this time attained his twenty-second year. This bold announcement was followed by his ordering Thomas Arundel, whom the commissioners had recently appointed chancellor, to give up the seals, which, on the following day, he delivered into the hands of William Wickham, Bishop of Winchester. The council was next cleared of the Duke of Gloucester, the Earl of Warwick, and other opposition lords; and the great officers of the household, as well as the judges, were changed for more pliable instruments.

Being now his own master, Richard notified by proclamation that he had taken the reins of government into his own hands; and, whether it was owing to the king or his ministers, it must be owned that for some years his administration was tranquil and happy. During this halcyon period he made a journey into Ireland, in order to divert the melancholy with which he was afflicted on account of the loss of his wife Anne. Soon afterwards he espoused Isabella, a princess of France, then in her eighth year, which contributed to an armistice with that kingdom for twenty-five years.



This alliance with the royal family of France encouraged Richard to execute a scheme of vengeance which he had long nourished in his bosom against Gloucester and others who had been instrumental in the punishment of his favorites. The duke, with the Earls of Warwick and Arundel, were appealed for treason; in consequence of which the former was sent prisoner to Calais, and the two latter committed to the Tower. Here the head of Arundel was shortly after struck off, and Warwick was banished; but the fate of the Duke of Gloucester is involved in some obscurity. On the 21st of September, 1397, a writ was issued to Thomas Mowbray, Earl Marshal, Governor of Calais, commanding him to bring the body of his prisoner, the Duke of Gloucester, to answer before the king in parliament to the appeal of treason against him. The reply of the Governor of Calais was, that the prisoner had died in his custody. At a subsequent period circumstances transpired which indicated that the duke perished by the foulest murder, doubtless at the instigation of his own nephew. It remains to be mentioned, that at the meeting of Parliament, in which these noblemen were impeached, all the acts in which Gloucester had taken a share were annulled, the commission of government was cancelled, the opinions of the judges were declared to be legal, and the judgment against Michael de la Pole was reversed.

After the destruction of Gloucester and the heads of his party, a misunderstanding arose amongst the noblemen who had joined in the prosecution. The Duke of Hereford, son to John of Gaunt, appeared in parliament, and accused the Duke of Norfolk of having uttered treason in a private conversation. Norfolk denied the charge, and offered to establish his innocence by single combat. The challenge was accepted; but the king interrupted the duel, and commanded both the parties to leave the kingdom. The Duke of Norfolk was banished for life, but the Duke of Hereford only for ten years. The former retired to Venice, where he died shortly

afterwards. Hereford displayed so much resignation to the will of his sovereign, that the latter commuted the period of his exile to four years. The king had obtained the object of his wishes, namely, the civil destruction of those whose power he dreaded. Even his uncles, either through affection or fear, seconded all his measures, which were now deeply tainted with despotism. On the death of John of Gaunt, "time-honored Lancaster," the crown claimed his immense estates, to the exclusion of the banished Earl of Hereford, who was pronounced incapable of inheriting them after the judgment which had been pronounced against him in parliament.

By these and other impolitic acts, the king overstrained the bow, and excited a spirit of discontent, which finally hurled him from the throne. The resentment of Hereford had been inflamed by the injury which he had received, and he only waited for a favorable opportunity of retaliation, which soon afterwards occurred.

The Earl of March, presumptive heir to the crown, having been appointed the king's lieutenant in Ireland, was slain in a skirmish with the natives of that country; and Richard, regardless of his precarious situation at home, went over to Ireland with a considerable army, in order to revenge the death of his relative. Hereford, now Duke of Lancaster, took advantage of the king's absence. Solicited by the discontented lords, and aware of the alienation of the people from Richard, he embarked at Nantes, and, with a retinue of only sixty persons in three small vessels, landed at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire. The Earl of Northumberland, who had long been a malcontent, together with Henry Percy, his son, surnamed *Hotspur* on account of his impetuous valor, immediately joined him with their forces; and the people flocked to him in such numbers that in a few days he found himself at the head of sixty thousand men.

Richard in the meantime continued in fancied security in Ireland. Adverse winds

for three perilous weeks together prevented his receiving any news of the rebellion which had broken out in his native dominions; but when the intelligence arrived he was overwhelmed with dismay. Some advised him to sail immediately and face the danger; others recommended that he should first send over the Earl of Salisbury, for the purpose of collecting all who were disposed to support his interests, which plan was adopted. A numerous army joined the earl, but the king protracted his stay in Ireland so long, that on his arrival the whole of this force had melted down to less than a hundred men. To take the field against Henry of Lancaster was consequently out of the question. He therefore proceeded in disguise to the fortress of Conway, where Salisbury had taken up his quarters. It was the policy of Henry to show symptoms of negotiation, in order to allure the king into his own hands. This he effected in a very deceitful manner. The Earl of Northumberland was dispatched to Richard with a thousand men, who concealed themselves at some distance, whilst the Earl proceeded to the fortress where the king was lodged, and by fair promises induced him to quit his stronghold and go along with him to Henry for the purpose of effecting a reconciliation. But during the journey Richard was made prisoner, and finally committed to the Tower to await the judgment of Parliament. On Monday, the 29th of September, 1399, a deputation of lords and commons waited upon the king, and having reminded him of a declaration which he had formerly made at Conway Castle, of his unfitness to govern, and readiness to resign the crown, required his resignation of the regal power. To this he consented, according to the ancient chroniclers, "with a cheerful countenance." During his whole reign, Richard held the sceptre with a wavering grasp, and in the paralysis with which he was now stricken, he as it were unconsciously relinquished it. He likewise recommended Henry his nephew as a fitting successor to the throne.

Before proceeding with the reign of Henry

IV., we shall follow the deposed monarch through the few sad weeks of his unhappy life. By parliament he was adjudged "to a perpetual prison, to remain there *secretly* in safe custody." Richard was accordingly consigned to close confinement, and shortly afterwards came to his end, there can be little doubt, in an unnatural manner. His fate seems to have been accelerated by a conspiracy amongst his friends to restore him to the throne. The Earls of Kent, Huntingdon, and Salisbury, laid a plot for the destruction of King Henry; but the secret was betrayed, and the confederated noblemen were executed. The death of Richard seems to have immediately followed this unsuccessful enterprise, but the manner of it is involved in impenetrable mystery. According to some chroniclers, several ruffians were sent to the castle of Pomfret, where he had been removed for the purpose of dispatching him. They rushed unexpectedly into his apartment; but he succeeded in wresting a pole-axe from one of the murderers, with which he killed several of them, but he was at length overpowered and slain. Others relate that he was starved in prison, and that he lingered fifteen days before he expired. According to some accounts, he was condemned to suffer this miserable and protracted death; whilst others state that it was a voluntary abstinence, to which he was impelled by despair. He died in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and twenty-third of his reign. It was during the life of Richard II., that Wickliff, the celebrated reformer, promulgated his doctrines in England.

After the throne had been vacated by its legitimate occupant, Henry, Duke of Lancaster, stepped forward and claimed it in right of his being a descendant of Henry III. He was descended from this monarch both by father and mother, but he could not claim by the father's side, because the young Earl of March was sprung from the Duke of Clarence, the elder brother of John of Gaunt, nor by the mother's side, because she was sprung from Edmund of Lancaster, a young-



er brother of Edward I. It was pretended that Edmund was the elder brother, but it was never proved. By the law of succession it belonged to the descendants of Lionel, the third son of Edward III. That prince died without male issue, and his possessions and pretensions descended to his daughter Philippa, wife of Roger Mortimer, the male representative of the powerful baron who was attainted and executed for the murder of Edward II., the grandfather of the Duke of Clarence. The son of that powerful delinquent had been restored to his honors and estates at a late period of the reign of Edward III. The fourth in descent from the regicide was Roger Mortimer, Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, who was looked upon as heir to the crown during the early part of Richard's reign; but his son Edmund Mortimer was only ten years of age when Richard was deposed, so that his claim was easily set aside. Mortimer died in 1425 without male issue, and the pretensions which he inherited through the Duke of Clarence fell to his sister, Anne Mortimer, who espoused Richard of York, Earl of Cambridge, the grandson of Edward III., by his fourth son Edmund of Langley, Duke of York. But from the foregoing pedigree it is clear that during the life of the Earl of March no right to the crown had descended to any branch of the house of York. Henry, however, notwithstanding the inferiority of his title, was unanimously acknowledged by both houses, and was crowned within a fortnight after the deposition of his predecessor. He was the idol of the populace, master of parliament, and the heir of the fame and possessions of John of Gaunt.

The reign of Henry IV., was little else than a continued series of insurrections. In the very first parliament which he assembled, a great number of challenges were given and accepted by different barons; and though Henry had ability and address enough to prevent these duels, it was not in his power to avoid continual combinations and revolts against himself.

The most formidable of these disorders

was that under the Earl of Northumberland. Various causes are assigned for this insurrection. One is, that the resentment of the Percies had been excited by the king's denying them the privilege to liberate or ransom their prisoners; for at the battle of Homildon, where the Scotch suffered a defeat, a number of noblemen had fallen into the hands of Hotspur, who commanded the English. The insurgents themselves assigned another cause for the quarrel, and this was probably the real one. In the course of a war with the Welsh, the Lord Grey of Ruthyn and Sir Edmund Mortimer had both fallen into the enemy's hands. The former being a friend to the king, was allowed to be ransomed by his relations; but the latter, who was uncle to the young Earl of March, the lawful heir to the throne, and of course an object of jealousy to Henry, was denied the privilege of being liberated. This fired with resentment the inflammable spirit of Hotspur, who had married the sister of Sir Edmund; his father the Earl of Northumberland, and his uncle the Earl of Worcester, shared his discontent; and amongst them they projected nothing less than the dethronement of the king.

With this view they formed an alliance with the Scots and Welsh, who were to make an irruption into England, at the same time that the Percies were to raise what forces they could in order to join them. The Earl of Northumberland, by a sudden fit of illness, having been incapacitated for active warfare, young Percy took command, and marched to Shrewsbury for the purpose of joining the Welsh. But the king had assembled a small army, with which it was his intention to act against the Scots; and, knowing the importance of celerity in civil wars, instantly hurried to meet the rebels. He approached Shrewsbury before a junction could be effected with the Welsh; and by his headstrong impatience Percy was impelled to risk an engagement, which at that time he ought to have declined. The evening before the battle he sent a manifesto to

Henry, in which he renounced his allegiance, set the king at defiance, and enumerated all the grievances of which he imagined the nation might justly complain. Amongst the charges with which he reproached the king, were those of perjury, murder, and usurpation of rightful property. All this vituperation was productive of no other effect than that of exasperating to the utmost both the king and his adherents.

The armies were fairly matched, consisting of about fourteen thousand men each, and both leaders were men of approved valor. The action, which took place on the 21st of July, 1403, was obstinate and bloody. After a chivalrous display of his characteristic valor, Percy was slain by a random arrow, and with his fall the courage and the confidence of his followers vanished. They were completely routed, and driven from the field with great loss. Lord Worcester and two other conspicuous individuals were beheaded on the field. The Earl of Northumberland, however, notwithstanding his connection with the rebels, was mercifully treated by Henry. But this lenity does not appear to have quieted the country; for various insurrections, particularly amongst the Welsh under the celebrated Owen Glendower, disturbed the remaining years of Henry's reign. Owen, under the title of Prince of Wales, gained so many remarkable successes over the royal troops, that the king himself publicly attributed them to necromancy. The unconquerable spirit of the Welsh leader actuated all classes of his countrymen, who flocked to his standard from every part in England where they had taken up their abode. Owen remained free and unsubmitive to the English yoke till the close of his career, and the last glimpse which history affords of his patriotic course is as bright as the first.

The reign of Henry was much disturbed, and the language which the great dramatist makes him employ, "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown," is remarkably appropriate from the lips of such a monarch. The

swell with which the nation heaved when he ascended the throne never subsided during his lifetime. The position in which he stood with regard to the succession seems to have caused him much concern; for the case was a difficult one. In his first Parliament his eldest son Henry was created Prince of Wales; and in 1404 the right of that prince's brothers to reign, in the event of his dying without issue, was recognized by Parliament. The most disgraceful feature of Henry's reign was his deadly persecution of those who entertained the new religious doctrines. In his second year was passed that sanguinary act, the first that stains the English statute-book on the subject, which orders heretics to be burned; and many an unfortunate Lollard suffered for his faith during the sway of the Bolingbrokes. A remarkable circumstance occurred in 1405, namely, the capital punishment of a clergyman of the highest rank. Scroop, Archbishop of York, was an enthusiastic defender of the claims of the Earl of March, and, being taken in arms against his sovereign, was beheaded without trial, conviction, or defence.

Notwithstanding the act against the Lollards, the doctrines of Wickliff gained ground; and the support which Henry gave the hierarchy did not preclude his parliament from attempting its reformation, and even from despoiling it of its possessions.

In 1405 the Commons, who had been required to grant supplies, proposed to the king to seize all the temporalities of the church, and employ them as a perpetual fund to meet the exigencies of the state. When this address was presented, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who then attended the king, objected that the clergy, though they went not in person to the wars, sent their vassals and tenants in all cases of necessity; whilst at the same time they themselves who staid at home were employed night and day in offering up their supplications for the success of the enterprise and the prosperity of the state. The speaker answered with a sarcastic smile, that he thought the prayers



of the church but a very slender supply. The archbishop, however, prevailed in the dispute; the king discouraged the application of the Commons, and the Lords rejected the bill which the lower house had framed. The Commons were not discouraged by this repulse; in 1410 they returned to the charge with renewed zeal and determination.

A Lollard had been burnt, and the lower house of Parliament, as if in retaliation of this atrocity, presented a schedule to the king, showing that he might have from the temporal possessions of the bishops, abbots, and priors, that were then uselessly wasted, fifteen earls, 1500 knights, and 6200 esquires. But the reply of the king was severe, and he forbade them to discuss such topics for the future. They then petitioned that the clergy should be subjected to the civil tribunals, but this was also refused; and a request that the statute against the Lollards might be mitigated shared the same fate.

The reign of Henry was now drawing towards a termination. The last years of his life were darkened by disease, and undistinguished by vigor. He had been subject to eruptions in his face and to attacks of epilepsy. By one of these he was carried off, at Westminster, on the 20th of March, 1413, in the forty-seventh year of his age and fourteenth of his reign.

Henry of Monmouth, eldest son of the preceding monarch, ascended the throne immediately after the death of his father. With the early life of Henry V. we usually associate acts of frivolity, insubordination, and even low vice. But to the creative genius of a powerful poet must in a great measure be attributed this almost universal impression. That he was guilty of delinquencies beneath the dignity of the heir apparent to the English throne, may be true; but there is no satisfactory evidence either to confirm or refute the traditionary stories which are told of him. At an early age he discovered talents of no common order. He was only sixteen years of age when the battle of Shrewsbury was fought, and on that occa-

sion he displayed equal firmness and ability. Afterwards, when intrusted with the guardianship of the Welsh marches, he conducted himself in a manner so highly creditable, that he more than once received the thanks of the House of Commons for his conduct. On his accession to the throne, he made himself popular by several wise and generous measures. He liberated his cousin the Earl of March from the constraint under which that prince, undoubtedly the heir of Edward III., had been held by the jealousy of Henry IV. The Percies, who were exiles in Scotland, he restored to their possessions, and even to a command over their martial vassals. Those ministers of his father who had recommended themselves by their uprightness and decision, were retained in the offices which they held. The chief justice, in particular, who had formerly imprisoned the king, whilst Prince of Wales, for his misconduct, was not only pardoned, but received into his high favor. He expressed deep regret for the fate of Richard II., and performed his funeral obsequies with becoming pomp and solemnity. That Henry had a mind towering above the level of his contemporaries, his remarkable triumphs in France are evidence; but that in some respects he was not in advance of his age, the severities which he practiced against the Lollards afford ample proof. The head of that party was Sir John Oldecastle, an individual alike distinguished for his valor and military talents, and who had acquired the esteem both of the late and present king. His high character pointed him out as a proper object of ecclesiastical fury, and he was accordingly denounced to Henry, who, at a private interview, attempted to make him recant his faith; but in vain. Oldecastle was therefore condemned to suffer the death of a heretic; but having effected his escape, he raised an insurrection, which was soon crushed. He succeeded, however, in eluding pursuit for four years, but he was at last taken and executed as a traitor. After the suppression of the revolt, the most severe laws were

passed against the unfortunate Lollards. It was enacted, that whoever should be convicted of Lollardy, besides suffering capital punishment according to the laws formerly established, would also forfeit his lands and goods to the king; and the officers of government were likewise bound by oath to use their utmost endeavors to extirpate the heresy.

The restoration of tranquillity afforded Henry an opportunity of turning his attention to France, the miserable condition of which offered a fair prospect of success to his arms. The claim of his family to the crown of that country was revived; and on the 15th of April, 1415, he assembled a great council at Westminster, to whom he announced his determination of making "a voyage in his own proper person, by the grace of God, to recover his inheritance." He appointed his brother, the Duke of Bedford, lord lieutenant of the kingdom during his absence. When about to set sail for Normandy, a rash conspiracy broke out, which detained him for a little time; but it was soon suppressed, and Henry embarked at Southampton with an army of about thirty thousand men, the greater proportion of whom were archers. He entered the Seine, and having reduced Harfleur, he challenged the dauphin to meet him in single combat, and decide the contest for the crown of the country which he had invaded. But this was destined to be competed for on a far wider arena than that which two combatants could occupy. Henry crossed the Somme, and was proceeding on his road towards Calais, when he came up with the enemy at a small village called by the French Azincourt, and by the English Agincourt. Here was fought a great and decisive battle, which ended in the total defeat of the French army, estimated at not less than four times the strength of that of the English. Henry did not immediately pursue his victory, and returned to England, where he was received with the utmost enthusiasm; but he soon afterwards rejoined his troops in France. The claimants for the

crown of that kingdom were so numerous, that had he boldly prosecuted his own schemes, the opposing factions might have leagued together against him as a common enemy. It was therefore his policy to remain inactive, and, by tampering with them separately, to foment the discord which prevailed among the French leaders. On the 21st of May, 1420, a treaty was at length concluded at Troyes, which promised to crown the hopes of the Plantagenets with success, and establish them on the throne of France. The principal articles stipulated the marriage of Henry with Catherine, daughter of the French king; that Henry should be regent of France whilst Charles should remain alive; and that he should succeed that monarch after his decease. Henry accordingly espoused the French princess; but he was not long permitted to enjoy his connubial happiness or his good fortune. A fatal malady seized him at Paris; and having been conducted by his own orders to Vincennes, he expired there on the 31st of August 1422, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the tenth of his reign.

The name of Henry V. is adorned with all the splendor of brilliant conquest and successful ambition. By a single victory he brought the crown of France within his reach, if not within his grasp. But he had other qualities besides those of a warrior; he was a statesman of consummate skill, as his conduct after the victory of Agincourt sufficiently testifies. His mind was altogether of a superior order, and there seems nothing to prevent his being ranked with the greatest of English monarchs, except the countenance which he gave to ecclesiastical persecutions.

By Catherine of France Henry had a son who succeeded him when not yet a year old. The whole of his long reign is occupied with a war for the French crown, and a disastrous civil war in England between the houses of York and Lancaster. At the accession of Henry VI., Parliament ordered a new royal title, in which he was recognized as King



of France and England, and Lord of Ireland; appointed his father's eldest brother, the Duke of Bedford, protector, defender, and chief counselor of the kingdom and of the English church; and in his absence invested the Duke of Gloucester, his younger brother, with these honors. A council was named, and certain articles enacted, for the purpose of limiting the power of the protector. The kingdom of France was now in the most deplorable situation. By the solemn investiture of the infant king of England with the royal prerogative in that country, Charles VII. succeeded only to a nominal kingdom; for the greater portion of it adhered to the interests of Henry. But notwithstanding all these advantages, the English daily lost ground, and in the year 1450 they were finally expelled from the country. See the article FRANCE.

It may be easily conceived that such a train of bad success was likely to be productive of discontent at home. Continual animosities were kept up amongst the king's counselors during the first thirty years of his nominal rule. This tended to plunge the nation in confusion, and prepare it for becoming the theatre of a sanguinary civil war. Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, was envied by many on account of his high station. Amongst these was Thomas Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, afterwards cardinal, the legitimate son of John of Gaunt, brother to Richard II. This prelate, to whom the care of the king's education had been committed, was a man of some capacity and experience, but of an intriguing and restless disposition. He had frequent disputes with the Duke of Gloucester, over whom he gained several advantages. The Duke of Bedford employed both his own authority and that of Parliament to reconcile them, but in vain; their mutual animosities served for several years to embarrass the government, and to lay it open to its enemies. The sentiments of the two leaders were particularly divided with regard to France. The bishop laid hold of every prospect of accommoda-

tion with that country; and the Duke of Gloucester was for maintaining the honor of the English arms, and regaining whatever had been lost by defeat or delay. Both parties, therefore, called in all the auxiliaries they could command. The bishop resolved to strengthen himself by procuring a proper match for Henry, at that time twenty-three years of age, and then by bringing over the queen to his interests. Accordingly, the Earl of Suffolk, a nobleman whom he knew to be steadfast in attachment to him, was sent over to France, apparently to settle the terms of a truce which had then been contemplated, but in reality to procure a suitable consort for the young king.

The bishop and his friends had turned their attention to Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Regnier, titular King of Sicily, Naples, and Jerusalem, but who was destitute of either real power or possessions. She was looked upon as the most accomplished princess of the age, both in mind and person; and it was thought the abilities which she possessed would supply the want of them in her husband, to whom maturity of years had brought no maturity of understanding. The treaty was therefore hastened on by Suffolk, and soon afterwards ratified in England. Previously to the king's marriage, however, a conspicuous blow was struck at the protector's greatness. In that age a charge of sorcery was capable of blasting any character, however spotless or pure; and even of throwing odium upon all who were related to the individual accused. It was an irresistible weapon made use of by churchmen for the destruction of their enemies, and it was wielded by the prelate against his political opponent with tremendous force. He brought forward an accusation of sorcery and treason against Elinor Cobham, wife or concubine of the Duke of Gloucester. She was charged with having made an image of the king in wax, which being placed before a gentle fire, gradually dissolved; and it was expected that as the wax wasted away, the strength of the king would also disappear,

and that his death would take place when the whole of the image had melted. Three other individuals were implicated in this accusation, which was readily believed. The prisoners were pronounced guilty; the duchess was condemned to do penance and suffer perpetual imprisonment; one priest was hanged, and another died in prison; whilst, to consummate the affair, Margaret Jourde-mayn, a reputed witch, was burnt at Smithfield.

The Bishop of Winchester was resolved to carry his resentment against Gloucester to the utmost. He procured a parliament to be summoned, not at London, which was too well affected towards the duke, but at St. Edmundsbury, where the prelate's adherents greatly preponderated. As soon as Gloucester appeared, he was accused of treason, and thrown into prison. On the day appointed for him to make his defence, he was found dead in his bed, though without any signs of violence upon his body. This, however, is no proof that he came not to a violent end.

The death of the Duke of Gloucester was universally ascribed to the Cardinal of Winchester, who himself died six weeks thereafter, without leaving behind him so good a name as his political adversary. The Lancastrian party was thus deprived of its chiefs; no male Plantagenet of that lineage remained except the king.

After the demise of the Cardinal of Winchester, Suffolk governed with uncontrolled sway. But his conduct was obnoxious to the rest of the nobility, who now concerted measures for his destruction. In the year 1447 he was impeached of high treason on various charges. He was accused of exciting the French to invade England, in order to depose Henry and place on the throne De la Pole's son, who was to marry Somerset's daughter, considered by the Lancastrian party as the next in succession to the crown. He was also charged with the loss of France by his negotiations in that country, and with revealing state secrets to the

French ministers. Other illegal acts were ascribed to him in the bill of impeachment; and so strong did the current of opinion run against him, that, whether guilty or not, the king was compelled to banish him from the kingdom. But this did not satisfy his enemies, who looked upon expatriation as a sheltering from justice rather than as a punishment. The captain of a ship was therefore employed to intercept him in his passage to France; and, having been seized near Dover, his head was struck off in a small boat, and his body consigned to the waves.

The complaints against Henry's government were heightened by an insurrection, headed by an individual of equivocal descent, but who has been transmitted to posterity by the name or nickname of Jack Cade. He assumed the honorable name of John Mortimer; and having assembled a great body of the peasantry of Kent, he marched to Blackheath. A message was sent to him by the king, demanding the cause of the insurrection. The audacious Cade answered in the name of the community, that their purpose was to punish evil counselors, and to obtain a redress of grievances. Henry assembled a force; but part of it having been defeated, the remainder refused to fight, and the king retired from the field. Lord Say, the treasurer, was committed to the Tower, in order to satisfy the revolvers. In the mean time the citizens of London opened their gates to the victorious rebel, who made a triumphant entry into the city, arrayed in the shining armor and gilt spurs of a knight. For some time he maintained great order and regularity amongst his troops. He always led them out into the fields in the night-time, and published several edicts against every kind of plunder and violence. His followers, however, were not to be thus restrained. Lord Say, without any trial, was beheaded; and soon afterwards, the insurgents, having committed some irregularities, were shut out of the city by the inhabitants. Cade endeavored to force his way



back to his quarters, when a bloody scuffle ensued, which was only terminated by the approach of night. The Archbishop of Canterbury, and the chancellor, who had taken refuge in the Tower, hearing how matters stood, drew up an act of amnesty, which was privately circulated amongst the rebels. This had an electrical effect upon them, and in the morning Cade found himself totally abandoned by his followers. He effected his escape, but was afterwards captured and slain. A number of circumstances now contributed to revive the long dormant pretensions of the house of York to the throne. France had been lost; the arms of England had been disgraced; Margaret, the queen, by violence and arrogance, was most unpopular; the king himself was a perfect cipher; whilst, in contrast to him, appeared the Duke of York, a man of popular virtues, and the legitimate heir to regal power, according to the English laws of real inheritance. All the males of the house of Mortimer were now extinct; but Anne, the sister of the last Earl of March, having espoused the Earl of Cambridge, who had been beheaded for treason in the reign of Henry V., had transmitted her latent but unforgotten claim to her son Richard. This prince, descended by his mother from Philippa, only daughter of the Duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III., stood plainly in order of succession before the king, who derived his descent from the Duke of Lancaster, fourth son of that monarch. The duke was a man of valor and abilities, as well as of some ambition; and he thought that the weakness and unpopularity of the present reign afforded a favorable opportunity for asserting his title. The ensign of Richard was a white rose, and that of Henry a red one; circumstances which gave names to the two factions who were now about to deluge the kingdom in blood.

The Duke of York was in Ireland during the proceedings against Suffolk and the sedition of Cade. In September, 1450, he returned to England, a circumstance which

excited considerable alarm at court. He advanced upon London; and, proceeding to the palace at Westminster, knelt before the king, and, deploring the state of the kingdom, entreated him to summon a parliament. The queen appears to have evinced her usual arrogance upon this occasion; but York succeeded in extorting a promise from the king that he would comply with his request, upon which he retired to his castle at Fotheringay. He was scarcely gone, however, when the Duke of Somerset returned from France, and was chosen favorite adviser of the king. The session of Parliament proved unquiet and stormy. York presented a complaint against the administration of Somerset, and in the year following exhibited several articles of impeachment against him. But the power and influence of the queen rendered his efforts fruitless. Legal prosecutions became thus inadequate to suit the feelings of the enraged York, and he accordingly assembled an army. The king, doubting his ability to triumph by opposing force to force, affected to acquiesce in the demands of the duke, and put Somerset under restraint. Upon this York disbanded his troops, and retired unattended to the royal pavilion, where he was immediately made prisoner, and compelled to take an oath of allegiance to the king. Somerset rose higher in favor than ever, and completed his ascendancy in the government by obtaining the entire confidence of the king and his consort.

On the 13th of October, 1453, Queen Margaret presented her husband with a son and heir, the ill-fated Edward, Prince of Wales. Not long afterwards the king sunk into a state of mental as well as bodily incapacity, and the star of York again appeared above the horizon. The total imbecility of the king having been ascertained, the Duke of York was chosen protector and defender of the kingdom. Previously to this event Somerset had been removed from the palace of the queen to the Tower. The king's malady was not permanent, and on his recovery he put an end to the protectorate, re-

leased Somerset from his confinement, and reinstated him in his honors. This was a mortal blow to the peace of York; and having conferred with the powerful Earls of Warwick and Salisbury, who united themselves to his interests, he took the field with the declared intention of only expelling Somerset from the government. But this nobleman's fate involved that of the house of Lancaster. It was in vain that the king attempted a reconciliation of interests; he was compelled to have recourse to arms, and meet the Yorkists in open warfare. A battle took place at St. Albans, in which the royalists were totally defeated; Somerset, the immediate cause of the conflict, having fallen in the action.

The king relapsed into his former state, and the Duke of York was a second time chosen protector; but the queen, who could not brook the idea of his continuing at the head of government, procured his dismissal. She is even charged with having conspired his destruction, and that of his most conspicuous adherents. A temporary reconciliation was effected, but discord was again introduced; and the parties having irrecoverably lost confidence in each other, prepared for the deadly struggle of arms.

The forces of the Duke of York under the Earl of Salisbury gained an advantage over the royalists at Bloreheath; but a fatal desertion on the part of York's troops at Ludlow turned the balance in favor of the king; and York fled to Ireland, where he was joyfully received.

But this disaster, though in appearance it suppressed the party of York, was far from being fatal to its power. Warwick, who had retained the government of Calais, landed in Kent, and, being joined by a number of barons, advanced upon the capital, which he entered amidst the acclamations of the people. The number of his troops had now so much increased that he found himself in a condition to encounter the royal army. Early in July, 1460, he came up with them at Southampton, and a bloody battle ensued,

in which the king was taken prisoner, and his army utterly dispersed. Meanwhile the Duke of York having returned from Ireland, openly laid claim to the crown. In the House of Lords the cause of Henry and the Duke of York was solemnly debated; and the latter, though a conqueror, did not absolutely gain his cause. It was determined that Henry should possess the throne during his life, and that the Duke of York should be appointed his successor, to the utter exclusion of Henry's offspring.

Though the royal party now seemed destitute of every resource, the queen still retained her intrepidity, disdaining every arrangement which implied the dethronement of her child. Wales seemed the natural place of refuge for the mother of him who was called its prince, and thither accordingly she fled. This warlike dame assembled a considerable army to rescue her pusillanimous husband, and marched to the northern provinces, where Northumberland and Clifford joined her with their borderers. This union having alarmed the victorious party, York and Somerset hastened to anticipate their designs, and, having assembled a sufficient force, succeeded in reaching the strong castle of Sandal before Christmas. Actuated by the pride of prowess and the impatience of inaction, York engaged the queen's army with one of inferior force. The conflict took place at Wakefield, on the 30th of December, 1460, and terminated in the total defeat of the Yorkists. The duke himself was either slain in the action, or put to death after it; whilst the Earl of Salisbury was taken during the night, and decapitated next day. But no one was so much lamented as the young Earl of Rutland, the son of York, a boy in the twelfth year of his age. He was made prisoner, and coolly stabbed to the heart by Clifford, in revenge for the death of his father, who had perished at the battle of St. Albans.

After this victory Margaret marched towards London, in order to set the king at liberty; but the Earl of Warwick, who had



now put himself at the head of the Yorkists, led about the captive king in order to give a sanction to his proceedings. Except by the countenance which his presence seemed to give to the transactions of the Yorkists, he was as inert an instrument in their hands as the royal standard which waved above their lines. Warwick engaged the queen's forces at St. Albans; but through the treachery of Lord Lovelace, who deserted with a considerable force during the heat of the action, Warwick was defeated, and the pageant king fell once more into the hands of his own party,

The submission of the city of London seemed now to be all that was wanting to complete the queen's success; but Warwick had secured it in his interests, and the citizens refused to open their gates to the royal victor. In the mean time, young Edward, eldest son of the late Duke of York, put himself at the head of his father's party. He was now in the bloom of youth, remarkable for the beauty of his person and for bravery; and he was, moreover, a very great favorite with the people. He defeated Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, at Mortimer's Cross, in Herefordshire; the earl himself being taken prisoner, and immediately beheaded by Edward's orders.

Meanwhile he was joined by the remainder of Warwick's army, and the united forces entered the metropolis amidst the applause of the people of the city and of the surrounding provinces. Edward laid his claim before a council of lords, and on the 4th of March, 1461, he was proclaimed king by the style and title of Edward IV.

But notwithstanding all her disasters, the queen remained inflexibly devoted to her purpose. She retired to the northern counties, where such numbers flocked to her standard that her army very soon amounted to sixty thousand men. Edward IV. was a voluptuary, but he never allowed his activity and vigilance to slacken. With Warwick and an army of forty thousand men he commenced his march to the north. The hostile

forces met at Towton, in the county of York, on the 29th of March, 1461, and an obstinate engagement ensued, which continued during the night, and was renewed with the utmost fierceness on the following morning. The queen's army was totally defeated, and as quarter was given on neither side, the slaughter was dreadful. Between thirty and forty thousand persons perished in these two bloody days. After this disaster the queen with her husband took refuge in Scotland, whilst Edward returned to the metropolis, where he was crowned on the 29th of June, 1461. For three years Edward IV. possessed the throne without any serious insurrection having taken place on the part of the Lancasterians. But during this period Queen Margaret was making strenuous exertions both in France and Scotland to raise a force capable of taking the field against Edward. Having collected a small army, she made an inroad into England, but after several indecisive skirmishes she was totally defeated at Hexham, in Northumberland, on the 17th of May, 1464. The Duke of Somerset, who commanded for her, was beheaded; and a number of gentlemen were also executed at York, with little form of law or justice.

By these repeated misfortunes the house of Lancaster became so effectually reduced that Margaret was obliged to separate from her husband, and both were compelled to seek their safety in individual flight. The king was still protected by some of his friends, who conveyed him to Lancashire, where he was at last discovered, and consigned to the Tower as a prisoner. The queen made her escape through Scotland into France, along with her son, and his famous preceptor Sir John Fortescue.

In the mean time King Edward vigorously applied himself to the affairs of government. Feeling secure on the throne, he now also began to give way to the gratification of his amatory passions, to which he was exceedingly prone. In order to divert his mind from such debasing indulgences, the Earl of

Warwick, hitherto his steady friend, advised him to marry. Edward consented, and the earl was appointed to negotiate a match with the Princess Bonne of Savoy. He was successful in his mission, but before the conclusion of the marriage treaty, the king privately espoused a lady of whom he had become enamoured, and who resisted all his efforts to form an illicit connection. This lady was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Philip Woodville, and relict of Sir John Grey, a Lancastrian who had fallen at the second battle of St. Albans. The parties were solemnly united in marriage on the 1st of May, 1464, and the bride was acknowledged, and in due time crowned. This transaction highly displeased Warwick, who afterwards became still more disgusted at the favor shown to the queen's party, his own and his sovereign's natural enemies. A plan of revenge was therefore set on foot, and a most powerful conspiracy was also formed against Edward. To accomplish his aim, Warwick not only employed his own influence, which was very extensive, but likewise that of the Duke of Clarence, Edward's brother, on whom the earl had conferred the hand of his daughter without the king's permission. The effects of Warwick's secret combination with Clarence, his own brother Montague, and the discontented nobility and gentry, soon began to appear. Sedition was fomented throughout the country, and a popular insurrection at last broke out in Yorkshire, where Robin of Redesdale, a hero among the moss troopers of the border, appeared at the head of sixty thousand men. The articles of their manifesto were principally directed against the king's counselors and the church.

Henry, Earl of Pembroke was sent against them with a body of seven or eight thousand men. He was joined by Lord Stafford with five thousand more troops, and the two commanders prepared to meet the insurgents. They at first received a repulse, but it was of no material importance. An unfortunate dispute, however, between Pembroke and Stafford, caused the latter to march off the

field with his troops; and in a battle which immediately afterwards ensued, the royalists were cut to pieces and their commander taken prisoner and beheaded.

The king, enraged at this, caused Stafford to be executed in a like summary manner. This event completed the disaffection of the king's followers, who now deserted him in thousands; and he himself was at last taken prisoner by Warwick and his friends; but this conquest embarrassed the confederated nobles. The detention of the king was not popular; and the military refused to act until he was released, which took place accordingly, and a reconciliation was effected. The truce was, however, of short duration. A new insurrection broke out in Lincolnshire, in which Warwick and Clarence were deeply involved. The rebels were commanded by Sir Robert Welles, son to a nobleman of the same name. Under an alleged charge of treason, the latter was beheaded by the king, who marched against the insurgents with his usual celerity, and gave them a total overthrow at Erpingham, in Rutlandshire, on the 12th of March, 1469. Warwick and Clarence again attempted to entrap Edward, but having failed of success, they escaped to France.

Louis XI. openly espoused the cause of the malcontent barons, and effected a reconciliation between them and the fugitive Queen Margaret. Their mortal enmities were reconciled in common hatred to the King of England. A treaty was concluded, which stipulated that Edward should espouse Anne Neville, Warwick's daughter, and that they should combine their efforts to restore Henry to the throne of which he had been deprived. It was likewise agreed upon, that in case of failure of issue by the prince, the crown should descend to Clarence. After these preliminary arrangements, Warwick assembled a small force, and set sail for England, where he landed whilst Edward was in the north suppressing an insurrection which had there broken out. This seems to have been an artifice practiced by a brother-



in-law of Warwick's, who thus drew the incautious monarch to a distant part of the kingdom, and left the southern counties open to the invader. Warwick was a great favorite with the people, the subject of popular ballads, which resounded his praise throughout every town in the kingdom. Thousands having flocked to his standard, he advanced upon London, and there proclaimed Henry VI. The usual activity of Edward seems to have forsaken him, or else his pernicious frivolities had alienated the affections of his troops, whose fidelity toward him likewise decreased as Warwick drew near to them. Edward was compelled to fly to Holland, Clarence and Warwick made their triumphal entry into the capital, and Henry was formally restored to regal authority. But those who had reinstated him had placed only a barren sceptre in his grasp, for the real power resided with them. Edward was pronounced a usurper, and all acts passed under his sanction were repealed. The crown was settled on the male issue of Henry VI., and in default of such issue, on the Duke of Clarence and the heirs of his body. But Edward's party was not yet destroyed. After an absence of nine months, he, seconded by a small body of troops granted him by the Duke of Burgundy, made a descent at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire. At first he met with little success; but his army increasing on the march, he was soon in a condition to appear before the capital, which instantly opened its gates to receive him.

The unfortunate Henry was thus again plucked from the throne; and the hopes of Warwick were almost totally blasted by the defection of Clarence, Edward's brother. He, however, advanced to within about ten miles of London, resolving to await the approach of Edward, and took a position at Barnet, where, on the 14th of April, 1471, a battle was fought, more remarkable for its consequences than for the number of the slain, or the obstinacy of the combatants. Considering the animosity existing between the parties, the general slaughter was un-

usually small; but amongst the fallen were Warwick and his brother Montague; and the death of the first of these individuals was of far more importance to Edward than the victory he had gained. It broke the charm which associated with his name the certainty of victory and success to the cause which he espoused. On account of the remarkable transactions in which he had been engaged, he received the appellation of "the king maker." His death also destroyed the greatness of the house of Neville.

At this time the queen had just returned with her son from France, where she had been soliciting supplies. She had scarcely time to refresh herself from the fatigues of the voyage, when she received the fatal news of the death of Warwick, and the total destruction of his forces. All her resolution was unable to support her under this calamity, and she sunk to the ground in despair. Upon recovering herself, she took sanctuary in the abbey of Beaulieu, in Hampshire, where she still found friends ready to assist her. Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, the Lords Wenlock and St. John, with some other men of rank, encouraged her yet to hope for success, and promised to stand by her to the last. On this assurance she resumed the undaunted bearing which was natural to her, and advancing through the counties of Devon, Somerset, and Gloucester, collected a considerable army. The hostile forces came in sight of each other at Tewkesbury, on the 14th of May, 1471, where a battle was fought, which decided this sanguinary war. The queen's army was totally defeated; the Earl of Devonshire and Lord Wenlock were slain in the conflict; the Duke of Somerset, and about twenty other persons of distinction, who had taken shelter in a church, were surrounded, dragged forth and immediately beheaded; about three thousand of their soldiers were killed in battle, and the rest were entirely dispersed. Queen Margaret and her son were taken prisoners, and brought to the king, who asked the prince how he

dared to invade his dominions. The youth replied that he came hither to claim his just inheritance; upon which Edward struck him on the face with his gauntlet. The Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, Lord Hastings and Sir Thomas Gray, taking this blow as a signal for further violence, hurried the prince into the next apartment, and there it is said, dispatched him. Margaret was thrown into the tower, along with her husband Henry, who there closed his unhappy career a few years afterwards. The Duke of Gloucester has been charged with his murder, but there is no proof of the fact. Margaret was ransomed by the King of France, in 1475, for fifty thousand crowns. She survived her deliverance about seven years, during which time she lived in France, withdrawn from the tumults of state.

Edward being now freed from all his enemies, began to inflict punishment on those who had formerly appeared against him. Amongst the cruelties which he committed, that on his brother Clarence is the most remarkable. They had been formally reconciled to each other; but this hollow truce to fraternal animosity was broken by a singular incident. Whilst the king was one day hunting in the park of one Burdett, a servant of the duke, he killed a white buck which was a great favorite of the owner. Burdett, concerned at the loss, broke into a transport of rage, and declared that he wished the horns of the deer were in the belly of the person who advised the king to that insult. For this exclamation Burdett was tried for his life, and executed at Tyburn. Clarence exclaimed against this sentence as iniquitous, for which he was attainted of treason, and charged with sorcery, in order to give to Burdett's expressions the dignity of necromantic imprecation. Sentence of death was pronounced against him; but the king having some repugnance to order the public execution of a brother, he was dispatched in private. There was a rumor prevalent at the time that he was drowned in a butt of malmsey wine, to which he is said to have

been very partial; but there is no proof of his murder having been effected in this manner. The remainder of Edward IV.'s reign is unimportant. A war with France which followed the civil wars in England, terminated in 1475 without being characterized by any memorable events. But the foolish idea of aggrandizement in France was still popular with the people, and Edward employed a considerable portion of the latter years of his reign in making apparent preparations for reviving the pretensions of his predecessors to the crown of that country. It does not appear, however, that he ever had any intention of carrying his threats into execution. Edward died on the 9th of April, 1483, in the forty-second year of his age and twenty-first of his reign, calculating from the period of his first assuming the crown. Besides five daughters, he left two sons; Edward Prince of Wales, his successor, then in his twelfth year; and Richard, Duke of York, then in his eleventh year.

On the death of Edward IV. the kingdom was divided into new factions; and those of the queen's family, who, during the last reign, had come into power, were obnoxious to the old nobility, who looked upon them as upstarts and inferiors. The king had endeavored to prevent these animosities proceeding to any extent, by desiring on his death-bed that his brother Richard Duke of Gloucester should be entrusted with the regency; and he recommended peace and unanimity during the minority of his son. But the monarch was no sooner dead than the former resentment between the two parties burst forth with violence, and the Duke of Gloucester, to whom it is customary to attribute every bad quality, resolved to profit by their contentions. As soon as he learned the tidings of his brother's death, he proceeded to Ludlow Castle, where Prince Edward then was under the charge of Lord Rivers, his uncle by the mother's side. This nobleman was charged by Gloucester with having instilled into the mind of his young ward unfavorable opinions of the protector



and under this groundless accusation he was put into confinement, along with others of the Woodville family. Gloucester, with Buckingham, his noted accomplice, marched to London with Prince Edward, and the other young prince's person having also been secured, both of them were consigned to the Tower, under the specious pretext that they would there be safe from the machinations of their enemies. The coronation was postponed from the 4th of May till the 22d of June, so that the secret purposes of the protector began to be unveiled; and it would seem probable that Hastings and Stanley, the friends of the late king began to show some misgivings as to the designs of Richard. At a council held in the Tower on the 13th of June 1483, Hastings was seized, and soon afterwards executed upon a log of timber, without any form of trial. Stanley and other obnoxious lords were thrown into various dungeons; and on the same day Earl Rivers and some others were executed at Pomfret Castle, on the most unjust pretences of treason.

The protector now considered himself as in a situation to lay claim to the throne. He used his utmost endeavours to inspire the people with a notion of the illegitimate birth of the late king, and that his children were not only illegitimate on this account, but also because their father had been secretly wedded to Elinor Butler previously to the solemnization of marriage between him and Elizabeth Woodville. Shaw, a popular preacher, was hired to harangue the people to this effect from St. Paul's cross. The number of Edward's amours gave some plausibility to these rumours, and prepared the minds of the people for the usurpation of the crown by Richard. Two days afterwards Buckingham harangued the populace in much the same manner as Shaw; and on the 25th of June, 1483, that nobleman presented Richard with a parchment purporting to be a declaration of the estates of parliament in favor of the protector, as the only legitimate prince of the house of York. Richard, with

his usual dissimulation, evinced some hesitation, upon the point; but on the following day he took possession of the crown, and from the 26th of June, 1483, is accordingly dated the commencement of his reign.

The only obstacles which now interposed between Richard and the peaceful possession of the crown were his two nephews, whom he still kept in the Tower, for the sake of safety, as he miscalled their imprisonment. During a progress through the kingdom a confederacy was formed against him, and meetings were held, which had for their object the liberation of the princes. But this was unnecessary, as they had been privately dispatched by the king's orders. The manner of their death was kept a profound secret, and it is very doubtful if even yet we are acquainted with the real facts. The most probable account, however, is, that Richard, having tampered in vain with Brackenbury, the governor of the Tower, to put them to death, found a ready instrument for the execution of his diabolical purpose in Sir James Tyrrel, his master of the horse. This individual, with two other ruffianly associates, having obtained access during the night to the apartment of the princes, smothered them as they lay asleep, and buried their bodies at the foot of the staircase.

Richard having thus secured himself on the throne, attempted to strengthen his interest by means of foreign alliances, and also by procuring the favour of the clergy at home; but he found his power threatened from a quarter where he least expected an attack. The Duke of Buckingham, who had been so instrumental in raising him to the throne, either thinking his services inadequately rewarded, or for some other causes which cannot now be ascertained, instigated a revolt against Richard. The horror with which the intelligence of the midnight murder in the Tower was received prepared the public mind for seconding the designs of Buckingham, who, with several other leading individuals in the kingdom, now declared for Henry, the young Earl of Richmond, in op-

position to Richard. The earl, at this period an exile in Brittany, was considered as the chief of the Lancasterian party. His right to the crown by succession was, however, very equivocal; but the cruel behaviour of Richard inclined the people generally to favor his pretensions; and, in order to give an additional strength to his title, a match was projected between him and the Princess Elizabeth the eldest daughter of Edward IV., which, by uniting the two rival families would put an end to those dissensions which had so long distracted the kingdom and deluged it with kindred blood. Messengers were accordingly dispatched to give him information of the conspiracy, which fortunately escaped the usual vigilance of Richard; and, in about a fortnight afterwards, Richmond returned an answer, which was no sooner communicated to his friends than it reached the ears of the king. The latter immediately summoned his adherents to join him with their retainers at Leicester; and after proclaiming Buckingham a traitor, he marched against him at the head of his army. In the mean time storms interrupted the voyage of Henry; and the army of Buckingham, dispirited by broken bridges and impassable currents, broke up and dispersed. A price was set upon the head of Buckingham, who fled, but was betrayed into the hands of Richard, and immediately put to death.

Richard, now emboldened by his success, employed every means of confirming his title to the throne, and destroying the plans of the exiles and malcontents. He summoned a parliament, the first which he had ventured to call together; and an act was passed declaring him undoubted king of the realm, and settling it upon his son Edward, Prince of Wales. The marriage of Edward IV. with Elizabeth Woodville was declared null, and his son pronounced a bastard; then followed a severe bill of attainder, in which several noblemen, bishops, knights, and gentlemen, were deprived of their estates, honors, and rights.

But notwithstanding all the measures of severity adopted by Richard, he was seriously

alarmed at the projected marriage between Henry of Richmond and the eldest daughter of the late king. To defeat this project, therefore, now became the chief policy of the king. The princess was induced to quit her sanctuary and come under the protection of Richard, who probably had destined her for his son; but the death of that prince forced him to alter his plans and secure her for himself. Lady Anne Neville, Richard's queen was in infirm health, and this induced him secretly to make an offer of his hand to the young princess, which she agreed to accept. During the illness of Anne, Elizabeth discovered, it is said, an unnatural degree of impatience, and hinted her surprise at its duration; a most suspicious circumstance. Her apprehensions, however, were soon allayed. In less than a month the queen died; but her hopes of sharing the throne with Richard were not realized. The match was so very unpopular that the royal wooer was dissuaded from his purpose and his attention was soon directed to another quarter.

The crimes of Richard had alienated the greater portion of the York party from his interests; and a union between Elizabeth and Henry, for the purpose of reconciling conflicting factions, became a topic of serious consideration. The latter prince again conceived the hope of seizing the crown by another invasion of England; and having collected an army of three thousand men, he set sail from Harfleur early in August, 1485, and landed at Milford Haven on the 6th of that month. Richard affected to hear the intelligence with joy; and displaying the vigilance and activity of his brother Edward, he marched from London on the 16th. His competitor had directed his march through the northern districts of Wales, a tract of country in the interest of the Stanleys. Both armies met at Bosworth in Leicestershire, on the 22d of August, 1485, where a battle was fought, memorable for having restored tranquillity to the kingdom, which had so long been the theatre of sanguinary civil wars.



The army of Richmond amounted to about six thousand men, that of the king to nearly twice the number; and both prepared for the contest, equally confident of victory. For, notwithstanding the inferiority of Richmond's troops, he was secretly encouraged by the promises of Lord Stanley, who was hastening, with seven thousand men under his command, apparently to join the royalists, but really with the intention of siding with Henry. Stanley continued his march slowly; and on the morning of the battle he took up a neutral station on the wing of either host. The king entrusted his vanguard to the Duke of Norfolk, whilst that of Henry was assigned to the Earl of Oxford; and the two competitors for the crown placed themselves at the head of the main bodies of their respective armies. Richard, taking advantage of a marsh which covered his right flank, ordered a shower of arrows to be discharged into the adverse ranks, which for a moment threw them into confusion. He sent orders to Stanley to join him immediately; but the refusal of that nobleman to comply with his request shook his confidence and also that of his army, which now began to waver. To complete his dismay, he saw Stanley join the ranks of Henry, a circumstance which determined the fortune of the day. But, in order to retrieve it, Richard made a vigorous effort worthy of a better cause. Chancing to observe Henry in the midst of the conflict, he made a dash at him, determined to cut him down or perish in the attempt. He slew with his own hand Sir William Brandon, the bearer of the hostile standard, unhorsed Sir John Cheney, and was within a blow of his rival, when he was overpowered by numbers, struck to the ground, and immediately slain. After his fall resistance was hopeless, and his army broke up and dispersed. The crown which he wore on that day was taken up by Lord Stanley and placed on Henry's head, who was instantly greeted with shouts of "Long live King Henry." Of Richard's army a considerable number were killed in the bat-

tle and pursuit, and amongst these were the Duke of Norfolk and Lords Ferrers, Radcliff and Brackenbury. The victors lost but few, and none of any note except their standard-bearer. To enhance their triumph, Lord Strange, the son of Stanley, whom Richard had ordered for execution before or during the conflict, escaped in the confusion and rejoined his father. The body of the tyrant was thrown carelessly across a horse and conducted to Leicester, where it was interred with small ceremony.

The quarrel between the houses of York and Lancaster was now brought to a conclusion. In order to secure the blessings of peace and an undisputed succession, it was necessary for Henry at once to espouse Elizabeth, and, by so doing, to blend the white and the red roses together. There is no concealing the fact that his title to the crown was of a very ambiguous description. It rested on three grounds, first, his marriage with Elizabeth; secondly, his descent from the house of Lancaster; and thirdly, the right of conquest. According to the sagacious Bacon, "he rested on the title of Lancaster in the main, using the marriage and the victory as supporters." But this main support was not a valid one; for even allowing his descent from John of Gaunt to have been legitimate, he was not the nearest descendant of that prince's children. There were several who had claims superior to his; but the individual whom Henry looked upon with peculiar jealousy was Edward Plantagenet, son of the late Duke of Clarence. After the death of this prince's father, Richard sent for him to court, and created him Earl of Warwick, the title borne by his grandfather; but fearing that he might afterwards become a dangerous competitor, Richard had him conveyed to a distant fortress; and one of the first acts of Henry was to change his place of confinement, and put him in the Tower, as a prison of greater security. Elizabeth, who had been his fellow-captive, was ordered to be conducted to the house of her mother in London, whilst Henry himself lei

surely followed her to the capital. He was received there with every demonstration of joy, and was greeted by the inhabitants as the deliverer of his country. His coronation was delayed for a time, by the breaking out of a dreadful disease, called from its predominant symptom the sweating sickness. But at the end of a month its virulence began to abate, and Henry was crowned on the 30th of October, 1485. To heighten the splendor of the ceremony, he bestowed the rank of knights-banneret on twelve persons and conferred peerages on three. Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, his uncle, he created Duke of Bedford; Thomas, Lord Stanley, his father-in-law, Earl of Derby; and Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire. At the coronation likewise appeared a new institution, which the king had established for personal security as well as pomp; a band of fifty archers, who were denominated yeomen of the guard. But lest the people should take umbrage at this step, as if it implied a diffidence in their loyalty, he declared the institution to be perpetual. The ceremony of the coronation was performed by Cardinal Beaufort, Archbishop of Canterbury. On the 18th of January, 1486, Henry was united to the Princess Elizabeth; and his marriage was celebrated in London with even a greater appearance of joy than either his first entry or his coronation.

The reign of Henry VII. was for several years disturbed by plots and insurrections. The people, by a long course of civil war, had become so turbulent and factious, that no governor could rule, nor was any king likely to please them. The violent animosity expressed by this monarch, however, against the house of York, may justly be considered as one of the causes of the extreme proneness to rebellion which was manifested amongst his subjects. Instead of endeavoring to conciliate the affection of the opposite party, he invariably strove to quell them by force and violence. For this purpose, soon after his accession he took a journey to the north of England, where the

Yorkists were very numerous, trusting that his presence might overawe them. On his way thither he received intelligence of an insurrection against him, headed by Viscount Lovel, with Sir Henry Stafford and his brother Thomas. The two latter had raised an army, and were marching to besiege the city of Worcester; whilst Lovel was hastening to their assistance with a body of several thousand men. But they were induced to disperse by the offer of a general pardon. Lovel withdrew from his troops, who immediately gave in their submission to the king. The Staffords took refuge in the church of Colnham, near Abingdon; but they were dragged from this sanctuary, as it was found not to possess the privilege of sheltering rebels. The elder brother was executed at Tyburn, but the younger one received a pardon.

Henry returned from his northern tour, and soon afterwards his queen presented him with a son, whom he named Arthur, in honor of the supposed progenitor of the house of Tudor, the renowned King Arthur; but Henry was not permitted to enjoy undisturbed security. He never was at any time popular except amongst his own party; and in the northern counties, particularly, the late King Richard was remembered and spoken of with regret. Henry was hated for his success, and even charged with having put to death the young Earl of Warwick, whom he had imprisoned, as has already been mentioned. It was necessary for the king to exercise extreme caution, on account of the dangers which surrounded him; and he is described as having been mysterious and impenetrable. Sir Thomas More remarks that one thing was pretended whilst another was meant; and Bacon says that the king had a fashion rather to create doubts than assurance. The birth of his son seems to have roused his enemies to make some exertions against him; and being destitute of any chief of sufficient ability round whom insurgents might rally with any hope of success, they were urged to make one of



the most extraordinary attempts recorded in history. One Richard Simons, a subtle priest of Oxford, took under his charge Lambert Symnel, the son of a tradesman belonging to the same town. The boy was about eleven years of age, comely, and not without dignity and grace in his person. With this individual, who was well tutored to perform the extraordinary part which was to be assigned him, the churchman landed in Ireland, and presented him to the lord-deputy of the country as Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, who had made his escape from the Tower. It seems to have been at first the design of the fabricators of this singular deception to have presented him to the public as the younger of the princes who had been put to death by Richard in the Tower. In order to further this scheme, a report was circulated that one of these princes had made his escape from his assassins. Why this plan should have been changed, and the youthful impostor seduced to personate an individual still living, it is difficult to conjecture; but such is the fact. The Earl of Kildare to whom he was presented in Ireland, swallowed the bait, and allowed the claims of Symnel without discussion. This nobleman was a zealous adherent of the house of York; and the little colony called the English Pale, long ruled by that party, retained all its ancient attachments. A belief in the identity of Symnel with the Earl of Warwick became universal, both amongst the nobility and the people. He was lodged in the castle of Dublin; the inhabitants universally took an oath of allegiance to him, as the true descendant of the Plantagenets; he was crowned with a diadem taken from the statute of the blessed Virgin, and proclaimed king by the title of Edward VI.

Such an unexpected event so alarmed Henry, that he would have gone over to Ireland in person to quell the rebellion, had he not dreaded the machinations of the queen dowager in his absence. To prevent any thing of this kind from occurring, it was

resolved to confine her for life in a monastery, under pretence, however, that it was done on account of her having formally delivered up the princess her daughter to King Richard. The royal dame murmured at the severity of her sentence; but the king persisted in his resolution, and she remained in confinement till her death, which did not take place till some years afterwards.

The next measure was to exhibit the person of Warwick to the people. That prince was accordingly taken from the Tower, and conducted through the principal streets of London; after which the procession moved to St. Paul's, where great numbers were assembled to see him. Still, however, the fictitious Warwick prospered in Ireland, and being furnished by the Duchess of Burgundy with a body of two thousand veteran Germans, under the command of Martin Swart, a brave and experienced officer, the invasion of England was determined upon. He landed in Lancashire, whence he marched towards York, expecting that the country people would rally round his standard during his march. But in this he was disappointed; the people were unwilling to join a body of foreigners, and were besides kept in awe by the reputation of Henry. Lord Lincoln, therefore, who commanded the rebel army, determined to bring the matter to a speedy issue. Accordingly he met the royalists at Stoke, in the county of Nottingham, and an obstinate engagement took place, which terminated in Henry obtaining a complete victory. Lord Lincoln, with four thousand soldiers, perished in the action; and Symnel with his tutor Simons were taken prisoners. Simons being a priest, could not be tried by the civil power, and was only committed to close confinement. Symnel was pardoned, and made a scullion in the king's kitchen, whence he was afterwards advanced to the rank of falconer, in which capacity he died. Thus ended this most absurdly planned and injudiciously executed revolt; but it was not destitute of good results. It taught the king that the

house of York was not to be trampled upon with impunity; for to such an extent had his antipathy to the branches of that family and its adherents been carried, that it was said his own queen was not exempt from the common odium which was thrown upon them. It was asked by the people, why was she, the rightful heir to the throne, not crowned, and invested with the usual insignia of royalty? Henry silenced these rumors by ordering her coronation; and from that period she shared with him the usual honors of royalty.

Having thus to a great extent established his authority at home, he thought of diverting the minds of his subjects from domestic insurrection to foreign enterprise. He does not appear, however, to have had any intention of prosecuting a serious war in a distant country, but he used the pretext as a means of aggrandizing himself. A parliament was summoned, which granted the king a considerable sum for prosecuting the war in Bretagne, the only great fief of the French crown which still retained its own prince and its ancient constitution; by force, by policy, or by good fortune, the French monarchs had obtained possession of all the others. But of the supply granted by parliament, only a small part could be raised. The northern counties not only refused payment of their proportion, but rose in revolt, and murdered the Earl of Northumberland, the king's lieutenant. The insurrection, however, was quickly suppressed by the Earl of Surrey. John a Chambre, one of the ringleaders, suffered at York; and Sir John Egremont, the other, escaped to the Duchess of Burgundy, where he had leisure to hatch new schemes of rebellion. The money which Henry by this means obtained, and also in consequence of another grant from Parliament, was quietly deposited in his coffers. For, although he collected a considerable army, with which he proceeded to Calais, the king had other objects than victory and conquest in view. Some months previously to his landing on the Continent, he

had commissioned the governor of Calais to negotiate a peace and alliance with Charles of France, which was formally concluded. To the French monarch the possession of Bretagne was an important object; and Henry, naturally avaricious, agreed to accept about £200,000 as a reimbursement for the expenses of the expedition. It was also stipulated that the King of France should pay to him and his heirs an annual pension of 25,000 crowns.

But Henry's hopes of a tranquil possession of the crown of England were doomed to perpetual disappointment. His reign was now to be disturbed by one of the most mysterious personages to be met with in English history. About the time when war was declared against France, a pretender to the regal dignity appeared in Ireland, which seems to have been the natural soil for these spurious shoots of royalty. This impostor passed under the name of Perkin Warbeck, but asserted himself to be Richard, Duke of York, the second son of Edward IV., who it was alleged, had escaped from the Tower when his brother was murdered. Previously to his appearance in Ireland, he had been heard of at the court of Margaret, his supposed aunt, who interested herself to the utmost in his favor, and fondly styled him the White Rose of England. But he was compelled to leave Burgundy; for Henry had dispatched some ambassadors to the sovereign of that country, with secret instructions to demand either the person of the impostor, or his expulsion from the territories of the duke. Warbeck was received with open arms in Ireland, for the Irish were fanatically attached to the house of York. Several nobleman who had credulously believed in the fraud of Symnel, from which they had just escaped, gave countenance to his pretensions. A deputation was sent to Flanders to ascertain his history; but they had been corrupted by Henry before their landing in Burgundy, and they returned fraught with charges of treason against the disaffected nobility. Some of



the most eminent malecontent Yorkists were put to death, and amongst the rest Sir William Stanley, lord-chamberlain, to whom the king had owed his life on Bosworth field. His fate was most mysterious, and the conduct of Henry upon this occasion is open to the most odious suspicions. Sir Robert Clifford, the individual whose information led to these executions, was a confidential Yorkist; and his behavior towards his own party, so different from what might have been expected, tended to dissolve the ties which subsisted between it and the malecontent exiles.

Three years had now elapsed since the pretender had set forth his claim, and during that period he had never attempted to establish it by legal proof. He began to feel that he stood upon delicate ground, and resolved at once to enforce his pretended right by an appeal to the sword. With a small force collected in Flanders (for he had been for some time absent from Ireland), he made a descent in the neighborhood of Deal; but the adventurers were attacked by the inhabitants, and all of them driven back to their vessels, or taken prisoners. Warbeck himself made his escape, and returned in despair to Flanders. From this country he was ejected at the instigation of Henry; and after vainly attempting to gain a footing in Ireland, he set sail for Scotland, where he was well received by the young king, who professed a conviction in the justness of his title. King James conferred upon him the hand of Lady Catherine Gordon, a near kinswoman of his own. The adventurer's fortunes being thus suddenly elevated, he along with the King of Scotland, advanced into England; but not a native sword was unsheathed in favor of the White Rose. The enthusiasm which had been excited among the Scots by his first appearance in their country had begun to decline, and during a long truce which served all the purposes of a treaty of peace between James and Henry, it was agreed to by the former that he should induce Warbeck to quit Scot-

land. The adventurer, with a few adherents, accordingly departed, and, after touching once more at Cork, and in vain soliciting the aid of Earl Desmond, steered for Cornwall, where he landed on the 7th of September, 1497.

His arrival in this part of the country was a politic step, for an attempt to raise a tax there some time before gave rise to an insurrection, which, although quelled, left behind heartburnings and discontent. A considerable body of Cornish men joined his standard, and before he reached Exeter, his army amounted to six thousand men. But the king arrived, and preparations were made for a battle; the heart of the pretender, however, failed him at the sight of the royal standard, and instead of risking an engagement for the crown, he withdrew during the night, and entered his name in the sanctuary of Beaulieu in Hampshire. His followers laid down their arms to the king, and his wife also submitted to his authority, and was placed near the person of the queen. From his sanctuary the fugitive was removed by the king to London, where he was ordered to keep within the precincts of the palace. He contrived, however, to make his escape, but, despairing of getting out of the country, surrendered himself to the prior of the monastery of Shene. The monk contrived to prevail with the king to spare his life; but he was condemned to stand in the stocks and make a public confession of his imposture, after which he was committed to the Tower. In this fortress he met with a singular companion, the real Earl of Warwick, who had now been a prisoner for the period of fourteen years. His life had thus been passed in cheerless captivity, for no other offence than that of being the sole survivor of the male descendants of Edward III. The two contrived a means of escape, but they were discovered. Warbeck was executed at Tyburn; and the son of Clarence having been arraigned for high treason, was condemned to death and beheaded on the 28th of November, 1499. This deed was

worthy of Richard III. It was a cold-blooded murder, aggravated by circumstances; for the harmless and joyless victim was, from his long confinement, reduced to a state of idiocy. The human soul shudders to think of such atrocities, perpetrated in defiance alike of justice and humanity. From the guilt of shedding innocent blood it is impossible to purify the name of Henry VII.

In 1501, the king's eldest son Arthur was married to the Infanta Catherine of Spain; but he survived the marriage only a few months, having died on the 2d of April following. It was agreed upon a short while afterwards, by the parents of the parties, that the widow of the late prince should be espoused by Henry's next son, now Prince of Wales, and afterwards Henry VIII. The union was sanctioned by the pope, who granted a bull, dispensing with any impediment which their affinity might otherwise cause. The eldest daughter of King Henry was conferred upon James IV. of Scotland; an important union, as from this stock sprung all the sovereigns who have since reigned in Great Britain. King Henry in his own time, was called the Solomon of England; and, without allowing him to possess undisputed claims to so high-sounding a title, the saying recorded of him regarding the Scottish marriage displays no common foresight and sagacity. When some of his counselors objected to it, on the ground that the kingdom might thereby fall to the King of Scotland, he answered, "Scotland would then become an accession to England, not England to Scotland; the greater would draw the less; it is a safer union for England than one with France."

In the latter part of this king's reign, his economy, which had always been very exact, degenerated into avarice, and his oppressions at last became severe. In Empson and Dudley he possessed two ministers, who did all that inventive minds could suggest, and hearts of stone perform, to gratify a rapacity, which fed with equal appetite on friend

and foe. We are informed by one of the wisest of historians and of men, that these individuals had no reputation, otherwise than by servilely following his bent, and that they "shaped his way to those extremities for which himself was touched with remorse at his death." The hoard which the king had amassed by their unjust extortions, and which was mostly kept in "secret places at Richmond," is said to have amounted to nearly £16,000,000 of our present money. This amount of species is so enormous as to warrant a conviction that it has been greatly exaggerated. It may be doubted whether the whole circulating medium of the country at that period amounted to the sum which the avaricious monarch is said to have accumulated.

Henry, who had enjoyed an uncommon share of health during his life, was at fifty-two years of age attacked by severe indisposition. He died on the 21st of April, 1509, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, which, although perpetually disturbed by domestic insurrections, was upon the whole prosperous. He was interred in the chapel at Westminster which still bears his name; one of the noblest trophies of architectural genius produced in any age, and which confers peculiar distinction upon that in which it was erected.

Henry VIII., son of the preceding monarch, ascended the throne on the 22d of April, 1509, being then in the eighteenth year of his age. He assumed the reins of government under most auspicious circumstances. His title was undisputed; his treasury was well stocked; commerce was in a flourishing condition; and the kingdom, which now may be supposed to have looked to the youthful monarch with hope and indulgence, was at peace with every foreign power, and quiet in itself. He was prepossessing in person, accomplished in mind, and adroit in every martial and fashionable exercise.

On the 6th of June, 1509, Henry and Catherine were finally united in wedlock,



and on the 24th of the same month they were crowned with great splendor. One of Henry's first acts was to bring Empson and Dudley, the obnoxious ministers of his father, to trial. As a capital accusation could not be brought against them for merely executing the will of the late king, it was found necessary to indite them for a conspiracy to seize upon London with an armed force during the last illness of Henry. Of this charge, absurd and incredible as it appears to be, these individuals were convicted; and though it seems probable that the king would have been satisfied with imprisonment for life, yet so clamorous were the people for the blood of the culprits, that he was compelled to sign a warrant for their execution, which took place on Tower Hill.

In 1511, Henry entered into a league with Pope Julius II., Ferdinand, King of Spain, and other continental powers, against Louis XII. of France. In this alliance the King of England was not a deeply interested individual; but his vanity was flattered with the idea of receiving the title of Most Christian Majesty, which was promised to him by the pope. The object which the confederates had in view was to wrest from Louis some valuable provinces which he had obtained in Italy; and although Henry had no hope of sharing the spoil with them in this quarter, yet, the occupation of the French monarch in schemes of aggrandizement beyond the Alps afforded an opportunity to the English of invading France, and reviving the old chimera of conquering that country. The point, whether England should aim at continental dominions, was debated in parliament; and the arguments against it greatly preponderated. But the vanity of Henry was too much flattered to relinquish the scheme. He sent an ambassador to demand of Louis the ancient patrimony of the English crown in France, and this being refused, war was denounced. Parliament granted a supply, and an army was equipped and sent into Spain. But this expedition was attended with no success, and the troops, dis-

pirited and mutinous, returned to Elg and towards the close of 1512. On the north western frontier of France, however, the arms of Henry were triumphant, and also against the Scotch, who had been tempted by French councils to invade England. James IV., with a considerable army under his command, was met by the Earl of Surrey at Flodden, where a bloody battle was fought, in which the Scots were totally routed, and their king, with the greater portion of his nobility, perished. Henry received the news of this victory at Tournay, which he had invested, after having demolished Terouanne. The latter city opened its gates to him in eight days; but all parties being now disposed for peace, a general treaty was concluded in August, 1514.

Amongst the inferior dependents of the court there now appeared an individual, whose ambition and talent enabled him speedily to supplant every competitor. This was Thomas, afterwards Cardinal Wolsey, who, although only the son of a burgess of Ipswich, gradually raised himself to the first offices of state. His preferment had been rapid beyond all precedent, and this was not likely to be forgiven by an envious world. From the year 1513 to 1515 he had passed through the various gradations, from being Bishop of Tournay to the honors of the cardinalate, and he succeeded Archbishop Worham in the office of chancellor.

On the death of Maximilian, which happened towards the end of the year 1519, Henry, along with the Kings of France and Spain, became a candidate for the imperial throne. The Spanish monarch was the successful competitor, and, to soothe the wounded pride of Henry, he paid him a visit of ceremony at Dover. His principal design was to persuade Henry to abandon a projected meeting which was to take place between him and the King of France, the wily emperor dreading that such an interview might be fraught with danger to himself. He was unsuccessful, however, and the two monarches met between Ardres and Guines in

1520. The place where this meeting was held has been long celebrated under the name of the Field of the Cloth of Gold. The pomp and parade, the tournaments and other sports of the age, exhibited upon the occasion, were on the grandest scale, and peculiarly calculated to delight the young King of England, a creature of impulse, and one who sacrificed policy to temper, and interest to passion. It was thus that the continental monarchs flattered his foibles, and ingratiated themselves into his favor.

About the same time a crime was perpetrated, in the guilt of which both Henry and his minister Wolsey have been implicated; we mean the execution of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham. This nobleman was descended from the youngest son of Edward III.; and the principal accusation brought against him was, that he had tampered with a priest who laid claim to the gift of prophecy, and who had foretold that he would yet ascend the throne in virtue of his descent. Several other charges equally absurd, and not amounting to an overt act of high treason, were brought against him; he was tried by a jury of peers, condemned to death, and beheaded on the 17th of May, 1521. Upon this occasion the populace vented their indignation against Wolsey, whose subtle policy had brought the sufferer to the scaffold, by loud cries of "The butcher's son."

Wolsey, however, continued to rule with unabated sway from 1521 till 1527. This period is not distinguished by any events of importance, if we except the opposition which the House of Commons offered to the minister in his attempts to raise supplies. That body obstinately disputed these grants, and attempts were made to raise money by the expedients of forced loans and pretended benevolences, which the legislature had already condemned. But these attempts produced a small supply and a great deal of discontent. Wolsey, notwithstanding his unwearied exertions in behalf of his master, never felt himself perfectly secure in his el-

evated situation. The capricious and tyrannical temper of Henry forbade his ministers to be at ease in any place of trust near his person. The fall of Wolsey seems always to have appeared to himself as an event of very likely occurrence, and these gloomy forebodings were at last realized. The cause of the rupture between the king and him was the divorce of Queen Catharine, which the former had begun to project. But the fall of Wolsey was not the only event connected with Henry's divorce; it ultimately led to one of the most memorable transactions in the history of England, namely, the separation of that country from the communion of the church of Rome.

The doctrines of the reformation, propagated by Luther in 1527, had gained considerable ground in England, and many professed a belief in them, notwithstanding the severe persecution which had been carried on against heretics during some of the preceding reigns. The papal authority, though still very great, had in the space of ten years declined considerably; but a detail of the circumstances connected with this subject is not required in this place. It may be noticed in general, that the reformation in England was facilitated by the undeniable corruption of the clergy, and the experience which many individuals had of, and the partiality which they entertained for the doctrines of Wickliff. The seed sown by that divine had never been destroyed; and if it did not show itself above ground, it was extending itself underneath, perpetuating a sort of dormant existence, and ready to spring up on the first propitious occasion. Besides, the marriage of King Henry was looked upon by many as in itself illegal, and only sanctified by a dispensation from the pope.

Whether Henry himself, during the early years of his reign, felt any scruples about the validity of his marriage, may reasonably be doubted; for no trace of any thing of the kind can be discovered in his public conduct till the year 1527. The queen was



some years older than himself, and was now past the meridian of life. Her personal charms had decayed, and the heart of the royal sensualist could not be attracted by beauty that belonged purely to the mind. She had borne him several children, all of whom died in infancy except the Princess Mary, who survived both her parents, and afterwards ascended the throne. It is reported of the inconstant monarch that he attributed the mortality in his family to the curse of heaven, which blighted his unnatural alliance with Catherine, his brother's widow. But there was another and more powerful circumstance which led him to contemplate a divorce from his queen; this was the love which he had contracted for Anne Boleyn. The charms of this lady had touched his fiery but not unsusceptible heart; and as his passion could not be gratified except by means of an alliance sanctioned by law, he set seriously to work for the purpose of removing the amiable partner of his throne and bed, and placing the youthful beauty in her stead. The secret intentions of the king having become to some extent public, he ventured to ask the opinions of the most eminent ecclesiastics upon the point. The dangers of a disputed succession, if the king should die without male issue, were brought forward as an urgent plea for taking the step which he had in view. He had also recourse to his theological lore, and certain religious scruples connected with his first marriage helped to give a color of principle to his real desires, and at the same time to impart to them life and warmth. Some of the divines whose counsel was asked declared that no dispensation could authorize a marriage with the widow of a brother; which they proved from a passage in the Pentateuch. Others, who also founded their arguments upon a portion of Scripture, contended that a prohibition referred to by the opposite party was not universal, and might be dispensed with in the king's case, where the first marriage had been unproductive of issue. Cardinal Wolsey, who had a hazard-

ous game to play, coincided with the former, and gave Henry hopes that his petition to the court of Rome would be successful. But Anne was not the individual whom the prelate had in his eye as a wife for the king. He was desirous of wedding his master to a French princess, and, we are informed, threw himself on his knees before Henry, and entreated him to desist from a project so unworthy of his birth as an alliance with the Boleyn family. But the pliant mind of the cardinal yielded to the impetuosity of his master and to the force of circumstances; and he found it necessary to atone for his indiscreet zeal by displaying redoubled activity to promote the marriage with the lady upon whom the king had fixed his affections. The illustrious Sir Thomas More declined to support the divorce, and Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, acted with the same integrity.

A deputation was sent to Rome by Henry for the purpose of sounding Pope Clement upon the subject of the divorce. The pontiff was in a situation unfavorable to the success of the application; and although he was bound to the English monarch by the ties of gratitude, he declined giving an immediate assent to the proposition, but appointed two legates to hear and determine the validity of the first marriage of Henry. He also gave a solemn promise not to recall the commission, nor to do any act which should annul the judgment or prevent the progress of the trial. The pontiff was at this period engaged in a contest with the imperialists; but he at last concluded a treaty of alliance with the emperor, who appeared the only potentate capable of shielding him from his other enemies. The forensic disputes respecting the divorce still remained unsettled, and from the date above mentioned, Clement took his final part against the degradation of the Queen of England, who was an Austrian princess. But still, by ingenious delays and plausible formalities, he contrived to amuse Henry, whose power it was not his interest to treat with direct contempt. The patience of the English monarch,







however, was now completely worn out by these fruitless attempts at negotiation, and he redoubled his entreaties to the pope to comply with his demands. Clement, in order to show a willingness to acquiesce in the wishes of Henry, sent over Cardinal Campeggio, who, either separately or in conjunction with Wolsey, was empowered to hear and determine the matrimonial suit. The legate at first attempted to dissuade Henry from pursuing the divorce; but being unsuccessful with the monarch, he next tried to persuade Catherine to embrace a religious life, in in which he also failed. The popular feeling was against Henry, and he felt himself compelled to remove Anne Boleyn from court, where she had for some time resided. At a great council which he convoked, he declared that in prosecuting this matter he was solely actuated by a desire to know whether or not his only remaining child Mary was the rightful heir of the crown. On this occasion he made an appeal to the feelings and consciences of his hearers which affected them much; and the perplexities consequent upon the late proceedings afforded Campeggio an opportunity for putting off the decision of the question until he had obtained further instructions from Rome. Meanwhile Clement was seized with a dangerous illness, which retarded his answer and is said to have revived in the ambitious mind of Wolsey a hope which he had before indulged in, of obtaining possession of the tiara. This occurred in the spring of 1529; and although the pope recovered from his sickness, his legate contrived from time to time to postpone the trial. On the 31st of May, however, the court of Parliament met, and summoned the king and queen to meet on the 18th of June. The latter obeyed, but protested against the judges, and appealed to the pope. At the next session, on the refusal of the cardinals to admit the appeal, she rose, and in a calm and dignified manner threw herself at Henry's feet, imploring him in a truly eloquent address to desist from his intended purpose of re-

pudiating her. It made a profound impression on the audience, and touched even the cold heart of her husband. The legates carefully prolonged the trial until July, when a vacation from July to October took place, during which time all courts were bound to suspend their sittings; and, notwithstanding the importunities of the king, Campeggio contrived to get the suit removed to Rome. Agreeably to the instructions of Clement, Campeggio quitted England, and the pope summoned Henry to appear before him in forty days.

In these transactions Wolsey took no inconsiderable share, and the compliant manner in which he gave his consent to the suggestions of Campeggio excited the suspicions of the king that his minister was playing a double game with him. The symptoms of approaching disgrace now became too palpable to escape the notice of the cardinal; for all parties joined either openly or privately to destroy him who had so long enjoyed the favor of the king. It was a singular coincidence that the friends both of Queen Catherine and Anne Boleyn were employed as instruments of his overthrow. On the 9th of October, 1529, a prosecution was commenced against him for procuring bulls from Rome without the king's license. On the 17th of the same month the great seal was taken from him and given to Sir Thomas More. On the 1st of December the lords presented an address to the king, in which were embodied various articles of accusation against the cardinal; and notwithstanding that the more serious parts of the charge were refuted by his servant Thomas Cromwell, the court at last pronounced him to be beyond the protection of the law, and "that his lands, goods, and chattels were forfeited, and that his person was at the mercy of the king." Wolsey had confessed his offence against the statute of *præmunire*, of which he was technically guilty, inasmuch as he had received the bulls without a formal license. It is scarcely necessary to observe that the sentence pronounced was most unjust; for the bulls had been ob-



tained with the consent and for the service of his ungrateful master, under whose eye they had been executed for years, without a word being uttered as to the manner in which they had been obtained. But nothing could now save the cardinal. He was at once hurled from his place of pride and power, and fell, with his vast possessions, a helpless-victim into the hands of the king. But it would appear that, from habit, perhaps, Henry still cherished a feeling of partiality for his old favorite, and sent him from time to time tokens of his esteem and regard. In February, 1530, Wolsey was actually pardoned and restored to his see of Winchester, and to some other emoluments. Even the great diocese of York was shortly afterwards restored; but at the moment when he was making magnificent preparations for his installation on the archiepiscopal throne, he was arrested at Cawood on the charge of high treason. His health was infirm, and during his journey from York he was seized with a dysentery, which confined him for some time at the seat of Lord Shrewsbury. As soon as he was able he mounted his mule and resumed the journey. But his strength rapidly declined and he was compelled to take refuge in the abbey of Leicester, where he expired on the 30th of November, 1530, in the sixtieth year of his age.

After the death of Wolsey, the king, by the advice of his ministers, had the legality of his marriage debated in all the universities of Europe. By dint of money he succeeded in obtaining their votes in his favor, but not without a stubborn opposition. Backed by these judgments, Henry appealed to the pope; but Clement remained inflexible, and the king prepared to resist the papacy, though not yet to separate himself entirely from the church of Rome. In 1532 Cranmer was elevated to the Archbishopric of Canterbury; and early in the following year Henry privately married Anne, and thus himself determined the long debated topic. A few months afterwards he openly solemnized his marriage with Anne, who went in

state with him as queen. On the 23d of May Cranmer pronounced, not a divorce, but a sentence that the king's marriage with Catherine had been and was a nullity, because it had been contracted and consummated against the divine law; and not long afterwards he confirmed the marriage of the king with the Lady Anne, whose coronation was performed in the most gorgeous manner, on the 1st of June, 1533. The unfortunate Catherine, perceiving all further opposition to be vain, retired to Amptill, near Dunstable, where she remained for the rest of her days in privacy and peace.

The pope was no sooner informed of these proceedings, than he passed a sentence, declaring Catherine to be the king's only lawful wife; requiring him to take her again, and denouncing censures against him in the event of refusal. Henry, on the other hand, knowing that his subjects were entirely at his command, resolved to separate altogether from the church of Rome. In the year 1534 he was declared head of the church by Parliament; the authority of the pope was completely abolished in England; all tributes formerly payable to the holy see were declared illegal; and the king was intrusted with the collation to all ecclesiastical benefices. The nation readily entered into the king's measures, and took an oath, called the *oath of supremacy*; all the authority which the popes had maintained over England for ages was overthrown at a blow; and none seemed to repine at the change except those who, from their dependence upon Rome, were immediately interested.

But, though the king thus separated from the church of Rome, he by no means adhered to the doctrines of Luther, which had been lately promulgated. He had himself written a book against this celebrated reformer, which the pope pretended greatly to admire, and honored King Henry, on this account, with the title of Defender of the Faith. This character he seemed to be determined to maintain, and therefore persecuted the reformers most violently. Many

were burnt for denying the Catholic doctrines, and some also were executed for maintaining the supremacy of the pope. The courtiers knew not which side to take, both the new and old religions being equally persecuted; and as both parties equally courted the favor of the king, he was by that means enabled to assume an absolute authority over the nation.

The established clergy co-operated actively in the revolution which was in progress. Six bishops sanctioned by their vote every blow which was struck at the power of Rome; and fourteen abbots were usually present when the number of temporal peers who attended were somewhat more than forty.

The attention of the king was now turned to Elizabeth Boston, a nun in the priory of St. Sepulchre at Canterbury, who believed herself endowed with the power of working miracles, and foretelling future events. Several clergymen and other gentlemen of Kent believed in her mission; and some individuals of the highest order, both of intellect and piety, gave credit to her pretensions. She was subject to convulsions; and in the trances into which she frequently fell, visions of a marvellous nature were vouchsafed to her, which turned of course upon the extraordinary events taking place around her. She was tried and executed for high treason, and her abettors were arraigned on the same charge. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, was attainted by the act against this modern Pythia; but by a separate statute he was afterwards attainted of misprision of treason, for not having taken the oath to the succession. He was eminent for his learning and virtue, and probably his life would have been saved had not the pope sent him a cardinal's hat while in prison, which roused the jealousy of Henry. The remorseless tyrant ordered him to be executed, at the same time remarking, with his usual heartlessness, that the pope might send him a hat, but that Fisher should have no head to wear it. Another deed of blood was perpetrated a short

time afterwards, which alone is calculated to consign the name of Henry VIII. to the execration of all future times. Sir Thomas More, the first Englishman of his day, one who had exalted the nation in the eyes of Europe, and whose fame was universal, was tried and executed for misprision of treason, in not taking the oath to maintain the succession. The legal pretext, if there was any, for the accusation, was grounded on the obnoxious clause of a recent act, which made it treason "to do any thing by writing or act which was to the slander, disturbance, or prejudice of the marriage with the Lady Anne, or to the disherison or disturbance of the king's heirs by her." Both More and Fisher had abstained from either affirming or denying, first that Henry's marriage with Catherine was invalid; secondly, that his marriage with Anne was valid; and, thirdly, they refused to disclaim all foreign authority in the kingdom, spiritual authority included. After his condemnation Sir Thomas avowed that he had studied the question for seven years, and could not escape from the conclusion that the king's marriage with Catherine was valid. For this scrupulous conscientiousness he expired upon the scaffold on the 7th of July, 1535.

This wanton shedding of righteous blood excited the utmost indignation in foreign countries, particularly in Italy. Here Giovio, a historian, compared the tyranny of Henry to that almost preternatural wickedness which the Grecian legends had embodied under the appellation of Phalaris. Other individuals lashed the tyranny of the English monarch with the utmost rigor, and lamented, in strains of affecting eloquence, the fate of More, whom they designated the martyr of unshaken probity. Amongst the most eminent of these writers was Cardinal Pole, an Englishman, allied to the royal family.

Catherine, the former consort of Henry, expired at Kimbolton in the beginning of January, 1536, having died as she had lived, mild, forgiving and resigned. On her deathbed she wrote a most affectionate letter to



her husband, whose iron nerves were touched by the perusal of it. His less prudent queen had the levity to express her satisfaction at the event. But if she expected that it would in any way be conducive to her further happiness, and a more devoted attachment on the part of her husband, she was most miserably disappointed. She soon after gave birth to a still-born child, and her brutal lord is said to have reproached her upon the occasion for the loss of his boy. His desire for male issue, and his repeated disappointments, seem to have at last weaned the affections of the fickle monarch from the idol whom he had worshipped with so much devotedness and ardor. A new passion had kindled in his breast, the object of which was Jane Seymour, a young lady of the queen's bed-chamber, which office Anne herself had held in that of Catherine. The circumstances connected with the queen's arrest may be briefly stated. On May-day, 1536, a tilting match was held at Greenwich, in which her brother was the chief challenger, and Norris, groom of the stole, the opposing defendant. The queen having dropped her handkerchief, had it gallantly handed up to her by Norris, who was supposed to be her lover. The jealousy of the king burst out; he left the joust precipitately; and ere night his queen had passed through an examination, and was committed a prisoner. By the researches of Mr. Turner it has been discovered, that some days before the tournament certain individuals were appointed to inquire into the alleged misdeeds of Anne. The commission put their authority into execution upon the 10th of May, when a grand jury of Westminster was assembled. The charge against her was adultery, and its consequence in such a case, treason. Whether innocent or not, the unhappy Anne was deserted in her utmost need, and had not a friend to counsel her in this alarming emergency. On the day after the queen was committed to the Tower, Cranmer had written to the king, imploring the king's mercy towards her, "his life so late, and sole de-

light;" but in vain. The archbishop had been forbidden to approach the court until desired by the king. The subsequent proceedings were as rapid as they were terrible. On the 12th of May, Norris, Weston, Brereton and Smeaton were tried in Westminster Hall for the crime of high treason. Smeaton pleaded guilty to the charge; the others resisted, but were convicted. Three days afterwards the House of Lords assembled for the trial of the queen. She was without counsel, and attended only by her ladies. Anne defended herself with modesty and firmness, but, upon evidence of which no traces now remain, she was condemned to suffer death. On hearing the sentence of her judges, she raised up her hands and exclaimed, "O, Father and Creator! O, thou who art the way, the truth, and the life! Thou knowest that I have not deserved this death." It is difficult to reconcile such an ejaculation with a consciousness of guilt. She afterwards turned to her judges, and made a serious protestation of her innocence. On the 17th of May the other individuals who had been convicted were carried forth to execution. Smeaton, who had confessed to the guilt, probably from an erroneous impression that he would by this means save his life, was the last to suffer. Anne's brother Rochford was also tried and condemned on the same day with herself, and was executed with the others. The curtain dropped upon this horrible tragedy with the death of the queen, who was beheaded on the day after her supposed accomplices had suffered.

That Henry sacrificed his queen in a fit of vindictive resentment against her, who, he too rashly believed, had dishonored him, is all that can be urged in his favor. That he really believed her guilty, must also in common fairness be allowed. To think otherwise would be to attain his name with one of the most horrid enormities that ever disgraced the annals of crime. It seems very improbable that the violent attachment which he had all along entertained for her should have cooled so suddenly, and been

supplanted by such deadly hate, without supposing that some levities in the conduct of Queen Anne had fired his jealous soul, and roused him to demand her blood as an expiation for the guilt imputed to her. But he was not content with taking away her life under the charge of adultery and incest; he deprived her of the name and right of wife and queen, and bastardized the daughter which she had born him, even when he acknowledged that daughter to be his own. His contempt for her memory was displayed in a manner which could be believed of few other individuals. He dressed himself in white on the day of her execution, and actually married Jane Seymour next morning.

In bringing this tale of blood to a termination, we have unavoidably outrun several important events. When the news of Sir Thomas More's execution reached the court of Rome, a bull was prepared against Henry. In this extraordinary instrument were embodied all the offences of the English monarch against the papal see, and he was allowed ninety days, and his fautors and abettors sixty, to repent, and to appear at Rome either in person or by attorney. In case of default, he was to be excommunicated, and deprived of his crown; his children by Anne were to be rendered incapable of inheriting for several generations; his subjects were to be absolved from their allegiance to him; and all treaties and alliances between him and other powers were to be null and void. This thunderbolt, however, though forged for the purpose of punishing the king's apostacy, it was resolved should be suppressed for a time, and lodged in the papal armory until a more favorable opportunity should occur for launching it at the royal culprit. The election of Henry as supreme head of the church we have already noticed, and also some of the events which followed his assumption of that presumptuous title. Henry, however, at first assumed it with wariness, and the language in which the statute is couched shows that his supremacy might

be reconciled with the papal authority, if the jurisdiction of that power were only of a spiritual nature. But by the statutes of later years, the revolution in church government had been consummated in England. The ancient doctrine of the Roman Catholic faith was acknowledged; but the king was placed as a sort of lay patriarch at the head of the ecclesiastical establishment. Thomas Cromwell, who had now become Henry's chief minister, was at this time raised to the new office of the king's vicegerent, and empowered to send commissioners into the several counties of England to inspect the monasteries, and to report, with rigorous exactness, the conduct and department of such as were found there. This appointment, which had been made between the Parliaments of 1536 and 1539, was confirmed by the recognition of the latter; and it was provided that the vicegerent should take his seat in the House of Peers before the Archbishop of Canterbury, and be ranked above all temporal lords, except some branches of the royal family. The first experiment which Cromwell made of his unlimited power was the gradual suppression of the various classes of religious houses, and the seizure of their possessions, at that time amounting to a large proportion of the landed property of the kingdom. This seizure of vested territorial possessions was, in a legal point of view, direct spoliation. But it was urged, on the other hand, that from the immorality, ignorance, and indolence in which those who enjoyed them indulged, they had forfeited their right, and might lawfully be deprived of these. By the inspectors of the religious houses, the public were informed of the existence of monstrous disorders in these communities. In 1536 the lesser monasteries were suppressed, amounting to nearly four hundred. Their revenues, computed at £30,000 per annum, were confiscated to the king's use, besides their plate and other goods, estimated at £100,000 more. The confiscation, however, was most unpopular, especially in those places where the ancient



faith retained most sway, and occasional revolts broke out. Such a sweeping calamity must have brought ruin upon many innocent and even worthy and deserving persons. The spectacle of individuals, invested with the most sacred of all functions, expelled from their only habitations, where they had probably grown old, and were now unfit for bodily toil, was calculated to awaken feelings of sympathy for the sufferers, and probably of detestation for those who had driven them forth to perish in the wilderness. A disturbance broke out in Lincolnshire, where the first visitation of religious houses took place. But in the north a more serious affair, amounting to an insurrection, occurred. Between the Humber and the Tweed the people had rushed to arms, and they were joined by the inhabitants of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and a portion of Lancashire. This formidable body was led into the field by Robert Ask, a man of Yorkshire, and was preceded by priests bearing banners emblazoned with paintings of the sufferings of Christ. Several important towns fell into their hands; but the king met them with a superior force, which arrested their progress. They, however, succeeded in obtaining a general pardon, and then dispersed.

A second visitation of the monasteries took place shortly afterwards. Various circumstances had occurred to exasperate Henry against the Catholic clergy; and the alarming revolts, at which priests had presided, and principally incited the people by their inflammatory addresses, were of a nature to inflame such a combustible temper as his. In this second spoliation, the richest and most revered shrines were pillaged and destroyed, and the sacred relics, objects of so much superstitious veneration, were held up to the derision of the public. Various historians have enumerated a great number of these, and some of them are certainly calculated to excite surprise at the depth of that superstitious feeling which could induce a people to believe that the felt of St. Thomas of Lancaster, or the shirt of St. Thomas of

Canterbury, were infallible recipes for certain disorders. On this occasion the shrine of the latter saint was demolished, and the wealth which it yielded was enormous. These shrines were pillaged, on the allegation, too often true, that they were the scenes of imposture, where miracles were pretended to be wrought. The king, in the whole, suppressed upwards of six hundred monasteries above two thousand chantries and free chapels and about two hundred colleges and hospitals. The confiscation was closed by a statute passed in 1539, which provided that "all monasteries and other religious houses, dissolved, suppressed, surrendered, renounced, relinquished, forfeited, or by any means come to his highness, shall be vested in him, his heirs and successors, for ever." It must be owned, that although great abuses may have been detected, revenue not reformation, plunder not punishment, were the objects which the visitors had in view.

Henry had now so far separated himself from the communion of Rome, that it became in some measure necessary for him to form a new creed. The clergy were divided into two factions, denominated the men of the old and the new learning. The chief of the former was Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who was supported by Lee, Archbishop of York; Stokesly, Bishop of London, Tunstall of Durham, and Clarke, of Bath and Wells. The latter acknowledged as leaders, Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, Haxton of Sarum, Latimer of Worcester, and Fox of Hereford. These could depend on the powerful interest of Cromwell, the vicar-general, and of Audley, the lord chancellor; those on that of the Duke of Norfolk, and of Wriothesley the premier-secretary. Various long debates took place upon the new creed, but it was neither completed nor sufficiently fenced round with suitable penalties, till an act was passed by the parliament, which sat in April, 1539, entitled "an act for abolishing diversity of opinions." This convocation was opened by the chancellor informing the House of Lords that it was his majesty's earnest desire to extirpate

from his kingdom all diversity of opinions with regard to religion ; and as this enterprise was, he owned, difficult and important, he desired them to chose a committee from among themselves, who might frame certain articles, and communicate these afterwards to Parliament. The lords named the vicar-general, Cromwell, now created a peer ; the Archbishops of Canterbury and York ; and the Bishops of Durham, Carlisle, Worcester, Bath and Wells, Bangor, and Ely. But this small committee itself was agitated with such diversity of opinions that it could come to no conclusion. The Duke of Norfolk then moved, that since there was no hope of having a report from the committee, the articles of faith proposed to be established should be reduced to six, and a new committee be appointed to frame an act respecting them. As this peer was understood to speak the king's mind, his motion was immediately complied with ; and, after a short prorogation, the bill of the six articles was introduced, and, having passed the two houses, received the king's assent. By this law the doctrine of the real presence was established, the communion in one kind, the perpetual obligation of vows of chastity, the utility of private masses, the celibacy of the clergy, and lastly, the necessity of auricular confession. The denial of the real presence was punishable with death by fire, and the same forfeiture as in cases of treason, and admitted not the privilege of abjuring ; an unheard of cruelty, unknown even to the inquisition itself. The denial of any of the other articles, even though afterward recanted, was punishable by the forfeiture of goods and chattels, and imprisonment during the king's pleasure. An obstinate adherence to error, or a relapse, was adjudged to be felony, and subjected the delinquent to death. The marriage of priests was punished in the same manner. Their commerce with women was, for the first offence, forfeiture and imprisonment ; and for the second, death. Abstaining from confession and from receiving the eucharist at the accustomed times, subject-

ed the person to fine, and to imprisonment during the king's pleasure ; and if the criminal persevered after conviction, he was to suffer death and forfeiture, as in cases of felony. Commissioners were to be appointed by the king for inquiring into these heresies and irregular practices, and the criminals were to be tried by a jury.

Henry had now been a widower for above two years. In 1537, Jane Seymour, his third queen, had borne him a son, afterwards Edward VI. ; but she herself expired in less than a fortnight afterwards. The king afterwards made proposals of marriage to several foreign princesses, and others, without success. Under these repeated disappointments, he readily listened to the suggestions of Cromwell, who proposed to him Anne, sister of the Duke of Cleves, a considerable prince on the Lower Rhine, who had lately established Lutheranism in his principality. This choice showed the leaning of his secretary's mind and the progress of men in general towards reformation. Henry had seen a painting by Holbein of this lady. The artist had invested her with fictitious charms, which captivated the sensual monarch, and inspired him with such eagerness to behold her, that he proceeded to Dover, where she was to disembark, his mind no doubt swelling with pleasing anticipations. But he was miserably disappointed, and could not conceal his chagrin. She was indeed of the standard dimensions, being large and tall as his heart could desire ; for stature had now become an indispensable qualification in the individual who should aspire to gain the affections of the King of England. Without entering into the disgusting particulars connected with his marriage with Anne of Cleves, it is sufficient to state that the nuptials were solemnized, and that the lady was treated, not as a wife, but as a friend. The distress of Henry was great, and at last drew the attention of the House of Lords to the subject on the 6th of July, 1540. These obsequious peers entreated him to make inquiry into the validity of his marriage with the Lady Anne of Cleves ; and



the Commons having concurred with them, the king granted their prayer. Of course this drama was all arranged, and the characters cast some days before the meeting of Parliament. The convocation appointed to examine into the matter declared the marriage to be null by the consent of Lady Anne herself which was insured by the grant of an income of £3000 annually; and the lady, it would appear, lived comfortably on her annuity for sixteen years in England. The bill for the nullity was passed by both houses, and received the royal assent on the 24th of July, 1540. About a fortnight afterwards the king married his fourth wife, Catherine Howard, niece to the Duke of Norfolk. But let us look back upon the fate of Cromwell, who was instrumental in procuring the former union. It was indispensably necessary that the revolutions which took place in Henry VIII.'s palace and bed should in some way or another be marked with blood.

The arrest, condemnation, and execution of Cromwell, is another of those cruel and tyrannical measures which have entailed accumulated odium upon the name of Henry VIII. A bill to attain the vicar-general of high treason was brought into parliament in June, 1540; and before the end of the month it had passed through both houses. He was charged with heresy because he had favored the new doctrines, and with treason because he had performed several acts of royal authority without the warrant of the king. Cromwell was condemned unheard, and executed in about a month afterwards. This was an act of gross injustice, but it was far from being unpopular. The nobility were glad to be rid of an individual who had raised himself from the shop of a fuller to the highest offices of state; and the Roman Catholic party, who were the most numerous, and had regained much of their ascendancy, rejoiced at the fall of one who was the active conductor of that system of confiscation which struck such a blow at their power in England. In that business he certainly must have connived at much rapine

and robbery, which it was out of his power to prevent. He has also been charged with Macchiavellian policy; but there is no satisfactory evidence that he was unfaithful to his sovereign.

At this period the act of the six articles was in the fullest vigor of its cruelty; and many iniquitous executions took place. One of the most horrid of these was that of Courtney, Marquis of Exeter, with Lord Montague and Sir Edward Nevil. They were descended from Edward IV., and this seems to have constituted their only crime. Towards the close of 1538, they were first arrested and committed to the Tower; and shortly afterwards the Countess Margaret, the mother of the Poles, was also taken into custody. Exeter was charged with the offence of having conspired to raise Reginald Pole to the throne. This individual, best known as a cardinal, was the son of the above-named lady, who was daughter of the Duke of Clarence. Her son's life was principally passed in Italy, where he was much celebrated for his talents; and Henry appears to have been proud of him, for he munificently discharged his expenses. Their friendship, however, terminated with the king's divorce from Catherine, which the English monarch vainly besought Pole to sanction. The revenge of Henry, who seems now to have thought that without the shedding of blood there could be no remission of offences, fell upon the mother of the cardinal, and the last of the Plantagenets. She was attainted of high treason, and sent to prison as above noticed. The noblemen committed about the same time were soon afterwards executed; but the lady lingered two years in confinement, and was at last conducted to the scaffold on the 27th of May, 1541, where, to complete the horror of the transaction, from mismanagement on the part of the executioner, her neck was horribly mangled, and her grey hairs, clotted with blood, fell dishevelled over her face ere the bloody act was consummated.

To return to the domestic affairs of Henry, he had not been many months married to

Catherine Howard before he received such information of her dissolute life before marriage as induced him to suspect that she might still continue it, and to cause a rigid inquiry to be made into her conduct. There was no doubt as to her vices previously to her union with the king; and some acts of infidelity after it were also brought home to her, but the details are too disgusting for human feelings. Cranmer was one of the individuals employed to communicate information to the king; and although there is no evidence that he was ever guilty of a malicious or vindictive act, yet he sometimes wanted the courage to resist crimes; and the slavish manner in which he, along with the rest of the ministers and parliament in general, bowed to the despotic will of the king, cannot be extenuated.

Two of Catherine's paramours were arrested, and confessed their crimes; and the queen herself acknowledged her guilt previously to the marriage, but denied having committed any act of infidelity subsequently thereto. This, however, was not believed; and on the 14th of February 1542, she was executed in the Tower, along with Lady Rochford, who in some way or another was implicated as an accomplice in the guilt of the queen.

To attain without trial had now become fashionable; but to punish with death that which was not made criminal by any former statute, was altogether new. To countenance such severities as those which had lately taken place, it was enacted in the very bill of attainder, that every woman about to be married to the king or his successors, not being a maid, should disclose her unchastity to him, under the penalty of treason; that any person knowing the fact and not disclosing it, should be subject to the lesser penalty of imprisonment of treason; and that the commission of adultery by the queen or wife of the prince should be punishable with death.

These laws afforded some amusement to the people, who now said that the king must look out for a widow, as no reputed maid would be disposed to offer herself whilst

such a dreadful statute was suspended over her head. This in reality took place, for on the 10th of July, 1543, Henry espoused Catherine Parr, the widow of Lord Latimer, and a lady of mature age. She had read Lutheran books, and was inclined to support the doctrines of the reformers. She even went so far as to enter into controversy with her imperious lord, who valued himself not a little on his theological knowledge. He ordered Wriothsley and Gardiner to give orders for her imprisonment, and to prepare articles of impeachment against her. The third Catherine had very nearly been honored with a place upon the list of victims which were sacrificed by this Blue Beard of the West, but she evaded the blow by her ingenuity and tact. During the remainder of her life, however, she never again ventured to provoke the vengeance of the royal polemic.

As head of the church, the attention of the king was now principally turned to the management of its affairs. He enforced an observance of the six articles both by Protestants and Catholics, and any deviation from them was punished with tyrannical severity. He was very impartial in his distribution of what he called justice; and it was not uncommon for individuals professing opposite faiths to perish at the same stake. The Christian of those days had a difficult part to perform; for whilst the king renounced in one respect the authority of the pope, he acknowledged it in another by his adherence to the doctrine of the church of Rome; so that it frequently happened that those who were against the head of it were burned, and those who were for him were hanged. In connection with church affairs, Henry effected a further dissolution of colleges, hospitals, and other foundations of that nature, with the spoils of which he enriched his treasury. He also extorted from many bishops a surrender of their chapter lands, and in this manner he succeeded in pillaging the sees of Canterbury, of York, and of London. Amongst the religious orders suppressed was that of the



Knights of Malta, or, more properly, St. John of Jerusalem. They obstinately refused to surrender along with the other monasteries who laid their rights at the feet of the king, and he was compelled to have recourse to Parliament for the purpose of obtaining its authority for dissolving the order, which was very rich and whose spoil was therefore precious in his sight.

But to return to the political affairs of the nation; in the beginning of the year 1543 Henry renewed his friendship with the Emperor, which had been suspended by the divorce question. They concluded an alliance against Francis; and on the 14th of July, 1544, Henry crossed the seas in a ship furnished with sails of cloth of gold. The principal event of this war was the surrender of Boulogne, into which the English monarch made a triumphant entry on the 18th of September. But he shortly afterwards returned to England. On the 7th of June, 1546, hostilities were concluded by a treaty, of which the principal stipulation was, that within eight years Henry should receive two millions of crowns, with arrears and costs, which are enumerated; and on payment of these sums, Boulogne and its dependencies were to be restored to Francis. Henry's warlike propensities were also exercised in reference to Scotland and Ireland; but peace was finally restored after both countries had suffered considerably, especially the former. These wars, however, exhausted the treasury of the English monarch. He was compelled to extort money from Parliament in his usual manner, and also to depreciate the coinage of the realm, which he had not scrupled to do before.

The cruelty of Henry continued conspicuous to the very close of his life. Disease made dreadful ravages upon his worn-out and unwieldy frame, so that he had to be moved from place to place by machines contrived for the purpose; yet even these unequivocal tokens of approaching dissolution had no effect in subduing the vindictive spirit or humanizing the mind of the sufferer. It was in this pitiable state that he perpetrated an act

which has become memorable from the fame of the illustrious victim. This was the execution of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, so justly renowned for his poetical genius. There had for some time existed a spirit of rivalry between the Seymours and the house of Howard. The Duke of Norfolk was indignant at the ascendancy of the former in the royal favor; and his son, the Earl of Surrey, could not forgive the Earl of Hertford, a member of the other family, for having superseded him in the command of the garrison of Boulogne; he had also been heard to predict that the time of revenge was not far distant. The house of Howard alone stood in the way of the Seymours in the pursuit of their aggrandisement under the approaching minority; and they accordingly employed every means of drawing down the vengeance of the king upon their heads. Norfolk and Surrey were accordingly committed to the Tower on the 12th of December, 1546. Surrey was tried on the 13th of January following, on a charge of having quartered on his shield the arms of Edward the Confessor. He vainly defended himself with his usual eloquence and spirit, and showed that he had worn the arms fourteen years without giving offence, and that they had been assigned to him by a decision of the heralds. But the fact being admitted, it was taken as sufficient evidence that he aspired to the throne, and the jury condemned him to suffer death. About a week after the sentence was pronounced, this gallant and accomplished nobleman expired upon the scaffold. His father was also tried and condemned to perish in the same manner on the 29th of January. But on the morning of the 28th the spirit of Henry VIII. followed that of Surrey to the judgment seat; and Norfolk after remaining in prison for several years, was at length set at liberty.

Henry was succeeded by his only son Edward, a boy of nine years of age. He was proclaimed king of England on the 31st of January 1547, and crowned in the month following. The most remarkable transactions of his reign are those connected with religion.

The restraint which Henry VIII. had laid upon the Protestants was now taken off ; and they not only maintained their doctrines openly, but soon became the prevailing party. Henry had fixed the majority of his son at eighteen years of age ; and, in the mean time, appointed sixteen executors of his will, to whom, during the minority, he entrusted the government of the king and kingdom. But the first act of the executors was to chose the Earl of Hertford, afterwards Duke of Somerset, protector of the realm ; and in him was lodged all the regal power, together with a privilege of naming his own privy council.

The Duke of Somerset had long been numbered amongst the secret partisans of the reformers ; and, immediately on his elevation to his high dignity, he began to express his intention of reforming the abuses of the ancient religion. Under his direction and that of Cranmer, therefore, the reformation was vigorously carried forward ; persecutions under the act of the six articles ceased, prisoners were released, and exiles were recalled. Homilies were composed by Cranmer, and ordered to be read by parish priests to their congregations. Visitors were appointed to inspect ecclesiastical establishments, and see that four sermons were yearly preached against the papal authority ; that the worship of images should be denounced, and those which were the objects of pilgrimages and offerings should be destroyed ; that the English Bible, with Erasmus's commentary on the gospels, should be placed in every church for the use of the people ; together with many other points, which, without being very important in themselves, were calculated to assure the people that the government was no longer neutral in matters of religion. The principal person who opposed these innovations was Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester ; a man of great learning, abilities, and resolution, but one of Henry's devoted agents in the suit for a divorce from Catherine, his first queen. He made a manly and becoming resistance to these injunctions,

from principles of civil liberty, as much as of ecclesiastical discipline. To the disgrace of their own principles, the reformers now displayed as virulent a spirit of persecution as the Catholics had formerly done. Gardiner was committed to the Fleet prison, where he was treated with great severity. He was afterwards sent to the Tower ; and having continued there two years, he was commanded to subscribe several articles, amongst which was one confessing the justice of his own imprisonment. To all the articles but this he agreed to subscribe ; but that did not give satisfaction. He was then committed to close custody ; his books and papers were seized ; all company was denied him ; and he was not even permitted the use of writing materials. Bonner of London, more violent and more subservient, escaped protracted imprisonment by obsequious submission. Several bishops also screened themselves by sacrificing a considerable share of their revenues ; others were deprived of their offices ; and Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, an eminent prelate, was ejected from the privy council, in order to impress on the people by a strong example, the disinclination of the protector to the ancient faith. In November, 1547, a parliament was assembled, in which several bills were passed to promote and enlarge the reformation. The communion was appointed to be received in both kinds by the laity as well as by the clergy, without condemning the usages of other churches. Bishops were to be nominated by the king, and process was to run in the king's name in ecclesiastical courts. The statutes against the Lollards were repealed, as well as all the acts of Henry VIII. upon religious matters, excepting those directed against the supremacy of the pope ; and other acts relating to civil affairs were also abrogated. In the next session uniformity in public worship was established, in which the use of the book of common prayer, as prepared by the primate and his brethren, was enjoined. This composition is the foundation of that which, having undergone various alterations in subse-



quent reigns, continues in use at the present day. By one law the observance of fast days and of Lent was enjoined under penalties; and by another the English clergy were emancipated from compulsory celibacy.

The rest of this reign presents little but the history of the intrigues and cabals of courtiers. There was a war with Scotland, which began with injustice and was conducted with inhumanity. Insurrections also took place in Ireland, where the reformation made no progress. The protector was first opposed by his own brother Admiral Sir Thomas Seymour, who had married Catherine Parr, the late king's widow. She died soon after the marriage; and the widower is said to have then paid his addresses to the Princess Elizabeth. His brother the Duke, who was at that time in the north, being informed of his ambitious projects, speedily returned, had him attainted of high treason, and at last condemned and executed. The Duke of Somerset himself, however, became unpopular, and a powerful confederacy was formed against him, at the head of which was Dudley, Earl of Warwick. This nobleman succeeded in overthrowing the power of the protector, and getting him committed to prison on the 13th of October, 1549, whilst he himself was installed in the office of lord high admiral. In the month of February following, Somerset was released upon payment of a fine and ransom; but towards the end of 1551 he was again sent to the Tower, tried for high treason and felony, and condemned. He was acquitted of the first charge, but not of the second, as he ought to have been. He suffered upon the scaffold on the 22d of January, 1552. Warwick, now Duke of Northumberland, had thus the reins of government entirely at his own disposal. Not satisfied with the office of protector, he aimed at altering the succession, and placing the crown upon the head of his son. He represented to Edward, who was now in a declining state of health, that his sisters Mary and Elizabeth, who were appointed by Henry's will to succeed to the

crown, in failure of direct heirs, had both been declared illegitimate by Parliament; that the Queen of Scots, his aunt, stood excluded by the king's will; and being also an alien, lost all right of succeeding. The three princesses being thus excluded, the succession naturally devolved upon the Marchioness of Dorset, eldest daughter of the French queen, Henry's sister, who had married the Earl of Suffolk after her first husband's death. The next heir to the Marchioness was Lady Jane Grey, the wife of Northumberland's fourth son, Lord Guildford Dudley. The king, who was accustomed to submit to the politic views of this minister, agreed to have the succession altered, and sketched with his own hand a draft of the new destination of the crown, which was submitted to a council. The judges, however, were far from acquiescing in the proposal contained in this instrument; and they hesitated to sign it, because it would subject those who had drawn and those who had advised it to the penalties of treason. Their hesitation excited the rage of Northumberland, who threatened them with his authority, and, pronouncing them traitors, declared that he would fight in his shirt with any man in so just a cause as that of Lady Jane's succession. A new paper was drawn up, by which the judges were screened from any consequences which might have resulted from their signing of it. By the new patent for changing the succession, the princesses Mary and Elizabeth were set aside, and the crown settled upon the heirs of the Duchess of Suffolk, who was contented to forego her own claim.

For some time the king had languished under a pulmonary complaint, and symptoms of an advanced stage of consumption began to make their appearance. After the settlement of the crown, his health visibly declined every day, and little hopes were entertained of his recovery. The deathbed devotions of Edward bear testimony to his love for his subjects, and his zeal for what he believed to be the purest form of Christianity. "O Lord, save thy chosen people of England, defend

this realm from papistry, and maintain thy true religion." Such is a specimen of the supplications which this pious and short-lived prince breathed forth. On the 6th of July, 1552, Edward, being then in the sixteenth year of his age and seventh of his reign, breathed his last. Whilst he filled the throne of England, no Roman Catholic had suffered death on account of his religion. By his gentleness and docility he was indisposed to shed blood, and, on the whole, his reign was more free from religious persecution than any administration of the same length, in any great country of Europe, since the rise of protestantism. In abilities he was equal, probably superior, to most boys of his years; but the flattering praises lavished upon him by his panegyrists are to be received with abatements. It was his dying wish that Lady Jane Grey, the companion of his infancy, should be his successor.

The death of Edward was carefully concealed for two days; but on the 8th of July the event was communicated to the ambassadors, and the civic functionaries of London were ordered to make preparations for the coronation of Lady Jane Grey. The intelligence was transmitted to Mary by her friends at court, and on the 9th she wrote a letter to the privy council, expostulating with them upon their conduct; and, solemnly affirming her right, she tendered a pardon to them if they would order her immediate proclamation. The council, however, adhered to the interests of Jane, and both parties prepared to decide the contest by an appeal to arms.

When Edward's death, and her own elevation to the throne, were announced to Lady Jane, she was thrown into a state of great agitation. She urged the preferable claim of the princesses to inherit; but being pressed by the authority of the judges, she at length consented to accept of the royal dignity. She suffered herself to be conveyed to the Tower, and on the same day the heralds proclaimed the death of Edward and the succession of Jane. Mary was also pro-

claimed at Norwich, and it is somewhat singular that the populace took no interest in either of the proclamations. No shouts of applause or outward demonstrations of joy followed the announcement of the choice of a new sovereign. Northumberland was unpopular, a great part of the Protestants cooperated with the Catholic partisans of Mary, who were numerous and powerful; and the protector, by his supineness, allowed them to assemble in great force at Framlingham Castle, in Suffolk, where the princess had fixed her residence. Northumberland became alarmed, and although he had assembled a considerable army, his heart failed him when he saw the demonstrations which were made by the people in favor of Mary. He had taken the field in person, which was a fatal step; for his absence afforded an opportunity to the adherents of Mary who were in the council to make arrangements for exalting her to the royal dignity. It is sufficient to observe that they effected their purpose. Mary was proclaimed, and Jane, after a ten days' reign, resigned the crown with a great deal more satisfaction than she had accepted of it. Northumberland had been compelled to proclaim Mary at Cambridge; but this did not prevent him from being led a prisoner to the Tower, which had lately been his palace.

Mary, accompanied by her sister Elizabeth, made her triumphal entry into London on the 3d of August, 1553. Her attentions were first turned towards those who had suffered in her cause. She released several prisoners from the Tower, amongst whom were the aged Duke of Norfolk, and her kinsman Edward Courtenay, whom she soon afterward created Earl of Devonshire. On the 18th of August the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquis of Northampton, and the Earl of Warwick, were tried for high treason; and on the following day Sir John Gates, Sir Henry Gates, Sir Andrew Dudley, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were tried for the same offence. Of the culprits who were condemned, three were selected for execution, Northum-



berland, Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, who suffered upon the scaffold on the 22d of August.

The mind of Mary now became solicitous about the affairs of religion. All the deprived Catholic bishops were restored. The acknowledged abilities of Gardiner soon raised him to the post of prime minister. He early received the custody of the seals, and not long afterwards he was appointed chancellor. The Protestant bishops, in the eyes of their Roman Catholic brethren, had incurred deprivation by marriage, or still more severe penalties by preaching heresy. On the 2d of September, Cranmer was committed to the Tower, and on the 13th Latimer followed him into the same captivity. The latter, in point of moral heroism, was the antipodes of Cranmer, who was gentle and kind, timid and pliant. Latimer was brave, sincere, and inflexible. As he passed through Smithfield on his way to the Tower, he remarked, "Smithfield has long groaned for me." By an early proclamation Mary had declared that "she could not hide her religion, but that she mindeth not to compel any of her said subjects thereunto, until such time as a farther order by common consent shall be taken therein." The "farther order" did take place, although not in accordance with "common consent." On the 5th of October, 1553, parliament assembled, and, in a session of nineteen days, passed only three acts; one for the abolition of all the treasons and felonies of Henry VIII.; another for the restoration in blood of Gertrude, Marchioness of Exeter; and a third for the like restitution of that lady's son, Edward Courtenay, now Earl of Devonshire. But on the 24th of the same month, several important acts were passed, by which the road was paved for the re-introduction of the Roman Catholic faith as the creed sanctioned by royalty. By these acts Henry's divorce was declared void, and his first marriage pronounced valid; so that the claim of Elizabeth, on whom the Protestants had fixed their eyes with anxious hope, was virtually set aside. But the

progress of the revolution in religious matters was slow; and before the perfect re-union with the Church of Rome was consummated, several events of considerable importance took place. Mary having been crowned at Westminster with the usual solemnity on the last day of September, 1553, it now became the interest of the Catholic party to obtain a suitable marriage for her. Of natives only two were proposed to her choice, both descended from the house of York; these were Cardinal Pole, and Edward Courtenay, the individual whom she had released from confinement. But the Emperor Charles having heard of Mary's intention to choose a husband, proposed his son Don Philip. This Spanish match was so broad and decisive a step towards Rome, that the House of Commons took the alarm, and presented an address to the queen, in order to dissuade her from her purpose. She returned a haughty answer; and on the 30th of October, having conducted the imperial minister into her private oratory, she there solemnly called God to witness that she plighted her troth to Philip, Prince of Castille. To obviate all clamor, the articles of marriage were drawn up as favorably as possible for the interests of England. It was agreed that though Philip should have the title of king, the administration should be entirely in the queen; that no foreigner should be capable of holding any office in the kingdom, nor should any innovation be made in the laws, the customs, and the privileges of the people; and that Philip should not carry the queen abroad without her consent, or any of her children without the consent of the nobility. Sixty thousand pounds a year were to be settled upon her as a jointure, and the male issue of this marriage were to inherit Burgundy and the Low Countries as well as the crown of England, and in the event of the death of Don Carlos, Philip's son by his former marriage, without any heir, the queen's issue were also to inherit the rest of the Spanish dominions.

All these concessions, however, were not

sufficient to quiet the apprehensions of the people. They were considered merely as words of course, which might be retracted at pleasure; and the nation murmured loudly against a transaction so dangerous to its ancient liberty and independence. The Duke of Suffolk, a zealous Protestant, attempted to excite his tenants in Warwickshire to revolt; but with little success. His followers were routed by Lord Huntingdon, and he himself was betrayed into the hands of his enemies. An insurrection was also raised by Sir Thomas Wyatt, a Roman Catholic, at the head of four thousand men, who set out from Kent to London, publishing a declaration against the Spanish match and the queen's evil counsellors. Having advanced as far as Southwark, he required that the queen should put the Tower of London into his hands; that she should deliver four counsellors as hostages; and that, in order to ensure the liberty of the nation, she should marry an Englishman. But his force was still by far too inconsiderable to support such magnificent pretensions, although it was afterwards augmented to fifteen thousand men; and he unluckily wasted so much time without attempting any thing of importance, that the popular ferment entirely subsided, his followers gradually abandoned him, and he was at last obliged to surrender himself near Temple-Bar to Sir Maurice Berkeley, who committed him to the Tower, where, in a short time, he was joined by the chief of the surviving conspirators. The nobility and gentry immediately repaired to St. James's to congratulate the queen on the suppression of the rebellion. But two were excepted; Courtenay, Duke of Devonshire, and the young Earl of Worcester, who, on the first approach of the enemy had turned their horses' heads and fled. On the 3d of November, 1553, Lord Guildford Dudley and Lady Jane Grey had been convicted of high treason. Lady Jane and her husband were both only in their seventeenth year, and no time was fixed upon for their execution; but the revolt of Suffolk, Lady Jane's father, proved an incentive

sufficiently strong to prevail over the slender pity of bigots and politicians, and the sacrifice was consummated.

On the 8th of February, Mary signed a warrant for their execution, and on the 12th of the same month it was put in force. Lord Guildford Dudley had requested an interview with his beloved wife, who, however, declined the meeting, justly fearing that it might unfit them for the dreadful scene through which they were about to pass. She saw him issue through the gate of the Tower to the scaffold; and soon afterwards, in chancing to look from the same window, she saw the bloody carcass, half covered in the vehicle which bore it back from the place where vengeance and injustice, disguised under the name of law, had done their worst. Lord Dudley was beheaded on Tower-Hill; but his wife, on account of her royal descent, was spared the ignominy of a public execution. Lady Jane Grey is celebrated as exhibiting a matchless union of beauty with genius, and learning with virtue and piety. She astonished the learned of Europe by her talents and accomplishments, and will be recognized by all posterity as one of the purest and most amiable of historical characters. Were Mary chargeable with no other atrocity than that of putting Lady Jane to death for the crime of a father, it were quite sufficient to cover her memory with irremovable degradation. Suffolk, her father, perished in the same manner a few days afterwards. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was tried, but the defence which he made was found so good in law, that the jury acquitted him. Above sixty others of the conspirators were condemned to the block, amongst whom were Lord Thomas Grey the brother of Suffolk, and Wyatt the principal mover of the rebellion.

This revolt had very nearly proved fatal to the Princess Elizabeth, who for some time had experienced harsh treatment at the hands of her sister. Mary, upon whom the mantle of Henry VIII. had descended, felt antipathy to her on account of the quarre



between their mothers. This circumstance, in the mind of one whose tender mercies were cruel, was sufficient to change the milk of sisterly affection into mortal venom; and a favorable opportunity was only necessary to make her feel its deadly effects. Nearly a month was spent in laboring to extract information against Elizabeth from Wyatt whilst he lay in prison. But the unfortunate gentleman honorably acquitted her, although he might, in all probability, have saved his own life by implicating her in the late rebellion. At Ashridge, whither she had retired to escape the constrained participation in a worship which she disapproved, overtures had been made to her by the chiefs of the revolvers; but her acceptance or consent was neither shown nor seriously alleged. Immediately after Wyatt's discomfiture, she was conducted to London in a very infirm state of health. It was doubted whether she would reach her destination alive; but youth and strength triumphed over the malady with which she was affected. Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire was also arrested, and committed to the Tower. Two councils were held on the fate of Elizabeth, and the judges were divided in their opinions as to her guilt. Gardiner, although he professed to think Elizabeth deserving of death, yet considered her confinement at Ashridge, and Courtenay's residence at St. James's, as irreconcilable with a just conviction of treason. The head and front of her offending seems to have been misprision, or concealment of projects of revolt, which was now not a capital crime. It was fortunate for Elizabeth that one of the first measures of her sister, when she ascended the throne, was to sweep away the odious heap of treasons raised up by her father, and the punishment of misprision with death was one of them. But Elizabeth, although absolved from a capital charge, was nevertheless committed to the Tower; and shortly afterwards she was put under the charge of Sir Henry Bedingfield, keeper of Woodstock. During her stay in the Tower, the princess had no

other expectation than that of mounting the scaffold which had been trodden long before by her unhappy mother, at her father's stern behest, and on which the blood of Lady Jane Grey, the purest of the pure, was scarcely dry. When Bedingfield came with his soldiers to conduct her to Woodstock, she asked, with her usual quickness and poignancy, "Is the scaffold of Lady Jane taken away?" A few days later, Courtenay was transferred from the Tower to Fotheringay Castle.

The rebellion had suspended for some weeks the proceedings relative to the queen's marriage. But in the beginning of March the English ambassador returned from the Continent with the ratification of the treaty; and Philip landed at Southampton on the 19th of July, 1554, attended by a magnificent train of Spanish grandees and Burgundian lords. The marriage between him and Mary was solemnized by Gardiner in his cathedral at Winchester, before crowds of noblemen from all parts of Christendom, and with a pomp and splendor seldom surpassed. Philip was then in the twenty-ninth year of his age, and Mary in her thirty-eighth year. The countenance and form of the prince were far from being disagreeable; but the stately reserve of his Spanish manners was not calculated to lessen the repugnance of the English people to the union.

Soon after her marriage, Mary resolved to restore the religious polity of the kingdom to that state in which it had existed at the time of her birth. Accordingly, on the 12th of November a parliament was holden for this purpose, and a bill passed both houses "for the restitution in blood of the Lord Cardinal Pole." But a difficulty arose regarding the abbey lands; for it was feared that those who possessed them in spite of the indelible claims of the church might be called before the tribunal of the pious cardinal. However, on the 20th of November, Pole arrived at Dover, armed apparently with ample powers to do every thing necessary for the reconciliation of England with the church of Rome; and amongst these was full

authority to do with the abbey lands as he thought fit. Nine days after his arrival, he made an oration to the two houses, exhorting them to return to the bosom of the universal church, at the same time absolving the kingdom from the papal interdict. The request was formally acceded to, and Pole was enabled to announce to the pontiff the success of his mission. In order to quiet the possessors of church property, the legate issued his dispensation, declaring that they should not be molested; and a statute passed confirming his sentence. By another, the acts which had abolished the papal supremacy were repealed. This new restoration of power to the papacy formed a sad and dark augury for the devoted Protestants. It was the first indication that the time approached when the fires of persecution were to blaze forth in every county of England, and when heaven was to be insulted by the profanation of its sacred name as sanctioning the foulest deeds of blood.

An act was passed by the Parliament of 1554 for the revival of the statutes of former sovereigns against heretics, and especially against Lollards; which revival was to take effect from the 20th of January, 1555. During the last reign, no Roman Catholic had suffered capital punishment on account of his faith, nor does there appear to have been any kind of jurisdiction or mode of procedure for the trial of heresy, although the law remained in full force against anabaptists and anti-trinitarians, whose doctrines were looked upon both by Catholics and Protestants as sapping the very foundations of Christianity,

On the 28th of January, a commission, with Gardiner at its head as lord chancellor, assembled in the church of St. Mary Overies, in Southwark, for the trial of Protestants. From the station which this individual held, and from his commanding talents, there appears to be little doubt that he was instrumental in pushing forward this bloody work, although some writers have attempted to remove this reproach from his character.

Whether he was the main author or not, is a matter of comparatively little importance. As lord chancellor, and as head of the commission, he sanctioned the whole proceedings. He must therefore be held responsible for the deeds of those who acted under his authority, and suffer the lash of posterity, in the same way as Cromwell, on whom Catholic writers have poured out the vials of their wrath, from his having acted as captain of the banditti who plundered the holy places in the reign of the eighth Henry.

The first martyrs in this persecution were Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, and Rogers, a clergyman of Essex, both eminent divines of the reformed cause. They died with feelings of triumphant piety in the midst of suffocating flames; and other victims were rapidly hurried to the stake. The principal were, Archbishop Cranmer, Ridley, Bishop of London, and Latimer, Bishop of Worcester. These persecutions soon became odious to the whole nation, and the perpetrators of them were all willing to shift the blame from themselves upon others. Many of the Catholic prelates, to their honor, exercised occasionally an effectual and perhaps hazardous humanity in their favor. Gardiner himself withdrew from this unavailing slaughter, and his place was supplied by Bonner, Bishop of London, a less scrupulous dealer in blood. Even Philip himself was moved to pity, and discountenanced these diabolical proceedings. To describe the sufferings of those persons of eminence and distinction who perished, would fatigue the patience and harrow the feelings of the reader. For four years the persecution was carried on with unsatiated cruelty; and, keeping out of view those who perished in dungeons under every form of misery, and also those who expatriated themselves, nearly three hundred individuals are calculated to have expired at the stake. We are positively informed by Lord Burghley, that in this number of victims are comprised no less than one hundred women and children. The perpetrators of these "more than heathen cruelties" deserve



no quarter from posterity; such deeds as those laid to their charge stamp infamy deep on their names, and hold them up to execration now and for ever.

The other events of this reign unconnected with religion are, with the exception of the loss of Calais, unimportant. The reduction of this town had cost Edward III. a siege of eleven months, and the English standard had waved over its battlements for above two centuries. It surrendered to the arms of France after a siege of only eight days, and its loss so affected the queen, that when lying on her deathbed she said, "If you open me you will find Calais written on my heart." Philip, her husband, appears to have treated her with formal but cold respect. He had succeeded to the greatest monarchy then in the world, and had been some time absent from England in superintending its affairs. He returned again, but his departure a second time left Mary to brood over her fruitless barbarity alone. She had more than once entertained the nation with rumors of her pregnancy, and was herself cheated with the illusive hopes of offspring. But this Shiloh of the ancient faith, like that of a celebrated dreamer of after times, was the manifestation of a deadly disorder. She died of dropsy on the 17th of November, 1558, to the unspeakable relief of the greater portion of her subjects.

After the death of Mary the Princess Elizabeth succeeded to the throne without opposition. She was at Hatfield when the news of her sister's death was brought to her, and hastening to London immediately, she was received there with great joy. For the preservation of her life this princess was indebted to Philip, the husband of Mary. The Spaniard was aware that her death would remove the only obstacle which stood between Mary of Scotland and the throne of England. That sovereign had been married to the heir-apparent of France, his great political enemy; and the balance of power which might thus be thrown into the hands of the latter would have endangered the

stability of Philip's throne; a circumstance which induced him to this unusual act of liberal humanity. The first measure of Elizabeth was to assemble around her throne a body of counselors who had recommended themselves to public notice by the power of their talents or the steadiness of their principles. Her state council was composed of both Catholics and Protestants, although her more confidential advisers were confined to a select portion of the latter, and amongst these was Sir William Cecil, whom she appointed her first secretary. Precautionary measures were taken to meet any invasion on the part of France in order to raise Mary Queen of Scots to the throne; for the government of that country had made demonstrations to this effect, by instigating Rome to hostilities against Elizabeth. Mary had left a vacant treasury, and one of the first cares of the new administration was to obtain pecuniary supplies; and, from the high character and popularity of the queen, these were immediately granted by the people. Her coronation was then celebrated with all possible splendor and festivity.

To establish the Protestant religion was Elizabeth's most ardent desire. With this view the statutes passed in the late reign for the support of the ancient faith were repealed; and the acts of Henry VIII., in derogation of the papal authority, and of his successor in favor of the reformed church, were for the most part revived. There were some deviations in the new book of common prayer from the liturgy of Edward VI., but of these only two are important. The first consists in the omission of a prayer to be freed from the "tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities;" which certainly displayed a conciliatory spirit towards the Catholic church. The second was an alteration of the language which spoke of the sacrament as being only a remembrance of the death of Christ, and the substitution of words which indicate the real but not corporeal presence. Towards the middle of 1559 the Protestant liturgy was

introduced, and the oath of supremacy administered. Strong opposition to it was evinced on the part of the clergy, especially amongst those of a dignified station; and out of sixteen bishops only one took the oath tendered to them. But the lower orders were less scrupulous; and it is probable that in many instances necessity induced them to make a compromise with their consciences. Those of the clergy who refused compliance with the new code of religious doctrines were deposed, and their places supplied by professors of the reformed religion. According to the standard of punishments which followed contumacy in these ages, the treatment of the bishops was mild. Bonner was imprisoned; but he was a man so empurpled with blood as to be odious to all parties. This was the highest degree of suffering to which any of the nonconformists were subjected.

During the time that the queen and her counselors were thus settling the religious affairs of the nation, negotiations were carried on between England and France for a peace, which was at last concluded on the following terms, viz.: that the French king should restore Calais at the expiration of eight years; that, in case of failure, he should pay five hundred thousand crowns, and Elizabeth's title to Calais should still remain; that for the payment of this sum he should find the security of eight foreign merchants, not natives of France; and that until such security was provided he should deliver five hostages. If during this interval Elizabeth should break the peace with France or Scotland, she was to forfeit all title to Calais; but if the French king was to make war on Elizabeth, he was to be obliged to restore the fortress immediately.

The reign of Elizabeth for the first eleven years, that is from the twenty-fifth to the six-and-thirtieth year of her life, was distinguished for the internal quiet and happiness of the country. During this interval she displayed the very best qualities of a sovereign; firmness, prudence, vigilance, activity,

and foresight. These qualities were tempered with habitual amenity, and a rational piety. By her subjects she was admired, applauded, and imitated; and during this halcyon period her throne received an accession of strength which enabled it to stand unshaken amid the tumultuous storms with which it was afterwards assailed. She was repeatedly advised to engage in a matrimonial alliance, but uniformly declined to do so, declaring her resolution of remaining single for life. Amongst her suitors were various foreign princes, Catholic as well as Protestant; and some of her own subjects even presumed to intrude their offers upon her "maiden meditation," but without success. During the religious war which raged in France, Elizabeth, ever ardent in the cause of the reformation, assisted the Huguenots with arms and money.

In the mean time the pretensions of Mary, Queen of Scotland, to the crown of England, involved Elizabeth in transactions which have left a stain upon her name. Mary, who was espoused to the Dauphin of France, had quartered the arms of England with those of France and Scotland upon her escutcheon; and to this she was advised by the Catholics, who looked upon Elizabeth as a usurper, having been illegitimatized in her youth by the cruel mandate of her father at the time when he consigned her mother to the block. The result of this appropriation of the armorial bearings of the English sovereign was a quarrel between the two princes, which only terminated with the execution of the unfortunate queen of Scotland. See the article SCOTLAND.

In 1569 Elizabeth was excommunicated by Pope Pius V. These anathemas, by absolving subjects from the oath and the duty of allegiance, and suspending the offices of religion, and even those of humanity, were sometimes most disastrous to a country, upon which they descended like a deadly epidemic. But the majority of the queen's subjects were of the same religion with herself, and had thrown off the papal yoke; so



that it was in the present instance productive of no other effect than the publication of a severe act against all who held any communication with the Bishop of Rome. Severe measures were also taken with the puritans and other dissenters. At this time the English nation was divided into three theological and political parties; the *Churchmen*, who considered the ecclesiastical revolution as already perfect; the *Puritans*, who sought further reformation by agitating the minds of the people; and the *Catholics*, who, supported by the great continental powers, did not yet despair of seating their religion upon the throne. But men of all these persuasions united in their abhorrence of anabaptists; and, in order to extirpate them, the fires of Smithfield were, after an interval of seventeen years, re-kindled. Fox the celebrated martyrologist dared to interfere in behalf of this hated sect; but his courageous humanity obtained for them only a temporary respite. Two men were burned, and numbers were imprisoned or otherwise corporally punished. These events took place about the middle of the year 1575, and this was the first blood spilt by Elizabeth on account of religion; it, however forms a dark stain upon her government, which may be pronounced mild when compared with others of the same period. The blood of Henry VIII. was not yet sufficiently purified in this its first descent from the fountain-head.

Amongst the other domestic events connected with the history of England, was that of the rebellion of Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and Neville, Earl of Westmoreland. This revolt partook of a civil and religious character, for the noblemen at its head were adherents of the ancient faith, and were encouraged to embark in their lawless enterprise by the Catholic states. But on the approach of the royal troops under Sussex, the insurgents broke up and fled. Northumberland was made prisoner in Scotland, and executed at York; and Westmoreland died in Flanders, in the humble capacity of commandant of a Spanish

regiment. Other treasonable transactions originated with the Duke of Norfolk, whose vaulting ambition aspired to the hand of Mary, Queen of Scots. Indeed he and the two insurgents just named, together with several other nobles, united in a conspiracy against Elizabeth. The timely arrest of Norfolk, however, disconcerted the confederacy, of which the northern rising was merely a premature explosion. Mary of Scotland is positively asserted to have been a participator in the plot. Norfolk was brought to trial; and there seems little doubt that he had incurred the penalties of treason, by having had intercourse with Catholic princes who had undertaken to land in England with a hostile army, and by his clandestine renewal of negotiations for the delivery and espousal of Mary, at that time a prisoner in the hands of Elizabeth. He was condemned to death, and executed, after a great deal of hesitation on the part of the queen.

England now began to distinguish herself in her natural career of maritime enterprise. Amongst the most distinguished of the nautical adventurers of this age was Sir Francis Drake. A vague rumor had for some time pervaded Europe, of vast naval preparations by the King of Spain, for the invasion and conquest of England. In 1587 Sir Francis Drake having been dispatched with a fleet to attack the Spanish ships which lay in the bay of Cadiz, was completely successful in his enterprise, burning and destroying above one hundred vessels laden with ammunition and naval stores. The fruits of his expedition were of vast importance. Philip's preparations were disturbed, and his project of invasion put off for twelve months, during which period Elizabeth had time to make head against the storm which was gathering in that quarter. These were the obvious results of Drake's bravery; but who can estimate the moral effect which it had produced? It gave a heroic impulse to the nation, and inspired it with confidence in its own strength and resources. It taught English

seamen to look without terror upon the towering bulk of the Spanish vessels; whilst the Spaniards themselves must have in a proportional degree lost the confidence of having an advantage over the enemy by means of their floating castles.

The King of Spain having once more completed his complement of vessels, manned them with the ablest seamen and soldiers, under the command of the most renowned leaders. This Armada was truly imposing and magnificent; it was baptized *The Invincible*, but not with English blood. Never before had the ocean borne a more splendid fleet than that which sailed from the *Tagus* on the 25th of May, 1588. The ships and their equipments had been fitted out in every port of its king's dominions. In Flanders, the forest of *Waes* had been felled; the dock-yards of *Antwerp*, *Dunkirk*, *Newport*, and *Gravelines* swarmed with artificers; and the rivers and canals were covered with boats adapted for the transport of soldiers destined to serve in the expedition. On the 20th of May the following enumeration of the vessels was made: "The general sum was 130 ships, of 57,868 tons; 19,295 soldiers and 8450 mariners, with 2088 slaves, and 2630 great pieces of cannon of all sorts; also twenty caravals for the service of the others, with ten salvers of six oars a piece." Towards the end of June another armament of eighty sail left *Lisbon* to join them. To meet this overwhelming armament the royal navy of England mustered 181 ships, containing between seventeen and eighteen thousand seamen. There were only eight ships above five hundred tons burden, and the largest was only eleven hundred. The aggregate burden of the whole English fleet amounted to 31,985 tons, being little more than one half of that of the Spaniards. The preparations made on land displayed equal spirit and enthusiasm. A loyal patriotism and active magnanimity pervaded the whole kingdom. The city of *London* set a noble example. The lord-mayor, in the name of the metropolis, put at the disposal of his sover-

eign ten thousand soldiers and thirty vessels. The whole nation emulated this wise liberality; and every city, town, and hamlet poured forth its ardent patriots to take their stand upon the coast and repel the insulting invader. About fifty thousand men under the command of *Earl Hunsdon*, a brave and able general, guarded the queen's person. The *Thames* at *Tilbury* was watched by *Leicester* with a considerable force. *Sir Walter Raleigh* was stationed at *Portland Castle*, in *Dorsetshire*, and the *Earl of Sussex* at *Portsmouth*. In the other parts of the country the wisest measures of defensive warfare were adopted. At sea one division of the fleet under *Lord Henry Seymour* guarded the narrow seas; whilst the main body under *Lord Charles Howard*, the high admiral, was stationed in the *Western Ocean*. The gallant *Sir Francis Drake* and the able navigators *Hawkins* and *Frobisher* were in this division.

Under the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, the Spanish Armada set sail for the invasion of England. It was for some time retarded by a tempest, which also harassed the English fleet; and news was brought to the queen of England that *Medina's Armada* had been so injured and scattered that the expedition was for the present abandoned. The English ships withdrew to various ports, where they might have been surprised and burned, had not intelligence accidentally arrived that the Spanish fleet was bearing down full sail upon the coast. On the 20th of July the English admirals came in sight of the enemy, and next day the first engagement took place. The plan of *Lord Howard* was to evade a direct attack; for his vessels being so much inferior in bulk and weight of metal to the enemy's ships, were incapable of grappling in close action with them; but being superior in mobility and expedition, he resolved to annoy their rear, and to cut off the sluggish sailers. In the first attack neither fleet suffered much. Early in the morning of the 23d the second conflict began, and both fleets fought with valor; but the advantage was



at last on the side of the English, over whose smaller vessels the iron shower from the higher sides of the Spanish ships flew harmless, whilst their own took full effect. On the 24th a pause took place in the battle, which was, however, renewed next day; but the mighty armament forced its way unbroken to the vicinity of Calais. They were now prepared to act in concert with the Duke of Parma, who had completed his preparations. He possessed in the harbors of Newport and Dunkirk transports which carried about twenty-eight thousand men, and which waited the general's command to make the grand attempt.

The concentration of the Spanish Armada off Calais suggested to the English admiral the idea of employing fireships to destroy it. Eight vessels were thereupon hastily prepared for this purpose, and during the night of the 29th which was cloudy and boisterous, they were sent down blazing with combustible materials into the heart of the Spanish fleet. A cry of horror burst from the Spaniards, and, seized with an irresistible panic, they cut their cables with the intention of standing out to sea. But in their terror and confusion they inflicted severe injury upon one another; and, to augment their distress, a fierce gale sprung up, which scattered the Armada along the coast from Ostend to Calais. Some struck on the shallows at Flanders, whilst others beat out to sea; the remainder, in number about forty sail, were assailed by Drake and the rest of the English fleet. This was the most severe engagement which had yet taken place, and was maintained with great bravery for a whole day. The Spaniards lost several of their best ships; and after vainly endeavoring to regain their position in the narrow strait, where Parma could alone join them, they resolved to return to Spain by making a circuit round Great Britain. The want of ammunition compelled the English to refrain from pursuing the invaders at a time when they might have annihilated them. But this was reserved for an enemy even more formidable than that before which

they fled. A storm overtook them on their unfortunate voyage, and the coasts of Scotland and Ireland were strewn with the wrecks of the Invincible Armada, so that only a feeble remnant of that splendid fleet reached the shore from whence it had sailed, in all the pomp and circumstance of war, as if to an assured triumph.

The events of Elizabeth's reign which followed the discomfiture of the Spanish attempt to invade England may be briefly related. The Earl of Leicester, who had for a long time maintained an enviable place in the queen's favor, was invested with fresh honors. A new and unprecedented office was created for him, that of lord lieutenant of England and Ireland, which exalted him to an authority only a little lower than that of sovereignty. But the ink was scarcely dry upon the warrant which wanted but the royal signature to complete the triumph of the favorite, when he was cut off by a violent disease which, whether it arose from natural causes, or from poison being administered, at all events speedily terminated his career. Of this nobleman little need be said. He is one of a numerous class of historical characters who possess a degree of notoriety, not on account of any brilliant endowments which they themselves possessed, but from their proximity to or connection with distinguished personages. He possessed no intellectual or moral qualities which, deprived of adventures aid, would have thrown him into the foreground of his country's history; whilst, if we listen to the opinion of his contemporaries, he must be looked upon as dissolute and unprincipled, notwithstanding his affectation of piety. He is a satellite only conspicuous from the light which is reflected upon him by his sovereign.

The English navy, emboldened by its late triumph, now made several very successful descents upon the Spanish coast, not so much for the purpose of obtaining permanent conquest, as of harassing the enemy. These expeditions were conducted by the most able commanders, amongst whom were some of

the brightest names in the history of maritime discovery and enterprise, such as those of Raleigh, Drake, Cavendish, Hawkins, and Howard.

On the death of Leicester, the young Earl of Essex succeeded him as prime favorite of the queen. But the desire of glory or the hope of plunder induced this volatile young nobleman to join the armament preparing to sail for Spain. The expedition was unfortunate, and when Essex returned to England, he found two rival candidates for royal favor, Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Charles Blount. By the superior influence of these noblemen the former was driven to cultivate a portion of land which had been granted to him in Ireland; and with the latter Essex fought a duel, in which he was wounded. But by the queen's command they were reconciled to each other, and in process of time they became sincere and attached friends.

In the year 1596, a new expedition was fitted out for Spain, which was completely successful. The spanish fleet was defeated, and lost thirteen men-of-war. Cadiz was taken, and its defences, which rendered the town the strongest fortress in the country, were razed to the ground. This was the severest blow which the King of Spain received from his daring enemy subsequent to the repulse of the Armada. Matters might have been still worse with him had not dissension sprung up amongst the English commanders, the majority of whom, against the suggestion of Essex, who was one of the leaders, declared for an immediate return to England. The town, with the exception of the churches, was reduced to ashes; and the troops, taking with them the most valuable portion of the plunder, re-embarked, and the fleet returned to Plymouth in less than ten weeks after it had set sail. Essex, on his arrival in England, was compelled to appear before the queen in council, and answer to several charges connected with the late enterprise. These charges merely related to pecuniary matters, and the favorite was acquitted; but this was the commencement of

numerous subsequent quarrels which he had with his sovereign, none of which are important to history except the last. Having been appointed lord deputy of Ireland, he suddenly left his command in that country and returned to England. He was committed a prisoner, and called upon to account for his extraordinary conduct. The queen, however, was unwilling to carry matters too far against her favorite. He was allowed to go about as a prisoner on parole; but this high-spirited and aspiring nobleman could not remain content with the humiliating circumstances to which he was now reduced. He attempted to excite the city of London to revolt against the queen's authority; but the rebel was taken prisoner, tried for high treason, condemned, and executed. This proved a severe blow to Elizabeth, who was now tottering upon the brink of the grave. She had been all her life subject to fits of indisposition, which were occasionally violent; but it was not till the beginning of March, 1603, that her mortal illness came on. Her mind became depressed with gloomy recollections, especially those connected with the shedding of Essex's blood; and her nervous melancholy, and general decline increased, accompanied by symptoms which indicated a disease of the heart, and by a labored and convulsive respiration. She was questioned by her confidential advisers as to her successor, and signified her desire that the King of Scotland should succeed to the throne. Her speech soon afterwards failed entirely, and all hope of her recovery vanished. She tranquilly breathed her last, about three hours after midnight, on the 24th of March, 1603, in the sixty-seventh year of her age and the forty-fifth of her reign.

In the opinion of her contemporaries, whose judgment has been ratified by posterity, Elizabeth ranks amongst the greatest and the most fortunate of English sovereigns. The domestic tranquillity which signalized her rule during nearly half a century; her triumphant repulse of the Spanish monarch, and the severe retaliation which she inflicted upon



on that lord of empires ; the spirit displayed by her navy in its numerous warlike expeditions by sea, and also by her army on land, are indications of uncommon vigor on the part of the sovereign, and of sagacity on that of her counselors. She found England comparatively inferior to other nations of Europe, but she left it amongst the proudest and the most powerful. It was during her reign and that of her successor, that the human intellect sprung up at once to full maturity, and produced those works which are the peculiar glory of English literature. Hers was the Augustan age of poetry, the age of Spenser, Shakespeare, and others ; and during her reign Bacon began to put forth those gigantic energies of mind which were destined to change the whole aspect of science, and even the condition of man as a civilized being. The human failings ascribed to Elizabeth are, excessive vanity, love of popularity which is part of it, parsimony, and a leaning towards despotism. But those whose interest it has been to vaunt the glory of her sister's reign, and the purity of her life, have not failed to charge Elizabeth with great personal depravity ; yet if we discredit every defamatory story which can be clearly traced to her enemies, the imputations will not have much weight or attach any grave stigma to her name. She is not, however, free from the stain of blood, the shedding of which cannot be justified, however it may be palliated by taking into account the circumstances of the times, and the critical situation in which she stood ; but in this respect her conduct is almost purity itself compared either with that of her sister or of her father.

In 1603 the kingdoms of Scotland and England fell under the dominion of one sovereign, by the accession of James VI. of Scotland to the English throne. He derived his title to the latter from being the great-grandson of Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII., and, on the failure of the male line, his hereditary right remained incontestible. Queen Elizabeth, with her last breath, had recognized him for her successor ; and the parliament,

conformably to her dying request, had settled the succession on the heirs of Henry VII., so that few sovereigns ever ascended a throne with more general approbation, or greater hopes of a peaceable, happy reign. The memory of a disputed succession was yet fresh in the minds of the English ; and as the title of James was unquestionable, the accession of a Protestant sovereign, who was to extinguish the hostility of Scotland, and unite two kingdoms intended by nature to form one, was regarded as a new and auspicious era in the history of both countries.

But the popularity of James hardly survived his arrival in England ; the hopes which had been so eagerly cherished were soon blighted ; and the history of this monarch's reign consists of little else than a detail of disputes and contentions between him and his Parliament.

The first intercourse between King James and his English Parliament discovered at once the character of the new monarch, and the spirit of the people over whom he had been called to reign. Vain, pedantic, garrulous, mean, and accessible to flattery, however gross ; arbitrary in his principles, and in his own opinion the greatest master of king-craft that ever lived ; " the wretched Solomon of Whitehall " found in his English ministers, Cecil, Suffolk, and Northampton, devoted parasites and ready tools. His address to the Parliament bespoke his own opinion of himself, and showed that he believed himself an absolute king, whose proclamations were to have the force of laws. But it was only with his courtiers and bishops that James passed for that paragon of wisdom and policy which he devoutly believed himself to be. The House of Commons already contained many men of free, fearless, and intelligent minds ; nor were the principles of independence, which in several instances had been asserted against all the power and energy of Elizabeth, likely to be veiled before the mock dignity of such a regal punchinello as James. His first Parliament, accordingly reminded him of their privileges ; resisted

the arbitrary issue, by the Chancellor, of new writs for elections; and made some laudable attempts to check the spirit of monopoly which paralyzed the trade and manufactures of the kingdom, as well as to relieve the landed interest from some remnants of feudal oppression.

The accession of James was speedily followed by the conclusion of peace with Spain. The tendency of his disposition was pacific, not so much from principle, as from the want of all energy, vigor, and force of character, if not positive cowardice.

But the most important subject of discussion which occupied the attention of this first parliament was a project for incorporating the kingdoms whose crowns were already united on the head of James. A motion to this effect was made by Sir Francis Bacon, the king's solicitor, who supported it with all the ability, ingenuity, and eloquence for which he was so greatly distinguished; maintaining that, for the object contemplated there was no need of uniformity in the laws of religion of the two countries,—and that, with Ireland subdued, Scotland united, and the navy duly supported, the English monarchy would become the most formidable in the world. It is to the honor of James, and reflects credit on the sagacity which he at intervals displayed, that he was eager in forwarding this measure. But the Commons remained inflexible, and the project consequently failed. In conformity, however, with an opinion obtained from the judges, the *post-nati*, that is all Britons born since the death of Queen Elizabeth, were declared to be naturalized subjects in either kingdom.

In 1617, the king revisited Scotland, with the design of establishing Episcopacy in that kingdom. He did not, however, propose to abolish Presbytery entirely, and set up Episcopacy in its room. He meant to content himself with establishing the royal authority above the ecclesiastical, and introducing some ceremonies into the public worship, but every advance towards Episcopacy produced the greatest discontent, and the ceremonies in

question were rejected as so many mortal sins.

At this time the power of the Scotch clergy was exceedingly great; and the severe spirit with which they were actuated prompted them to exercise it in a manner little calculated to operate in the way of conciliation. Every ecclesiastical court possessed the power of excommunication, which was then attended with serious temporal effects, to say nothing of the spiritual consequences which were supposed to flow from it.

That a monarch like James should have hated an order of men whom he could neither intimidate by his power nor cajole by his flatteries, is most natural. But this forms a poor justification for the faithless and hypocritical course he pursued; whilst his maxim of "No bishop, no king;" shows that his understanding was as confined as his character was mean and grovelling. He began his attack upon Presbytery by discontinuing the General Assembly, and banishing those clergymen who had the spirit to remonstrate. He procured a decree restoring thirteen bishoprics; and, at a packed meeting of the subservient part of the Scottish clergy, the holders of these unenviable preferments were appointed perpetual moderators within their presbyteries. And to complete the degradation of the people, a high commission was given to the prelates, conferring upon them inquisitorial and discretionary powers of citing and punishing for religious opinions, laymen as well as clergymen. But this tyrannical and iniquitous project utterly failed.

Nor was he in any degree more successful in the opposition which he attempted to the puritanical innovations in England. He had observed, in his progress through that kingdom, that a rigid or Judaical observance of the Sabbath gained ground every day; and that by this means the people were debarred from such sports and recreations as contributed to their health and amusement. Imagining that it would be easy to infuse cheerfulness into the spirit of devotion which then prevailed, he issued a proclamation to allow and



encourage, after divine service, all kinds of lawful games and exercises. But this proclamation was regarded by his subjects as an instance of the utmost profaneness and impiety. In 1620, a bill was brought in by the Commons for the more strict observance of the Sunday, which they called the Sabbath. One Shepherd opposed this bill, objecting to the appellation of Sabbath, as puritanical, and justifying indulgence in sports and amusements on that day. For this he was expelled the house on the motion of Mr Pym; and in the sentence pronounced against him his offence is described as "great, exorbitant, and unparalleled."

From this sketch, imperfect as it necessarily is, a tolerable idea may be formed of the situation of affairs during the reign of James I., as well as of the character and designs of that weak, wavering, and on the whole mischievous prince. It now becomes our duty to proceed to the more proper business of the present article, and to give some account of the remarkable transactions of this period.

The first thing of any consequence was a conspiracy formed, or alleged to have been formed, in the year of the king's accession to the throne, to displace him and bestow the kingdom on Arabella Stuart, a near relation to his own, and equally descended from Henry VII. Every thing regarding this pretended conspiracy, except that some such plot was favored by one or two priests, remains nearly in its original obscurity. What renders it remarkable, however, is the concern Sir Walter Raleigh was said to have in it. For this he was tried, condemned without proof, suffered thirteen years' imprisonment in the Tower, and was at length executed out of complaisance to the Spaniards. The execution of this distinguished man is one of the most unjustifiable acts of James's reign. It is certainly possible, as Hume has asserted, that Raleigh may have made the pretended gold mine in Guiana a cloak for his real design of plundering the Spanish settlements; but if the fact admitted of as easy proof as has been alleged, Raleigh ought to have been

punished on that account, and on no other. It has been conceded, however, that an English jury would not have returned a verdict of guilty against him; and if so, the sacrifice of the bravest living commander, at the instigation of a foreign power, was equally detestable in itself and derogatory to the dignity and independence of the country.

On the accession of James, great expectations had been formed by the Catholics that he would prove favorable to them; and it is even pretended that he had entered into a positive engagement to grant them toleration as soon as he should mount the throne of England. But their hopes were built on an insecure foundation. James on all occasions expressed his intention of executing strictly the laws enacted against them, and of persevering in the rigorous measures of Queen Elizabeth. A scheme of revenge was first thought of by one Catesby, a man of good parts and ancient family, who communicated his design to Percy, a descendant of the House of Northumberland. The latter proposed to assassinate the king. But Catesby deemed this quite inadequate to the purpose, inasmuch as the king would be succeeded by his children, who would also inherit his maxims of government; and even if the whole royal family were destroyed, the parliament, nobility, and gentry, who were all infected with the same heresy, would raise another Protestant prince to the throne. "To serve any good purpose," said he, "we must destroy, at one blow, the king, the royal family, the lords and commons, and bury all our enemies in one common ruin. Happily they are all assembled on the first meeting of parliament, and afford us the opportunity of glorious and useful vengeance. Great preparations will not be requisite. A few of us may run a mine below the hall in which they meet; and choosing the very moment when the king harangues both the houses, consign over to destruction the determined foes to all piety and religion."

This comprehensive scheme being approved of, it was resolved to communicate it to a

few more. Thomas Winter was sent over to Flanders in quest of Fawkes, an officer in the Spanish service, of approved zeal and courage. All the conspirators were bound by the most solemn oaths, accompanied with the sacrament; and to such a degree had superstition hardened their minds, that not one of them entertained the smallest compunction for the cruel destruction they were preparing to commit. Some indeed were startled at the thoughts of destroying a number of Catholics who must necessarily be present as spectators, or attendants on the king, or as having seats in the House of Peers; but Desmond, a Jesuit, and Garnet, superior of that order in England, removed these scruples, by showing that the interest of religion required in this case the sacrifice of the innocent with the guilty.

This happened in the spring and summer of 1604, about which time the conspirators hired a house in Percy's name, adjoining that in which the parliament was to meet. Towards the end of the year they began to pierce through the wall of the house, in order to get in below that where the parliament was to assemble. The wall being about three yards thick, occasioned a great deal of labor; but its density yielded to perseverance, and they at length approached the other side, when they were startled by a noise for which they could not well account. Upon inquiry they found that it proceeded from a vault below the House of Lords; that a magazine of coals had been kept there; and that the coals were then selling off, after which the vault would be let to the highest bidder. Upon this the vault was immediately hired by Percy, and thirty-six barrels of gunpowder lodged in it; the whole being covered up with faggots and billets, the doors of the cellar boldly flung open, and every body admitted as if it contained nothing dangerous.

Considering themselves as now certain of success, the conspirators began to arrange the remaining part of their enterprise. The king, the queen, and Prince Henry were ex-

pected to be present at the opening of the parliament. But as the duke, by reason of his tender age, would be absent, it was resolved that Percy should seize or murder him. The Princess Elizabeth, likewise a child, being kept at Lord Harrington's house in Warwickshire, some others of the conspirators engaged to assemble their friends on pretence of a hunting match, to seize the person of that princess, and immediately proclaim her queen. The day so long wished for at last approached. The dreadful secret, though communicated to more than twenty persons, had been religiously kept for near a year and a half; and nothing could be foreseen calculated to prevent the success of their design. Ten days before the meeting of Parliament, however, Lord Monteagle, a Catholic, son of Lord Morley, received the following letter, which had been delivered to his servant by an unknown hand:

"My Lord, out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care for your preservation. Therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance on this parliament. For God and man have determined to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement; but retire yourself into the country, where you may expect the event in safety. For though there be no appearance of any stir; yet, I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm; for the danger is over as soon as you have burned this letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it, to whose holy protection I commend you."

Though Lord Monteagle imagined this letter to be only a ridiculous artifice to frighten him, he carried it to Lord Salisbury, secretary of state; and the latter laid it before the king on his arrival in town a few days after. His majesty looked upon it in a much more serious light than the young nobleman



to whom it had been addressed. From the peculiar manner in which it was expressed, he concluded that some design had been formed to blow up the Parliament House with gunpowder; and it was thought advisable to search the vaults underneath.

The lord chamberlain, to whom this charge belonged, purposely delayed the search till the day before the meeting of parliament. About midnight, Sir Thomas Knevet, a justice of peace, was sent with proper attendants; and meeting Fawkes, who had just finished all his preparations, before the door of the vault, Sir Thomas immediately seized him, and turning over the faggots, discovered the gunpowder. The matches and every thing proper for setting fire to the train were found in the pocket of Fawkes, who, seeing now no refuge except in boldness and despair, expressed the utmost regret that he had missed the opportunity of firing the powder at once, and of sweetening his own death by that of his enemies. For several days he displayed the same obstinate intrepidity; but on being shut up in the Tower, and the rack exhibited to him, his resolution at last failed, and he made a full discovery.

Catesby, Percy, and the other conspirators, on learning that Fawkes was arrested, hurried to Warwickshire, where Sir Edward Digby, imagining that his confederates had succeeded, was already in arms to seize the Princess Elizabeth. But she had escaped into Coventry; and they were obliged to put themselves in a posture of defence against the country people, who were raised in all quarters and armed by the sheriffs. The conspirators, with their attendants, never exceeded eighty in number, and being surrounded on every side, could no longer hope either to prevail or escape. Having therefore confessed themselves, and received absolution, they boldly prepared for death, and resolved to sell their lives as dear as possible. But even this miserable consolation was denied them. Some of their powder catching fire, exploded, and disabled them from defend-

ing themselves. The people then rushed in upon them. Percy and Catesby were killed by one shot. Digby, Rookwood, Winter, and others, being made prisoners, were tried, confessed their guilt, and died, as well as Garnet, by the hands of the common executioner. The Lords Stourton and Mordaunt, two Catholics, were fined by the Star Chamber, the former in £4000, the latter in £10,000, because their absence from Parliament had occasioned a suspicion of their acquaintance with the conspiracy. The Earl of Northumberland was fined in £30,000, and detained several years a prisoner in the Tower, by reason of his having admitted Percy into the number of gentlemen-pensioners without taking the requisite oaths.

James's attempts to civilize the barbarous inhabitants of Ireland, and to render their subjection durable and useful to the crown of England, were more honorable in the design than successful in the execution. Having abolished the ancient Irish customs, James substituted English law in their stead, and taking the natives under his protection, he declared them free citizens, and proceeded to govern them by a regular administration, military as well as civil. But other measures of a more doubtful character followed. As the Irish had been engaged in rebellion against Elizabeth, a renunciation of all rights formerly granted them to separate jurisdictions was rigorously exacted; a resignation of private estates was even required; and when these were restored, the proprietors received them back under such conditions as seemed calculated to prevent all future oppression of the common people. Meanwhile a company was established in London for planting new colonies in the province of Ulster, which had fallen to the crown by the attainder of rebels.

On the 6th of November this year, Henry, Prince of Wales, died suddenly, not without strong suspicions of poison. On opening his body, however, no symptoms of the kind appeared; but his death diffused a universal grief throughout the nation, as he was reck-

oned a prince, of extraordinary accomplishments and high promise. But the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with Frederick, elector palatine, which was celebrated in February, 1613, served to dissipate the grief caused by Prince Henry's death. This marriage, however, proved unfortunate both with respect to the king and to his son-in-law; for the elector, trusting to so great an alliance, engaged in enterprises beyond his means; and James, unable, and perhaps also unwilling, to assist him in his distress, lost his last hold on the affections of his people.

These bad consequences did not begin to appear till the year 1619. At that time the states of Bohemia, having taken arms in defence of the Protestant religion, and persevered in the contest notwithstanding the preparations of the emperor to crush them, made an offer of their crown to the elector palatine, induced doubtless by his connection with the King of England, and his relationship to Prince Maurice, whose authority in the United Provinces was nearly absolute. Stimulated by ambition, the young palatine, without consulting either James or Maurice, whose opposition he foresaw, accepted the offer, and marched into Bohemia in support of his new subjects. But the affairs of the new king soon came to a crisis. Frederick, defeated in the decisive battle of Prague, fled with his family into Holland; whilst Spinola, the Spanish general, invaded the palatinate, where, meeting with little resistance, except from one body of 2400 Englishmen, commanded by Sir Horace Vere, he quickly reduced the whole principality. The ban of the empire was published against the unfortunate elector in 1621; the upper palatinate was in a little time conquered by the elector of Bavaria, to whom the execution of the decree of the diet had been committed; Frederick was obliged to live with his numerous family in poverty and distress, either in Holland or at Sedan; and the new conquests of the Catholics throughout Germany were attended with persecutions against the Protestants.

By this intelligence the religious zeal of the English was inflamed to the highest pitch. The sufferings of their Protestant brethren in Germany excited universal sympathy, whilst the neutrality and inactivity of James were loudly exclaimed against. But, although the king might have defended his pacific measures by plausible arguments, some of his motives were the most ridiculous that can be conceived. In a spirit of pe-dantic self-conceit, he fancied himself capable of disarming hostile nations by dint of argument; and believed that the power of Austria, though not awed by that of England, would submit to his arbitration merely out of respect to his virtue and moderation. Wedded to his notions concerning the prerogative of kings, he also imagined, that wherever a contention arose between any sovereign and his subjects, the latter must necessarily be in the wrong; and for this reason he from the first denied his son-in-law the title of King of Bohemia, and forbade him to be prayed for in the churches under that appellation. Besides, James was on other accounts extremely averse to a rupture with Spain. He had entertained an opinion peculiar to himself, that any alliance below that of a king was unworthy a Prince of Wales; and he never would allow any princess except a daughter of France or of Spain to be mentioned as a match for his son. This pitiful folly gave Spain an opportunity of managing the English monarch in his most important concerns. With a view of engaging him to observe neutrality in regard to the succession of Cleves, the elder daughter of the King of Spain had been indirectly offered during the life of Prince Henry. The bait, however, did not then take; and James, in consequence of his alliance with the Dutch, sent 4000 men to the assistance of the Protestants, by which means the succession was secured to the Protestant line. In 1618, Gondomar offered the King of Spain's second daughter to Prince Charles; and, to render the temptation irresistible to so necessitous a prince as James, he gave



hopes of an immense dowry with the Infanta. On this match James built great hopes, not only of relieving his own necessities, but of recovering the palatinate for his son-in-law; at least the public were taught to believe that the recovery of the palatinate was one of the king's chief motives for entertaining the project of such a marriage.

But the Commons viewed the matter in a very different light; and this, joined to other parts of the king's conduct, blew into a flame the contention which had long subsisted between them. On the 14th of November, 1621, the Commons framed a remonstrance, which they intended to carry to the king, representing that the enormous growth of the Austrian power threatened the liberties of Europe; and that the progress of the Catholic religion in England bred the most melancholy apprehensions.

The king was then at Newmarket; but hearing of the intended remonstrance, he wrote a letter to the Speaker, sharply rebuking the House for debating on matters far above their reach and capacity, and strictly forbidding them to meddle with anything that regarded his government, or deep matters of state, and especially not to touch on his son's marriage with the Spanish princess. Upon this the Commons framed a new remonstrance, in which they asserted their right of debating on all matters of government, and claimed entire freedom of speech in their debates. The king replied, that their remonstrance was more like a denunciation of war than an address of dutiful subjects; that their pretension to inquire into all state affairs without exception, was such a plenipotence as none of their ancestors, even during the reign of the weakest princes, had ever pretended to; that they could not better show their wisdom, as well as duty, than by keeping within their proper sphere; and that in any affair which depended on his prerogative, they had no title to interpose with their advice, unless when he pleased to ask it. The Commons in turn framed a protestation, which the king tore out of

their journals, and soon after dissolved the parliament. Of the leading members of the house, Sir Edward Coke and Sir Robert Phillips were committed to the Tower, and Selden, Pym, and Mallory, to other prisons; while, as a lighter punishment, some others were sent into Ireland to execute the king's commands in that country. A more judicious course was followed with Sir John Saville, who was made comptroller of the household, a privy counselor, and soon after a baron.

This open breach between the king and the parliament soon rendered politics a general subject of discourse; every man began to indulge himself in reasonings and inquiries concerning matters of state; and the parties which arose in parliament were speedily propagated throughout the nation. In vain did James, by reiterated proclamations, forbid discourses of this kind. These, if they had any effect at all, served rather to inflame than allay the curiosity of the public. In every company or society the transactions just mentioned became the subject of argument and debate; some taking the side of monarchy, and others that of liberty. And this was the real origin of the two parties since known by the names of *Whigs* and *Tories*.

During five years James continued the dupe of the court of Spain. Firmly resolved to contract no alliance with a heretic, the King of Spain continued to procrastinate and invent one excuse after another; pretending all along a willingness to conclude the match, though no step had as yet been taken for obtaining a dispensation from the pope. To pave the way for bringing the matter to a close, James issued public orders for discharging all popish recusants who were imprisoned; and it was daily apprehended that he would prohibit in future the execution of the penal laws against them. This conduct, generous had it proceeded from genuine principles of toleration, he was obliged to justify on the hollow pretence that it was done in order to procure

from foreign princes a corresponding indulgence for the Protestants; the severity of the English laws against Catholics having, it was alleged, been urged as a reason against showing any favor to Protestants residing in Catholic kingdoms.

Armed with these concessions, which were but ill relished at home, Digby, Earl of Bristol, was sent as ambassador to the court of Spain; and one Gage was secretly dispatched as an agent to Rome. After amusing him so long with false hopes, the court of Spain seemed at last sincere in the projected marriage. Lord Bristol himself, although he had formerly opposed the Spanish match, now came to be of this opinion, and considered the proposed marriage as an infallible prognostic of the palatine's restoration; nor, indeed, was it easy to conjecture why Philip should be ready to bestow the Infanta with a dowry of £600,000 sterling on a prince whose demands he meant to refuse at the hazard of a war, unless we suppose that he reckoned on the cowardice and imbecility of the English monarch's character.

But whilst the king exulted in his pacific counsels, and boasted of his superior sagacity and penetration, all his prospects were blasted by the temerity of the worthless favorite who governed both court and nation with almost unlimited sway. This was Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, who had succeeded Somerset in the capricious affections of James, and had risen from the rank of cupbearer to a dukedom and the highest honors of the state. Though possessed of some accomplishments as a courtier, he was utterly devoid of the talent necessary to a minister; and at once partook of the insolence which attends a fortune newly acquired, and the impetuosity which belongs to persons born in high stations, and unacquainted with opposition. Amongst those who had experienced the arrogance of this overgrown favorite, was the Prince of Wales himself; and a coldness, if not enmity, had in consequence arisen between them. Desirous of putting an end to this misunderstanding, and

at the same time envious of the great reputation of the Earl of Bristol, Buckingham persuaded the prince to undertake a journey to Madrid. This, he said, considered as an unexpected piece of gallantry, would equal all the fictions of Spanish romance; and, suiting the chivalrous and enterprising character of that nation, would immediately introduce him to the princess under the agreeable character of a devoted and adventurous suitor. Little persuasion was necessary to prevail with Charles to undertake the journey; and the impetuosity of the favorite having extorted a consent from James, the prince and Buckingham (or "Baby Charles" and "Steenie," as the king ridiculously called his son and his minion) set out as knight-errant and squire. They traveled through France in disguise, under the assumed names of Jack and Tom Smith. At a ball in Paris, the prince first saw the Princess Henrietta, whom he afterwards married. She was then in the bloom of youth and beauty, and the novelists of the time say that the prince fell in love with her on this occasion.

On their arrival at Madrid, everybody was surprised by a step so little usual among great princes. The Spanish monarch made Charles a visit, expressed the utmost gratitude for the confidence reposed in him, and made warm protestations of a corresponding confidence and friendship. He gave Charles a golden key which opened all his apartments, that the prince might, without any formality, have access to him at all hours; and heaped upon him other marks of distinction and favor if possible still more flattering. The Infanta, however, was only shown to her lover in public; the Spanish ideas of propriety being too strict to allow any further intercourse till the arrival of the dispensation. Meanwhile no attempt was made by the Spaniards to profit by the circumstance of having the Prince of Wales in their power in order to impose any harder conditions of treaty. Their Catholic zeal, indeed, prompted them on one occasion to



seek more concessions in the religious articles; but, on the opposition of Bristol, they immediately desisted. The pope, however, hearing of Charles's arrival in Madrid, tacked some new clauses to the dispensation; and it became necessary to transmit the articles to London for the king's ratification. This treaty, which was made public, consisted of several articles, chiefly regarding the exercise of the Catholic religion by the Infanta; and of these, the only one that could reasonably be found fault with, was that in which the king consented that the children of the marriage should be educated by the princess till they were ten years of age. But besides this public treaty, there were some private articles, which stipulated for a suspension of the penal laws against the English Catholics in the first instance, together with a toleration for the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion in private houses, and next, a repeal of these laws by Parliament. Meanwhile Gregory XV., who had granted the dispensation, died; and Urban VIII. was chosen as his successor. Upon this the nuncio refused to deliver the dispensation till the pleasure of the new pope should be known concerning it. But the crafty pontiff delayed his confirmation, in hopes that, during the prince's residence in Spain, some expedient might be fallen upon to effect his conversion. The King of England, as well as his son, became impatient; but, on the first hint, Charles obtained leave to return, and Philip graced his departure with the same marks of civility and respect which had signalized his arrival.

The modest, reserved, and highly dignified behaviour of Charles, together with the confidence he had reposed in the Spanish nation, and the romantic gallantry he had practiced in regard to their princess, endeared him to the whole court of Madrid. But in the same proportion that Charles was beloved and esteemed, Buckingham was despised and hated. His sallies of passion, his indecent freedoms with the prince, his dissolute pleasures, and his arrogant, impetuous temper,

which he either could not or would not restrain, rendered him an object of undisguised aversion to the Spaniards. Buckingham, on the other hand, sensible how odious he had become to the Spaniards, and dreading the influence which that nation would naturally acquire after the arrival of the Infanta, employed all his influence to prevent the marriage. What arguments he used to prevail with the prince to offer so gross an insult to the Spanish nation, from whom he had received the most generous treatment, or what colors he employed to disguise the ingratitude and imprudence of such a measure, are totally unknown. Certain it is, however, that when the prince left Madrid, he was firmly determined, in opposition to his most solemn promises, to break off the treaty with Spain. Accordingly, on their arrival at London, the prince and Buckingham assumed the entire direction of the negotiation; and it was not difficult to find pretences under which to mask the breach of treaty which had been secretly resolved on. After employing many fruitless artifices to delay or prevent the espousals, Bristol received positive instructions not to deliver the proxy which had been left in his hands, nor to conclude the marriage until security was given for the full restitution of the palatinate. Philip understood this language; but, determined to throw the whole blame of the rupture on the English, he delivered into Bristol's hand a written promise, by which he bound himself to procure the restoration of the palatinate either by persuasion or by every other possible means. When he found that this concession gave no satisfaction, he ordered the Infanta to lay aside the title of Princess of Wales, which she had borne after the arrival of the dispensation from Rome, and to drop the study of the English language; and as he foresaw that the rash counsels which now governed the court of England would not stop short at the breach of the marriage-treaty, he immediately ordered preparations for war to be made throughout all his dominions.

A match for Prince Charles was soon afterwards negotiated with Henrietta, daughter of Henry IV., and this met with much better success than that with the Infanta. But the king had not the same inducements to prosecute this match as the former one, the portion promised being much smaller; yet willing that his son should not be altogether disappointed of a bride, and the King of France demanding only the same terms which had been offered to the court of Spain, James thought proper to comply.

Being now deprived of every other hope of relieving his son-in-law, except by force of arms, James declared war against Spain and the emperor, for the recovery of the palatinate; and six thousand men were sent over into Holland to assist Prince Maurice in his schemes against those powers. The people were everywhere elated at the course which events had taken; and so popular was the idea of a Spanish war, and so great the joy at the rupture of the projected Catholic alliance, that Buckingham became for the time a favorite of the people, and was hailed even by Sir Edward Coke as the saviour of the nation. The reinforcement sent to Prince Maurice was followed by another consisting of twelve thousand men, commanded by Count Mansfeldt; and the court of France promised its assistance. But the English were disappointed in all their views. The troops embarked at Dover found, on arriving at Calais, that no orders had arrived for their admission into that place, much less for affording them a passage through France, as had been promised; and after waiting some time, they were obliged to sail towards Zealand, where proper measures had not as yet been taken for their disembarkation. Meanwhile a pestilential disorder crept in amongst them; half their number died while on board, and the other half, weakened by sickness, was insufficient to march into the palatinate; and thus ended this ill-concerted and fruitless expedition. Whether its unfortunate result had any effect on the king's health is uncertain; but he was soon after seized with a

tertian ague, which put an end to his life on the 27th of March, 1625, after having lived fifty-nine years, and reigned over England twenty-two, and over Scotland almost as long as he had lived.

Charles I. succeeded to the same favorite, the same ministers, and the same council, his father had possessed, to say nothing of the same pecuniary distress; and, unhappily, he also inherited the same principles of government. But in other respects he bore no resemblance to his sire. At the same time his accession to the throne was greeted with favor, and even hailed as auspicious by the nation which had been wearied and sickened by the pedantic and presumptuous incapacity of his father. Pleased with his temporary popularity, obtained partly by the rupture with Spain, and also in want of money for carrying on his government, Charles resolved to call together the great council of the nation; and, accordingly, he issued writs for summoning a new parliament for the 7th of May, 1625. But the arrival of the Princess Henrietta, whom he had espoused by proxy, obliged him to delay, by repeated prorogations, their meeting till the 18th of June, when they assembled at Westminster for the dispatch of business.

The king's discourse to the parliament was full of apparent simplicity and cordiality. He mentioned cursorily the occasion he had for supply, but, it is said, employed no means to influence the suffrages of the members. The officers of the crown, who had seats in the house, were not even allowed to specify the particular sum which he had occasion for; he trusted entirely to the wisdom and affection of his parliament. But the parliament, composed chiefly of Puritans, was not in a humor to be generous, or even just, in appreciating the king's necessities. They knew that all the money formerly granted had been expended on military and naval preparations; that great anticipations were made on the revenues of the crown; that the king was loaded with a debt contracted by his father, who had borrowed money both from foreign



princes and from his own subjects; that the public revenues could with difficulty maintain the dignity of the crown, even under the ordinary charges of government; that the present war had been, in a great measure, the result of their own importunate applications and entreaties; and that the nation was solemnly pledged to support their sovereign in carrying it on. They could not be ignorant of the difficulty of military enterprises directed against the whole house of Austria; against the king of Spain, possessed of the greatest riches and the most extensive dominions of any prince in Europe; against the Emperor Ferdinand, hitherto the most fortunate monarch of the age, who had astonished Germany by the rapidity of his victories. Yet, with all this knowledge, and to answer all these important ends, the Commons thought proper to vote a supply of only £112,000. The excuses which have been made for this insulting parsimony, are the hatred of Buckingham, and the discovery that the war had been produced by his artifices and intrigues.

The parliament was adjourned for a few weeks in summer by reason of the plague, which had suddenly broken out; but on their re-assembling at Oxford, the king represented, in the most explicit manner, the necessity there was for a large supply, urging that this request was the first he had ever made them; that he was young, and in the commencement of his reign; and that if he now met with kind and dutiful usage, it would endear to him the use of parliaments, and for ever preserve an entire harmony between him and his people. But the Commons remained inexorable, refusing even the addition of two fifteenths to the former supply. They renewed their complaints against the growth of popery; they demanded a strict execution of the penal laws against the Catholics; they remonstrated against some late pardons granted to priests; and they attacked Montague, one of the king's chaplains, on account of a book he had lately composed, in which it was maintained that virtuous Catholics as well as other Christians would be saved from eternal torments.

Charles gave them a complaisant answer, but at the same time firmly resolved to abate somewhat of the rigorous laws against that unfortunate party, which his engagements with France absolutely required. No measure of his whole reign, however, proved more obnoxious to his intolerant subjects, or in its consequences more fatal to himself, than this resolution. The Puritans, who had continued to gain ground during the whole reign of James, now formed the majority of the House of Commons. Petitions were consequently presented to the king for replacing such clergymen as had been silenced for want of conformity to the ceremonies; and laws were enacted for the strict observance of Sunday, which was sanctified with the most rigid and melancholy gloom. The inevitable result of all this was the dismissal of the refractory parliament, which was dissolved on the 12th of August.

During this interval Charles had been obliged to borrow from his subjects on privy-seals and other expedients, by which means he was enabled, though with great difficulty, to equip a fleet destined to act against Spain. But the force thus painfully fitted out performed nothing worthy of notice, and the ill success of the enterprise only served to increase the clamors against the court.

Charles's second parliament, which was speedily convoked, adopted substantially the same views as the first, though without pushing their parsimony to such meanness. They voted a supply of three subsidies, amounting to £168,000 and three fifteenths; but the passing of this vote into a law was reserved until the end of the session; a proceeding which was tantamount to a threat of withholding it unless their demands were satisfied. Charles was greatly incensed at this conduct; but he found it prudent to submit, and to wait the event with patience. In the mean time the Commons attacked the Duke of Buckingham, who had become generally obnoxious; and he was also impeached by the Earl of Bristol in the Lords, on account of his conduct in the Spanish negotiation. But

the Earl's impeachment was entirely overlooked, and the Commons taxed Buckingham with offences, such as administering physic to the late king without consent of his physicians, from which he found little difficulty to exculpate himself. While under this impeachment, Buckingham was elected Chancellor of the university of Cambridge, and the king publicly thanked the university for their wise and proper choice. This was keenly resented by the Commons; but when they loudly complained of the affront, the lord-keeper commanded them, in the king's name, not to meddle with his minister and servant, but to finish in a few days the bill they had begun for the subsidies, otherwise they must expect to sit no longer. And to strip this imprudent menace of all disguise, Sir Dudley Carlton emphatically explained it by allusion to those monarchs in Christendom who, owing to the turbulence of their subjects, had been obliged to overthrow parliaments altogether. Nor was this the whole or even the worst. Adding injury to indignity, the king next ordered two members of the House of Commons, Sir John Eliot, Sir Dudley Digges, the chief managers of the impeachment against the Duke, to be thrown into prison, alleging as the reason of this proceeding certain seditious expressions said to have dropped from these members. Upon inquiry, however, it appeared that no such expressions had been uttered; and as the Commons refused to proceed with any business until they received satisfaction in their privileges, the members were accordingly released, though with a very bad grace. Soon after, the House of Lords, moved by the example of the Commons, claimed liberty for the Earl of Arundel, who had been lately confined in the Tower; and after many fruitless evasions the king was obliged, though somewhat ungraciously, to comply with their demand.

The next attack meditated by the Commons, if successful, would have proved decisive, and reduced the king to an absolute dependence on his parliament. They were

preparing a remonstrance against the levying of tonnage and poundage without consent of the legislature. This impost, together with six new ones laid on merchandise by King James, constituted nearly one-half of the crown revenues; and it was therefore of vital importance to the king, situated as he was, to preserve it entire, although there can be no doubt whatever that, in its own nature, it was an odious and oppressive tax. It was also the intention of the Commons, if they succeeded in carrying this point, to petition the king to remove Buckingham from his presence and councils. But the king, alarmed at the blow which was preparing for him, anticipated the Commons by dissolving parliament, on the 15th of June, 1626.

Charles having thus made a breach with his parliament which there was no hopes of repairing, was obliged to have recourse to the naked exercise of his prerogative in order to supply himself with money. A commission was openly granted to compound with the Catholics, and dispense with the penal laws enacted against them; an expedient by which the king filled his coffers, but gave universal disgust to his subjects. From the nobility he desired assistance; from the city of London he required a loan of £100,000. The former contributed but slowly; the latter, sheltering themselves under many pretences and excuses, gave at last a flat denial. To equip a fleet, an apportionment was made by order of the council amongst all the maritime towns, each of which was required, with the assistance of the adjacent counties, to furnish a certain number of vessels or amount of shipping. The city of London was rated at twenty ships. And this was the first appearance, in the present reign, of ship-money; a taxation which had once been imposed by Elizabeth on a great emergency, but which, revived and carried some steps farther by Charles, produced the most violent discontents. These summary methods of supply, however, were employed with some moderation, until the tidings arrived of the King of Denmark's defeat by Tilly, the imperial general. Mon-



ey then became more than ever necessary; and as the ways and means hitherto employed had not answered expectation, it was suggested in council, as the most speedy, equal, and effective means of obtaining a supply, to exact a general loan from the subject, rating every man according as he was assessed in the rolls of the last subsidy.

This paltry and equivocating subterfuge imposed upon no one. It was plain that by the course which the court was now pursuing, the liberty of the subject would be entirely destroyed, and parliaments in future rendered wholly superfluous. It was to no purpose, therefore, that the followers of the court, and their preachers in the pulpit, enjoined submission to this loan as part of the duty of passive obedience and non-resistance. A spirit of opposition arose among the people; many refused these loans; and some were even active in encouraging their neighbors to insist upon their common rights and privileges. By a warrant of the council these were thrown into prison, and most of them patiently submitted to confinement, although such as applied to the king by petition were commonly released.

While the king was thus embroiled with his parliament at home, and with powerful nations abroad, he rashly engaged in a war with France, a kingdom with which he had but lately formed an alliance; a temerity bordering on madness. All historians agree that the French, like the Spanish war was of Buckingham's creating; and the motives which led to it would appear incredible, if the violence, profligacy, and folly of that man's character were not known. At the time when Charles married, by proxy, Henrietta of France, Buckingham had appeared at Paris to grace the festivity, and, by his showy superficial accomplishments, had attracted the admiration of the Queen of France herself. Having conducted Henrietta safely to England, he was preparing, doubtless in the spirit of ambitious gallantry, to return upon a new embassy; when Richelieu, the minister, himself a disappointed

lover of the queen, caused a message to be sent him from France, declining the honor of his intended visit. Buckingham's rage at this knew no bounds, and, in a transport of passion, he swore that he would see the queen in spite of all the power of France. He also determined, if possible, to embroil the two kingdoms in war; and with this view he prevailed with Charles to dismiss the queen's French domestics, and encouraged the English ships to seize on those of France. But great as these provocations were, they failed in their object, which was to drive the French to a declaration of war. Upon this Buckingham persuaded the king openly to espouse the cause of the Huguenots, whose leader, the Duke de Soubise, was then in London. And the vain, shallow, impetuous favorite himself set sail with a hundred ships and seven thousand men to assist the Huguenots of Rochelle. Uninformed of his designs, however, the latter shut their gates against him. Instead of attacking the rich and defenceless Isle of Oleron, Buckingham then bent his course to that of Rhé; and, after allowing the garrison of St. Martin to be well provisioned, he resolved to reduce it by famine. But his impatience soon led him to abandon this design; and attempting to storm the place without having made a breach in the defences, he was repulsed with the loss of two thirds of his force, and returned to England covered with disgrace. A third parliament was summoned, and met on the 17th of March, 1628. At the beginning of the session Charles plainly told them, that "if they should not do their duties, in contributing to the necessities of the state, he must, in discharge of his conscience, use those other means which God had put into his hands, in order to save that which the follies of some particular men might otherwise put in danger." Foreseeing that they might expect to be dismissed on the first disagreement with the king, the Commons proceeded with caution, yet relaxed nothing in vigor. The nation was now really suffering from the late arbitrary proceedings. They, therefore,

began by remonstrating against arbitrary imprisonments and forced loans; after which, five subsidies, or £280,000, were voted to the king, a sum with which Charles declared himself well satisfied. The Commons, however, resolved not to pass this vote into a law, until they had obtained from the king a sufficient security that their liberties should no longer be violated as they had formerly been. With this view they framed a law which was called a *Petition of Right*, because it was only a confirmation of the ancient constitution, in which they collected all the arbitrary exertions of the prerogative which had taken place since the king's accession, and in particular complained of the grievances of forced loans, benevolences, taxes without consent of parliament, arbitrary imprisonments, billeting soldiers, and martial law. They made no pretensions to any unusual power or privileges; nor did they intend to infringe on the royal prerogative in any respect. They aimed only at securing those rights and privileges derived from their ancestors.

But the king, on his part, began plainly to show that he aimed at nothing less than absolute power. This most reasonable petition he did his utmost to evade, by repeated messages to the House, in which he offered his royal word that there should be no more infringements on the liberty of the subject. But these messages had no effect on the Commons. They knew how brittle such promises were without further security, and accordingly passed the bill. The Lords after some hesitation confirmed it, and nothing was wanting but the royal assent to give it the force of a law. Charles accordingly came to the House of Peers, sent for the Commons, and being seated in the chair of state, instead of giving the usual concise assent, said, "the king willeth that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm, and that the statutes be put into execution; that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong or oppression contrary to their just rights and liberties, to the preservation where-

of he holds himself in conscience as much obliged as of his own prerogative."

This equivocal answer was highly resented. The Commons returned in very ill humor; and their indignation would undoubtedly have fallen on the unfortunate Catholics, had not the petition against that persecuted class of religionists already received a satisfactory answer. To give vent to their displeasure, therefore, they fell on Dr. Mainwaring, who had preached, and, at the special command of the king, printed, a sermon, which was found to contain doctrines subversive of civil liberty. For these doctrines Mainwaring was sentenced to be imprisoned during the pleasure of the House, to be fined in £1000, to make submission and acknowledgment for his offence, to be suspended for three years, and declared incapable of holding any ecclesiastical dignity or secular office; and his book was ordered to be called in and burnt. But the session was no sooner ended than Mainwaring received a pardon, and was promoted to a living of considerable value; and some years afterwards he was raised to the see of St. Asaph. Having dealt thus with Mainwaring, the Commons proceeded to censure Buckingham; and the storm of public indignation seemed ready to burst on his head, when it was diverted by the king's yielding to the importunities of parliament. He went to the House of Peers, and when he pronounced the usual form of words, "*Let it be law as is desired*," the house resounded with acclamations, which were re-echoed over all the country, and the bill for five subsidies immediately passed.

But the Commons were not yet done with the redress of grievances. They called for the abolition of a commission which had been recently granted to thirty-three officers of the crown for levying money by imposition or otherwise, "in which form or circumstance were to be dispensed with rather than the substance be lost or hazarded." They adverted to a scheme for introducing into England a thousand German horse, probably to



aid in levying contributions; they again attacked Buckingham, against whom they were justly implacable; and they also asserted that the levying of tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament was a palpable violation of the ancient liberties of the people, and an open infringement of the petition of right so lately granted. To prevent a formal remonstrance on these subjects, the king suddenly prorogued the parliament on the 26th of June, 1628.

The hand of an assassin soon rid the Commons of their enemy Buckingham. He was murdered on the 23d of August this same year, by one Felton, who had formerly served under him as a lieutenant. The king did not appear much concerned at his death, but retained an affection for his family throughout his whole lifetime. He desired also that Felton might be tortured, in order to extort from him a discovery of his accomplices; but the judges declared, that though that practice had been formerly very common, it was altogether illegal.

In 1629, the usual contentions between the king and his parliament were renewed. The great article on which the Commons broke with their sovereign, and which finally created in him a disgust at all parliaments, was their demands with regard to tonnage and poundage. The question at issue was whether this tax could be levied without consent of parliament or not. Charles, supported by multitudes of precedents, maintained that it might; and the parliament, in consequence of their petition of right, asserted that it could not. But the Commons were resolved to support their rights.

They began with summoning before them the officers of the Custom-House, to give an account of the authority by which they had seized the goods of those merchants who had refused to pay the duties of tonnage and poundage. The Barons of Exchequer were questioned with regard to their decrees on that head. The sheriff of London was committed to the Tower for his activity in sup-

porting the officers of the Custom-House. The goods of Rolles, a merchant, and member of the house, being seized on account of his refusal to pay the duties, complaints were made of this violence, as a breach of privilege. Charles, on the other hand, supported his officers in all these measures; and the breach between him and the Commons became every day wider. Sir John Eliot framed a remonstrance against tonnage and poundage, which he offered to the clerk to read; but the latter refused, and Sir John then read it himself. When the question was called for, the Speaker, Sir John Finch, said, that he had it in command from the king to adjourn, and to put no question; upon which he rose and left the chair. The whole house was in an uproar; the Speaker was pushed back, and forcibly held in the chair by Hollis and Valentine, till a short remonstrance was framed, and passed by acclamation. Papists and Arminians were now declared capital enemies to the commonwealth; those who levied tonnage and poundage were branded with the same epithet; and even the merchants who voluntarily paid these duties were declared betrayers of English liberty, and public enemies. The doors being locked, the gentleman-usher of the House of Lords, who was sent by the king, could get no admittance till this remonstrance was finished. By the king's order he took the mace from the table, which put an end to their proceedings; and, on the 10th of March, the parliament was dissolved. Some of the members were imprisoned and fined; but this severity served only to increase the general discontent, and point out the sufferers as proper leaders for the popular party.

Disgusted with parliaments, Charles now resolved to call no more; but finding himself destitute of resources, he was obliged to conclude a war which was begun without necessity, and conducted without glory. A treaty was signed with France on the 14th of April, and another with Spain on the 5th of November, 1630, by which Charles bound himself to observe a neutrality with regard to the

affairs of the Continent. In these treaties the Huguenots and the palatinate were equally abandoned. Charles, however, united with France in mediating between Sweden and Poland, in hopes of gaining the former to the cause of his brother-in-law. But although Gustavus espoused the cause of the German Protestants, and accepted of aid from Charles under the Marquis of Hamilton, he refused, when he had overrun Germany, to restore the palatinate, except on condition of its dependence upon himself. In short, the peace was as ignominious as the war had been disgraceful.

In return for the king's indulgence towards the church, Archbishop Laud and his followers took care to magnify on every occasion the regal authority, and to treat with the utmost disdain all puritanical pretensions to a free and independent constitution. From this subjection, however, they took care to exclude themselves, insisting upon a divine and apostolical charter in preference to a legal and parliamentary one. The sacerdotal character was magnified as sacred and indefeasible; and all right to spiritual authority, or even to private judgment in spiritual subjects, was refused to profane laymen. Ecclesiastical courts were holden by bishops in their own name, without any notice being taken of the king's authority; and Charles, though extremely jealous of every claim set up by popular assemblies, seemed rather to encourage than repress the encroachments of his clergy.

Meanwhile the king had changed his counselors without changing his councils. In order to weaken the popular party, by creating suspicion and distrusts of its chiefs, Charles, resorting to an expedient often adopted by princes, had chosen his ministers from the ranks of the patriots, in the hope of converting them into strenuous supporters of the prerogative which he was content to share with them. Nor was he mistaken in calculating the more immediate effects of this political apostasy. Sir Thomas Wentworth, now created Earl of Strafford, was

appointed president of the council of York, deputy of Ireland, and chief counselor of the king. Sir Dudley Digges became master of the rolls; Noy, attorney-general; and Littleton, solicitor-general. But the arch-apostate was Wentworth, a man distinguished by great force of character, dauntless courage, brilliant and commanding eloquence, extraordinary intellectual resources, unconquerable moral energy, and a fierce tumultuous ambition, which led him to trample without a scruple of remorse upon every principle accounted most sacred and most binding on public men.

Whilst Charles ruled without parliaments he ruled by the naked exercise of prerogative alone. He wanted money for the support of government; and he levied it, either by the revival of obsolete laws, or by violations of the rights and privileges of the nation.

These arbitrary proceedings led to an occurrence which will be ever memorable in the history of English liberty. John Hampden had been rated at twenty shillings of ship money for an estate he possessed in Buckinghamshire, which was assessed at a ship of four hundred and fifty tons, or four thousand five hundred pounds. The share of the tax which fell to Hampden was very small; so small, indeed, that the sheriff was blamed for setting so wealthy a man at so low a rate; but although the sum demanded was a trifle, the principle of the demand was essentially despotic. The judges, it is true, had declared that, in case of necessity, the king might impose the tax of ship-money, and that his majesty was the sole judge of that necessity. But after consulting the most eminent constitutional lawyers of the time, Hampden, undismayed by this judicial deliverance, refused to pay the few shillings at which he was assessed, and determined, rather than submit to the imposition, to incur the certain expense and eventual danger of bringing to a solemn hearing this great controversy between the crown and the people. The leading counsel against the writ was the celebrated Oliver St. John,



whilst the attorney-general and solicitor-general appeared for the crown. The case was argued during twelve days in the Exchequer Chamber, and the judges took a considerable time for deliberation. No one has ever doubted that the law was clearly in favor of Hampden, and that the arguments of his counsel remained unanswered. The bench was, however, divided in opinion. Four of the twelve judges pronounced decidedly in his favor; a fifth took a middle course; and the remaining seven gave their voices in favor of the writ. The majority against him was, therefore, the narrowest possible; and when it is recollected that the judges held their situations only during the royal pleasure, and consequently were entirely dependent on the court, this decision may be regarded as in reality a victory.

The decision of the Exchequer Chamber, however, had placed at the disposal of the crown the property of every man in England; whilst the abominable proceedings of the Star-chamber, which caused obnoxious individuals to be mutilated and sent to rot in dungeons, showed that the persons as well as the estates of all who ventured to oppose the crown were entirely at its mercy. What that mercy was will immediately be seen. Hampden, with some of his friends and connections, determined to quit England for ever, and to betake themselves across the Atlantic, to a settlement which a few Puritans had formed in the wilderness of Connecticut. Lords Saye and Brooke were the original projectors of this scheme of emigration; and Hampden who had been early consulted respecting it, now resolved to withdraw himself beyond the reach of further persecution, having reason to dread the vengeance of the court for the resistance he had offered to its tyranny. He was accompanied by his kinsman Oliver Cromwell; and the cousins took their passage in a vessel which lay in the Thames, bound for North America. They were actually on board, when an order of council appeared, by which the ship was prohibited from sailing; and seven other

ships, filled with emigrants, were also stopped by the same authority.

While the discontent produced by these arbitrary proceedings was at its height in England, and the people ready to break out in open rebellion, Charles thought proper to attempt setting up Episcopacy in Scotland. The canons for establishing a new ecclesiastical jurisdiction were promulgated in 1635, and were received without any external appearance of opposition, yet with great inward apprehension and discontent. But when the reading of the liturgy was first attempted in the cathedral church of St. Giles in Edinburgh in 1637, it produced such a violent tumult that it was not thought safe to repeat the experiment. A universal combination against the religious innovations began immediately to take place; but Charles, as if obstinately bent on his own destruction, continued inflexible in his purpose, though he had nothing to oppose to the united force of the kingdom but a proclamation, in which he pardoned all past offences, and exhorted the people to be more obedient for the future, and to submit peaceably to the use of the liturgy. This proclamation accelerated the insurrection which had before been but slowly advancing. Four Tables, as they were called, were formed in Edinburgh; one consisting of nobility, another of gentry, a third of ministers, and the fourth of burghesses.

In the hands of the Four Tables the authority of the whole kingdom was placed. Orders were issued by them, and everywhere obeyed with the utmost regularity; and amongst the first acts of their government was the production of the Covenant. This famous instrument consisted of a renunciation of popery, formerly signed by James in his youth, and filled with many virulent invectives against that party. A bond of union or league followed, by which the subscribers obliged themselves to resist all religious innovations, and to defend each other against all opposition whatsoever. The Covenant was subscribed by people of all ranks and conditions. Few disapproved of it in their

hearts and still fewer dared openly to condemn it.

The king now began to be seriously alarmed. He sent the Marquis of Hamilton, as Commissioner, with authority to treat with the Covenanters; he required the Covenant to be renounced and recalled; and, as sufficient concessions on his part, he offered to suspend the canons and liturgy till they could be received in a fair and legal way, and so to model the High Commission that it should no longer give offence to his subjects. In answer to this demand, however, the Covenanters declared that they would sooner renounce their baptism than the Covenant; and they invited the commissioner himself to sign it. Hamilton returned to London; made another fruitless journey with new concessions to Edinburgh; returned again to London, and was immediately sent back with still more satisfactory concessions. The king was now willing to abolish entirely the canons, the liturgy, and the high commission court; he even resolved to limit greatly the power of the bishops, and seemed content if on any terms he could retain that order in the Church of Scotland. Further, he gave Hamilton, authority to summon first an assembly, and then a parliament, where every national grievance should be redressed. But these tardy and reluctant concessions only showed the weakness of the king, and encouraged the malcontents to rise in their demands. The offer, however, of an assembly and a parliament, in which they expected to be entirely masters, was very willingly embraced by the Covenanters.

Perceiving the advantage which his enemies had reaped from their Covenant, Charles resolved to have one on his side also; and he ordered a bond to be drawn up for that purpose. It consisted of the same strenuous renunciation of popery with the other; and although the king did not approve of this, he thought proper to adopt it, in order to remove all the suspicions entertained against him. As the Covenanters, in their bond of mutual defence against all opposition, had

been careful not to except the king, Charles also formed a bond, which was annexed to this renunciation, and expressed the subscribers' loyalty and duty to his majesty. But the Covenanters perceiving that this new Covenant was only meant to weaken and divide them, received it with the utmost scorn and detestation; and proceeded without delay to model the assembly from which such great achievements were expected.

This assembly met at Glasgow in 1638. A firm determination had been entered into of utterly abolishing Episcopacy; and, as preparatory thereto, there was laid before the presbytery of Edinburgh, and solemnly read in all the churches of the kingdom, an accusation against the bishops, as guilty, all of them, of heresy, simony, bribery, perjury, cheating, incest, adultery, fornication, common swearing, drunkenness, breach of the Sabbath, and every other crime which had occurred to the accusers. The bishops sent a protest, declining the authority of the assembly; the commissioner too protested against that court, as illegally constituted and elected, and in his majesty's name dissolved it. This measure was foreseen, and little regarded. The court still continued to sit and do business. All the acts of assembly since the accession of James to the crown of England were declared null and invalid. The acts of parliament which affected ecclesiastical affairs were on that very account supposed to have no authority. The Covenant likewise was ordered to be signed by every one, under pain of excommunication.

In 1639 the Covenanters prepared in earnest for war. The Earl of Argyll, though he long seemed to temporize, at last embraced the Covenant, and became the chief leader of that party. The Earls of Rothes, Cassillis, Montrose, Lothian, the Lords Lindesay, Loudoun, Yester, and Bamerino, also distinguished themselves. Many Scottish officers had acquired reputation in the German wars, particularly under Gustavus; and these were invited over to assist their country in its present necessity. The command was intrusted



to Leslie, a soldier of experience and ability. Forces were regularly enlisted and disciplined; arms were commissioned and imported from foreign countries; a few castles which belonged to the king, being unprovided with provisions, ammunition, and garrisons, were soon seized; and the whole country, except a small part under the Marquis of Huntly, who still adhered to the king, fell into the Covenanters' hands, and was soon put in a tolerable state of defence.

Charles, on the other hand, was not deficient in endeavors to oppose this formidable combination. By regular economy he had not only paid all the debts contracted in the French and Spanish wars, but had amassed a sum of £200,000, which he had reserved for any sudden exigency. The queen, who had great interest with the Catholics, both from sympathy of religion, and from the favors and indulgences which she had been able to procure them, now employed her credit in persuading them that it was reasonable to give large contributions, as a mark of their duty to the king, during this urgent necessity; and thus, to the great scandal of the Puritans, a considerable supply was raised. The king's fleet also was formidable and well supplied. Having put five thousand land forces on board, he intrusted the command to the Marquis of Hamilton, who had orders to sail for the Frith of Forth, and cause a diversion by occupying the forces of the malcontents. An army of near twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse was meanwhile levied, and put under the command of the Earl of Arundel, a nobleman of great family, but distinguished for neither military nor political abilities. The Earl of Essex, a man of strict honor, and extremely popular, especially among the soldiery, was appointed lieutenant-general; and the Earl of Holland was made general of the horse. The king himself joined the army, and summoned all the Peers of England to attend him. The whole had the appearance of a splendid court rather than a military armament, and in this state the army arrived at Berwick.

The Scottish force was equally numerous with that of the king, but inferior in cavalry. The officers had more experience; and the soldiers, though ill disciplined and armed, were animated, as well by the national aversion to England, and the dread of becoming a province of their old rival, as by that religious enthusiasm which was the occasion of the war. Yet so prudent were their leaders, that they immediately sent very submissive messages to the king and craved leave to be admitted to a treaty. Charles, as usual, took the worst possible course. He concluded a sudden pacification, in which it was stipulated, that he should withdraw his fleet and army; that within forty-eight hours the Scots should dismiss their forces; that the king's forts should be restored to him, his authority acknowledged, and a general assembly and parliament immediately summoned, in order to compose all differences. But this peace was not of long duration. Charles could not prevail on himself to abandon the cause of Episcopacy, and secretly intended to seize every favorable opportunity to recover the ground he had lost. The assembly, on the other hand, proceeded with the utmost vigor, and determination. They voted Episcopacy to be unlawful in the Church of Scotland; they stigmatized the canons and liturgy as popish; and they denounced the High Commission tyranny. The parliament, which sat after the assembly, advanced pretensions which tended to diminish the civil power of the monarch; and they were proceeding to ratify the acts of assembly, when, by the king's instructions, Traquair, the commissioner, prorogued them. By reason of these claims which might have easily been foreseen, the war recommenced the same year.

No sooner had Charles concluded the peace, however, than he found himself obliged to disband his army from want of money; and as the soldiers had been held together merely by mercenary views, it was not possible, without great trouble, expense, and loss of time, to re-assemble them. The Covenanters, on

the contrary, in dismissing their troops, had been careful to preserve nothing but the appearance of a pacification. The officers had orders to be ready on the first summons; the soldiers were warned not to think the nation secure from an English invasion; and the religious zeal which animated all ranks of men made them immediately fly to their standards as soon as the trumpet of war was sounded by their spiritual and temporal leaders.

In 1640, however, the king managed to draw an army together; but finding himself unable to support them, he was obliged to call a parliament after an intermission of about eleven years. The king insisted for money, and the parliament expatiated on their grievances till a dissolution ensued; and as if to render this measure still more unpopular, the king permitted the Convocation to sit after the dissolution;—a practice of which there had been very few examples since the reformation, and which was now deemed exceedingly irregular.

Disappointed of parliamentary subsidies, the king was obliged to have recourse to other expedients. The ecclesiastical subsidies offered a considerable resource; and it seemed but just that the clergy should contribute to the expense of a war which they had been mainly instrumental in raising. Charles borrowed money from his ministers and courtiers; and so urgent were his wants, that above £300,000 were subscribed in a few days. Attempts were made to levy a forced loan from the citizens; but these were repelled by the spirit of liberty, which had now become unconquerable. A loan of £40,000 was, however, extorted from the Spanish merchants who had bullion in the Tower. Coat and conduct money for the soldiery was also levied on the counties; all the pepper was bought up from the East India Company upon trust, and sold at a great discount for ready money; and an infamous scheme was proposed for coining two or three hundred thousand pounds of base money. Such were the extremities to which Charles was now re-

duced. The fresh difficulties which were every day raised with regard to the payment of ship-money, obliged him to exert continual acts of authority, and augmented extremely the discontents of the people, while his indigence and necessities continued undiminished.

These expedients, however, enabled the king, though with great difficulty, to set in motion an army, consisting of 19,000 foot and 2000 horse. A small fleet was thought sufficient to serve the purposes of this expedition. The Scottish forces, though somewhat superior, were sooner ready than the king's army, and marched to the borders of England. But notwithstanding their warlike preparations, the Covenanters still held the most submissive language to the king; having entered England, they said with no other design than to obtain access to the king's presence, and lay their humble petition at his royal feet. At Newburn-upon-Tyne they were opposed by a detachment of four thousand five hundred men under Conway, who seemed resolved to dispute the passage of the river. The Scots first entreated them civilly not to interrupt them in their march to their gracious sovereign; and then attacking the detachment with great bravery, killed several, and chased the remainder from the ground. A panic now seized the whole English army; the forces at Newcastle fled immediately to Durham; and not thinking themselves safe there, they abandoned the town, and retreated into Yorkshire.

The Scots continuing to advance, dispatched messengers to the king, who had by this time arrived at York. They took care to redouble their expressions of loyalty, duty, and submission to his person; and they even made apologies for their late victory. Charles was in a very distressed condition; and, in order to prevent the further advance of the Scots, he agreed to a treaty, and named sixteen English noblemen to meet with eleven Scottish commissioners at Ripon. Strafford, upon whom, by reason of Northumberland's sickness, the command of the army had de-



volved, advised Charles rather to put all to the hazard than to submit to the terms which he foresaw would be prescribed. He urged him to push forward, to attack the Scots, and to bring the affair to a quick decision. If he were ever so unsuccessful, nothing worse could befall him than what he would certainly be exposed to from his inactivity; and, to show how easily this project might be executed, he ordered an assault to be made on some quarters of the Scots, and gained some advantage over them. This energetic advice Charles had not resolution to adopt. He resolved to summon a council of the peers; and as he foresaw that they would advise him to call a parliament, he told them in his first speech that he had already taken that resolution.

The parliament met in November, 1640. The House of Commons had never been observed to be so numerous; and, in order to strike a blow at once against the court, they began with the impeachment of the Earl of Strafford. That nobleman, who was considered as prime minister, both on account of the credit he possessed with his master and his own uncommon vigor and capacity, had incurred the hatred of the three kingdoms. The Scots looked upon him as the capital enemy of their country. He had engaged the parliament of Ireland to advance large subsidies to be employed in a war against them; he had levied an army of nine thousand men, with which he had menaced their western coast; he had obliged those who lived under his government to renounce the solemn league and covenant; and he had governed Ireland, first as deputy, and then as lord-lieutenant, during eight years, with great vigilance, activity and energy, but with very little popularity, owing to the severities he had exercised.

From such causes nothing else could be expected than what really happened. Articles of impeachment were exhibited against Strafford, and this proceeding was followed by a bill of attainder. The House of Lords were intimidated, by popular violence, into

passing the bill of attainder against the unfortunate earl; and the same battery was next employed to force the king's assent. The populace flocked about Whitehall, and accompanied their demand of justice with loud clamors and open menaces. A thousand reports of conspiracies, insurrections and invasions were spread abroad. Archbishop Juxon alone had the courage to advise him, if he did not approve of the bill, by no means to consent to it. At last, after the most violent anxiety and doubt, Charles granted a commission to four noblemen, in his name, to give the royal assent to the bill; flattering himself, that as neither his will was consenting to the deed, nor his hand immediately engaged in it, he was free from the guilt which attended this base and ungrateful act.

These commissioners were empowered to give the royal assent to a bill yet more fatal to the king, which provided that the present parliament should not be dissolved, prorogued, or adjourned, without their own consent. By this last bill Charles perpetuated the power which had already become uncontrollable. The reason of this extraordinary step was, that the Commons, from policy rather than necessity, had resorted to the expedient of paying the two armies by borrowing money from the city; and these loans they were to be afterwards repaid by taxes levied on the people. But at last the citizens began to start difficulties with regard to a further loan which was demanded. "We make no scruple of trusting the parliament," said they, "were we certain that the parliament was to continue till our repayment. But, in the present precarious situation of affairs, what security can be given us for our money?" In order to obviate this objection, the above-mentioned bill was suddenly brought in, and having passed both Houses with great rapidity, was at last brought to the king, who, being oppressed with grief on account of the unhappy fate of Strafford, did not perceive the effect of it until it was too late.

Soon after the impeachment of Strafford, Land was accused of high treason, and committed to custody; and to avoid a similar fate Lord Keeper Finch and Secretary Windebank fled, the one into Holland, the other into France. The House then instituted a new species of crime, which was termed *delinquency*; and persons who had acted under the king or by his authority during the late military operations were now called *delinquents*. Many of the nobility and gentry of the nation, while exerting what they considered as the legal powers of magistracy, thus found themselves unexpectedly involved in this new and sufficiently vague offence. The Commons, however, reaped great advantage from their invention;—they disarmed the crown, established the maxims of rigid law and liberty, and spread the terror of their own authority. All the sheriffs who had formerly exacted ship-money, though by the king's express command, were now declared delinquents. The farmers and officers of the customs who had been employed during so many years in levying tonnage, poundage and other imposts laid on without the authority of parliament, were likewise denominated delinquents, and were afterwards glad to compound for a pardon by paying £150,000. Every sentence of the Star Chamber and High Commission Courts, which from their very nature were arbitrary and oppressive, underwent a severe scrutiny; and all who had concurred in such sentences were voted liable to the penalties of law. No minister of the king, no member of the council, was safe. The judges who had formerly given judgment against Hampden for refusing to pay ship-money were accused before the Peers, and obliged to find security for their appearance when required. Berkeley, a judge of the King's Bench, was seized by order of the House, even when sitting in his court. The sanction of the Lords and Commons as well as that of the king, was declared necessary for the confirmation of ecclesiastical canons.

The king having promised to pay a visit

this summer to his subjects in Scotland, in order to settle their government, the English parliament was very importunate with him to lay aside that journey; but they could not prevail with him so much as to delay it. Failing in this, they appointed a committee of both Houses to attend him; in order, as was pretended, to see the articles of pacification executed, but in reality to watch the motions of the king, and to extend still further the ideas of parliamentary authority.

Charles arrived in Scotland on the 14th of August, 1641, intending, it is said, to give full satisfaction, if possible, to the people of that country. And some useful changes were in reality made. While in Scotland, the king conformed himself to the established church; he bestowed pensions and preferments on Henderson, Gillespie and other popular preachers; and he practiced every artifice to soften, if not to gain, his greatest enemies. The Earl of Argyll was created a Marquis, Lord Loudon an Earl, and Leslie was raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Leven. But though Charles thus heaped favors on his enemies with a prodigal hand, they were not satisfied, believing that all he did proceeded from artifice and necessity; whilst some of his friends were disgusted, and thought themselves ill rewarded for their past services. The king was manifestly playing a part, and he played it ill, because he overacted his assumed character.

Argyll and Hamilton, being seized with an apprehension, real or pretended, that the Earls of Crawford and Cochrane meant to assassinate them, left the parliament suddenly, and retired into the country; but, upon receiving assurances of safety, they returned in a few days. This event, which had no visible result in Scotland, was commonly denominated the Incident; but it was attended with very serious consequences in England. The English parliament immediately took the alarm. They insinuated that the Malignants, as they called the king's



party, had laid a plot to murder the godly in both kingdoms; and having applied to Essex, whom the king had left general of the south of England, he ordered a guard to attend them.

In the meantime a rebellion broke out in Ireland, attended with circumstances of unparalleled atrocity, bloodshed and devastation. Roger More, a gentlemen descended from an ancient Irish family, but of narrow fortune, first formed the project of expelling the English, and asserting the independence of his native country. He went secretly from chieftain to chieftain, and roused up every latent principle of discontent. He maintained a close correspondence with Lord Macguire and Sir Phelim O'Neale, the most powerful of the old Irish chiefs; and, by his persuasions, soon engaged not only them, but the most considerable persons of the nation, in a conspiracy. It was also hoped that the English of the Pale, as they were called, or the old English planters, who were all Catholics, would afterwards join the party which proposed to restore their religion to its ancient splendor and authority. The design was, that Sir Phelim O'Neale and the other conspirators should begin an insurrection on a given day throughout the provinces, and attack all the English settlements; and that, on the very same day, Lord Macguire and Roger More should surprise the castle of Dublin. They fixed on the beginning of winter for the commencement of the insurrection, that there might be more difficulty in transporting forces from England. Succors of men and supplies of arms were expected from France, in consequence of a promise to that effect made them by Richelieu; and many Irish officers who had served in the Spanish army expressed their readiness to lend their aid as soon as they saw an insurrection commenced by their Catholic brethren. The news which every day arrived from England of the fury expressed by the Commons against Catholics struck terror into the Irish nation, and stimulated the conspirators to execute their fatal purpose, by as-

suming them of the concurrence of their countrymen.

From the propensity discovered by the Irish to revolt, it was deemed unnecessary as well as dangerous to trust the secret to many; and, though the day appointed drew near, no discovery, it is said, had yet been made by the government. They were awakened from their security only the day before the commencement of hostilities. The castle of Dublin, by which the capital was commanded, contained arms for ten thousand men, with thirty-five pieces of cannon and a proportional quantity of ammunition; yet this important place was guarded by no greater force than fifty men, and even they did their duty negligently. Macguire and More were already in town with a numerous band of retainers; others were expected in the course of the night: and next morning they were to enter on what seemed an easy enterprise, the surprisal of the castle. But O'Connolly, an Irishman and a Protestant, discovered the conspiracy. The justices and council immediately fled to the castle and reinforced the guards. The city was alarmed, and the Protestants prepared for defence. More escaped, but Macguire was taken; and Mahon, one of the conspirators, being likewise seized, first discovered to the justices the project of a general insurrection.

But though O'Connolly's discovery saved the castle from a surprise, Mahon's confession came too late to prevent the intended insurrection. O'Neale and his confederates had already taken arms in Ulster. The houses, cattle, and goods of the English were first seized. Those who heard of the commotions in their neighborhood, instead of assembling together for mutual protection, remained at home in hopes of defending their property, and thus fell separately into the hands of their enemies. A universal massacre now commenced, accompanied with circumstances of unequalled barbarity.

More, shocked at the recital of such enormities, flew to O'Neale's camp; but he

found that his authority, though sufficient to excite the Irish to a rebellion, was too feeble to restrain their inhumanity. Soon afterwards he abandoned the cause, and retired to Flanders. From Ulster the flames of rebellion diffused themselves in an instant over the other three provinces of Ireland. In all places death and slaughter were common, though the Irish in some provinces pretended to act with moderation and humanity. By some computations, the number of those who perished by all these cruelties is estimated at a hundred and fifty thousand; by the most moderate, forty thousand are calculated to have lost their lives; but even this estimate is in all probability exaggerated.

The English of the Pale, who were not probably at first in the secret, pretended to condemn the insurrection, and to detest the barbarity with which it was accompanied; and by their earnest protestations they engaged the justices to supply them with arms, which they promised to employ in defence of the government. But the interests of religion were found to have more influence over them than a regard to duty and the peace of their country. They chose Lord Gormonstone as their leader; and joining the old Irish, rivalled them in acts of cruelty towards the English Protestants. Besides many smaller bodies dispersed over the kingdom, the main army of the rebels amounted to twenty thousand men, and threatened Dublin with an immediate siege. Both the English and Irish rebels pretended authority from the king and queen, but especially the latter, for their insurrection; and they affirmed that the cause of their taking arms was to vindicate the royal prerogative, now invaded by the puritanical parliament. Sir Phelim O'Neale having, it is said, found a royal patent in the house of Lord Caulfield, whom he had murdered, tore off the seal, and affixed it to a commission which he had previously forged for himself.

The king received intelligence of this insurrection while in Scotland, and immedi-

ately communicated the disastrous tidings to the Scottish parliament; expressing a hope that, as there had all along been an outcry against popery, the nation would now, when that religion was appearing in its blackest colors, support him vigorously in the suppression of it. But if he was sincere in this request, which may not uncharitably be doubted, the Scots were not disposed to give so serious a pledge without due deliberation. Considering themselves now as secured in the enjoyment of their rights, and conceiving hopes from the present distresses of Ireland, they resolved to ascertain precisely the ground on which succours were demanded, before consenting to grant them. Except dispatching a small body of forces to support the Scottish colonies in Ulster, the utmost length they would go, therefore, was to agree to send commissioners to London, in order to treat with the parliament. The king accordingly found himself obliged to have recourse to the English parliament, and to depend on their assistance for a supply.

The English parliament, now reassembled, discovered in each vote the same dispositions in which they had separated. By the difficulties and distresses of the crown, the Commons, who alone possessed the power of supply, had aggrandized themselves; and some were not sorry that the Irish rebellion had succeeded, at such a critical juncture, to the pacification in Scotland. An expression of the king's, by which he committed to them the care of Ireland, was immediately laid hold of, and interpreted in the most unlimited sense. On other occasions the Commons had been gradually encroaching on the executive power of the crown; but in regard to Ireland they now at once assumed it as if it had been delivered over to them by a regular assignment. They levied money under pretence of the Irish expedition, but reserved it for other purposes; they took arms from the king's magazines, but reserved them for more immediate use. Yet though no force were for a considerable



time sent over to Ireland, and very little money remitted during the extreme distress of that kingdom, so strong was the attachment of the people to the Commons, that the fault was never imputed to persons whose votes breathed nothing but destruction and death to the Irish rebels.

In the meanwhile it was resolved to frame a general remonstrance on the state of the kingdom; and the committee, which at the meeting of the parliament had been chosen for that purpose, were commanded to finish their undertaking. The king returned from Scotland on the 25th of November, 1641, and was received in London with shouts and acclamations by the people. Sir Richard Gournay, the lord-mayor, had promoted these favorable dispositions, and persuaded the populace, who had so lately insulted the king, and who so soon after made war upon him, to show these marks of respect. But all the pleasure which Charles had reaped from this reception was soon damped by the remonstrance of the Commons, which was presented to him, accompanied by a petition of similar import. The bad counsels which he had followed were there complained of; his concurrence in the Irish rebellion was plainly insinuated; the scheme laid for the introduction of popery and superstition was inveighed against; and, as a remedy for all these evils, the king was desired to intrust every office and command to persons in whom his parliament should see cause to confide. To this bitter remonstrance Charles found it necessary to make a civil reply.

From this period the proceedings of the Commons became bolder, and more determined and violent. Finding themselves likely to be opposed by the nobility, who saw that their own degradation would speedily follow that of the crown, they openly told the Upper House that "they themselves were the representatives of the whole body of the kingdom, and that the Peers were nothing but individuals, who held their seats in a particular capacity; and, therefore, if their Lordships would not consent to acts neces-

sary for the preservation of the people, the Commons, together with such of the Lords as were more sensible of the danger, must join together and represent the matter to his majesty." Every method of alarming the country was now put in practice. Affecting continual fears of destruction to themselves and to the whole nation, they excited the people by never-ceasing inquiries concerning conspiracies, by reports of insurrections, by alleged rumors of invasion from abroad, and by discoveries of dangerous combinations at home. When Charles dismissed the guard which had been ordered them during his absence, they complained; and, on his promising them a new guard under the command of the Earl of Lindesay, they declined the offer. They ordered halberds to be brought into the hall where they assembled, and thus armed themselves against those conspiracies with which they pretended they were hourly threatened. During this time several reduced officers and young gentlemen of the inns of court offered their service to the king; and between them and the populace there occurred frequent skirmishes, which ended not without bloodshed. By way of reproach, these gentlemen gave the rabble the name of *Roundheads*, on account of their short cropped hair; whilst the latter distinguished their opponents by the name of *Cavaliers*; and thus the nation was furnished with party names, under which the factions might rendezvous and signalize their mutual hatred.

These tumults continued to increase about Westminster and Whitehall. The cry against the bishops continually resounded; and being easily distinguished by their habit, as well as objects of violent hatred to all the sectaries, they were exposed to the most outrageous insults. In these circumstances, the Archbishop of York, having been abused by the populace, hastily called a meeting of his brethren; and by his advice a protestation was drawn up and addressed to the king and the House of Lords, setting forth, that though

they had an undoubted right to sit and vote in parliament, yet in coming thither they had been menaced and assaulted by the multitude, and could no longer with safety attend their duty in the House; for which reason they protested against all laws, votes, and resolutions, as null and invalid, which should pass during the time of their forced absence. This ill-timed protestation was signed by twelve bishops, and communicated to the king. As soon as it was presented to the Lords, that house desired a conference with the Commons, whom they informed of this unexpected protestation. An impeachment of high treason was immediately sent up against the bishops, as endeavoring to subvert the fundamental laws, and to invalidate the authority of the legislature; and on the first demand they were sequestered from parliament, and committed to custody. No man in either house ventured to speak a word in their vindication. One individual alone remarked, that he did not believe them guilty of high treason; he only thought they were stark mad, and therefore desired that they might be sent to Bedlam.

This was a fatal blow to the royal interest, and it was aggravated by the imprudence of the king himself. Charles had long suppressed his resentment, and only strove to gratify the Commons by the greatness of his concessions; but finding all his compliances unavailing, he now gave orders to Herbert, the attorney-general, to enter an accusation of high treason, in the House of Peers, against Lord Kimbolton and five commoners, Sir Arthur Hazlerig, Hollis, Hampden, Pym, and Strode. The articles charged them with traitorously endeavoring to subvert the fundamental laws and government of the kingdom, to deprive the king of his regal power, and to impose on his subjects an arbitrary and tyrannical authority; with inviting a foreign army to invade the kingdom; with aiming at subverting the very right and being of parliaments; and with actually raising and countenancing tumults against the king. Men had scarce leisure to wonder at the pre-

cipitation and imprudence of this impeachment, when they were astonished by another measure still more rash and unwarrantable. A sergeant-at-arms, in the king's name, demanded of the house the five members, and was sent back without any positive answer. This was followed by conduct still more extraordinary. Next day the king himself entered the House of Commons alone, and advanced through the hall, while all the members stood up to receive him. The Speaker withdrew from the chair, and the king took possession of it. Having seated himself, and looked round for some time, he told the house that he was sorry for the occasion that forced him thither, but that he was come in person to seize the members whom he had accused of high treason, seeing they would not deliver them up to his sergeant-at-arms. Then addressing himself to the Speaker, he desired to know whether any of the members were in the house. But the Speaker, falling on his knees, replied that he had neither eyes to see nor tongue to speak, in that place, but as the house was pleased to direct him; and he asked pardon for not being able to give any other answer. The king sat for some time to see if the accused were present; but they had escaped a few minutes before his entry, and taken shelter in the city. Disappointed, perplexed, and not knowing on whom to rely, he next proceeded, amidst the invectives of the populace, who continued to cry out, "Privilege, privilege!" to the common council of the city at Guildhall, where he justified his proceedings respecting the fugitives, and expressed a hope that they would not find shelter or protection in the city. The common council answered his complaints by a disdainful silence; and, on his return, one of the populace, more courageous or insolent than the rest, cried out, "To your tents, O Israel!"

When the Commons assembled the next day, they affected or felt the greatest terror, and passed a unanimous vote that the king had violated their privileges, and that they could not assemble again in the same place,



ill they had obtained satisfaction, and a guard for their security. Meanwhile the king retired to Windsor, whence he wrote to his parliament, promising every satisfaction in his power. But they were resolved to accept of nothing unless he would discover his advisers in that illegal measure; a condition which they knew that, without rendering himself for ever vile and contemptible, he could not possibly submit to.

The Commons had already stripped the king of most of his privileges; the bishops were fled, the judges were intimidated; and it now only remained, after securing the church and the law, that they should also get possession of the sword. The power of appointing governors and generals, and levying armies, still continued a prerogative of the crown. Having first magnified their terrors of Romanism, which perhaps they actually dreaded, the Commons proceeded to petition that the Tower might be put into their hands, and that Hull, Portsmouth, and the fleet, should be intrusted to persons of their choosing. Compliance with these requests was calculated to subvert what remained of the monarchy; but such was the necessity of the times, that they were first contested, and then granted. The Commons then desired to have a militia, raised and governed by such officers and commanders as they should nominate. But Charles hesitated. Being at that time in Dover attending the queen and the Princess of Orange, who was about to leave the kingdom, he replied that he had not now leisure to consider a matter of such great importance; and therefore would defer an answer till his return. The Commons, however, were well aware that they had gone too far to recede; and hence they were desirous of leaving him no authority whatever, conscious that they themselves would be the first victims of its free exercise. They alleged that the dangers and distempers of the nation were such as could endure no longer delay; and unless the king speedily complied with their demands, they would be obliged, both for his safety and that of the kingdom, to

embody and direct a militia by the authority of both houses. In their remonstrance they also desired to be permitted to command the army for an appointed time; a request which so exasperated him, that he exclaimed with indignation, "No, not for an hour!" This peremptory refusal broke off all further treaty, and both sides now resolved to have recourse to arms.

Charles, taking the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York along with him, retired, by slow journeys, to the city of York, where the people were more loyal, and less infected with the prevailing spirit of the times, than elsewhere. Here he found his cause backed by a more numerous party among the people than he had expected. The nobility and gentry from all quarters, either personally or by messages and letters, expressed their duty towards him; and the queen, who was then in Holland, had succeeded in levying men and procuring ammunition by selling the crown jewels. But before war was openly declared, the semblance of a negotiation was kept up, rather with a view to please the people, than with any hope of reconciliation. Nay, that the king might despair of all composition, the parliament sent him the conditions on which they were willing to come to an agreement. Their demands were contained in nineteen propositions or articles, and in effect amounted to a total abolition of monarchical authority.

War on any terms was esteemed by the king and all his counsellors preferable to a peace on such ignominious terms. "If I should submit to these terms," said he, "I may have my hand kissed, and may retain the title of majesty, but I should remain but the outside, the picture, the sign of a king." Charles accordingly resolved to support his authority by force of arms. His towns, he said, were taken from him; his ships, his army, and his money. But there still remained to him a good cause, and the hearts of his loyal subjects, which, with God's blessing, he doubted not would recover all the rest. Therefore, collecting some forces, he ad

vanced southwards, and erected his royal standard at Nottingham.

The struggle now about to commence seemed, in many respects, exceedingly unequal. The king, indeed, was supported by a splendid nobility, and a large portion of the more considerable gentry, who, dreading a total confusion of ranks, enlisted themselves under the banner of their monarch, from whom they received, and to whom they communicated, lustre. The cordial concurrence of the bishops and church of England also increased the number of his adherents. But it may safely be affirmed, that the high monarchical doctrines so much inculcated by the clergy had been eminently prejudicial to his cause; while the bulk of the nobility and gentry who now attended the king in his distress breathed the spirit of liberty as well as of loyalty; and it was only in the hopes of his submitting to a limited and legal government that they were willing to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in his cause. On the other hand, the city of London, and most of the great corporations, took part with the parliament. In the capital, no less than four thousand men enlisted in one day; and the demand for a loan, by the parliament, was answered with so much alacrity, that the treasure flowed in faster than it could be received. All the sea-ports, except Newcastle, were also in the hands of the parliament; and the seamen naturally followed the party espoused by the ports to which they belonged. Add to this, that the example of the Dutch commonwealth, where liberty had so happily supported industry, made the commercial part of the nation desire to see a similar form of government established in England; whilst many families, who had enriched themselves by commerce, finding that, notwithstanding their opulence, they could not raise themselves to a level with the ancient gentry, adhered to a power by the success of which they hoped to acquire both rank and consideration.

At first every advantage seemed to lie against the royal cause. The king was to-

tally destitute of money, while, from the causes already mentioned, the parliament were secure of a considerable revenue. They had begun by seizing all the magazines of arms and ammunition, and their fleet intercepted the greater part of the succors sent by the queen from Holland; so that the king, in order to arm his followers, was obliged to borrow the weapons of the trained bands, under promise of restoring them on the return of peace. The nature and qualities of his adherents alone gave the king some compensation for all the advantages possessed by his adversaries. More bravery and activity were hoped for from the generous spirit of the nobles and gentry, than from the baser disposition of the multitude; and as the landed gentlemen had levied and armed their tenants at their own expense, greater force and courage were to be expected from these rustic troops than from the vicious and enervated population of cities.

But the parliamentary forces were ill officered or ill directed, otherwise, with a disposable force of six thousand men, which lay within a few days' march of the royalists, they might have easily dissipated the small number of troops which the king had been able to collect, amounting to no more than eight hundred horse and three hundred foot. In a short time the parliamentary army marched to Northampton, where the Earl of Essex, who had joined them, found a force amounting to fifteen thousand men. The king's army too was soon reinforced from all quarters; but having no force capable of coping with the parliamentary army, he thought it prudent to retire to Derby, and thence to Shrewsbury, in order to cover the levies which his friends were making in those parts. At Wellington, a day's march from Shrewsbury, he assembled his forces, amounting to near ten thousand men, and caused to be read at the head of every regiment his military orders, in which he protested solemnly before his whole army that he would maintain the Protestant religion according to the church of England; that he would govern according



to the known statutes and customs of the kingdom; and that he would observe inviolate the laws to which he had given his consent during the present and preceding parliaments.

While Charles lay at Shrewsbury, he received the news of an action, the first that occurred in this unhappy contest, in which his party were victorious. On the appearance of civil commotion in England, the Princes Rupert and Maurice, sons of the elector palatine, had offered their services to the king; and the former at that time commanded a body of horse which had been sent to Worcester to watch the motions of Essex, who was then marching towards that city. The prince, however, had scarcely arrived, when he saw some of the enemy's cavalry approaching the gates. Without a moment's delay he attacked them as they were defiling from a lane and in the act of forming, killed their commander, Colonel Sandys, routed the whole party, and pursued them above a mile.

At this period military science and skill were at the lowest possible ebb in England; so much so, indeed, that, however much the contending parties might differ in spirit or in means, they were on a footing of perfect equality in ignorance of the principles and conduct of war. The hostile armies moved simultaneously, the king's from Shrewsbury, and the parliamentary from Worcester; but so totally destitute were both of intelligence, that they wandered about for ten days in absolute ignorance of each other's motions. At length, on the 23d of October, 1642, they met at Keinton, or Edgehill, in the county of Warwick. The royalists were commanded in chief by the Earl of Lindsey, who had seen some service in the Low Countries, and now had under him Prince Rupert, master of the horse, Sir Jacob Astley in charge of the foot, Sir Arthur Aston commanding the dragoons, and Sir John Heydon the artillery. The general-in-chief of the parliamentary forces was the Earl of Essex, assisted by a number of subordinate officers as yet un-

known to fame. In the encounter which immediately ensued, the royalists were at first victorious. Both wings of the parliamentary army were broken and put to flight by the onset of Prince Rupert's cavalry, supported by the troops under Aston and Wilmot; and if the royalist reserve had remained steady, the day would have been won. But thinking the victory already decided, they broke up from their position to join in the pursuit, and, whilst in the confusion produced by this disorderly movement, they were attacked by Sir William Balfour, who had anxiously watched their motions, with the parliamentary reserve, and defeated in their turn. Both armies then rallied, and faced each other for some time, neither party venturing to renew the attack: they lay all night under arms, and next day withdrew, Essex towards Warwick, and the king to his former quarters. Five thousand men, it is said, were left dead on the field in this bootless encounter. Soon afterwards, the king took Banbury and Reading, and defeated two regiments of his enemies at Brentford, taking five hundred prisoners. Thus ended the campaign of 1642, in which, though the king, upon the whole, had the advantage, yet the parliamentary army amounted to twenty-four thousand men, and was much superior to his. Nevertheless, his enemies had so far been humbled as to offer terms of peace. This led to the negotiations at Oxford. The terms required by the parliament as the condition of the king's recall, were the disposal of the militia, the abolition of Episcopacy, and the settlement of ecclesiastical controversies by an assembly of divines. But considerable abatement would probably have been made in these demands if Charles had not been extravagant in his; and the failure of the negotiation is ascribed to the king's fidelity to an unhappy promise he had made to the queen to accede to no terms without her intervention and consent. While the treaty was in dependence, no cessation of hostilities took place. On the 27th of April, 1643, Reading surrendered to

the parliamentary forces under the Earl of Essex, who commanded a body of eighteen thousand men. In the north, the Earl of Northumberland united the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmoreland, in a league for the king, and some time after engaged other counties in the same association. The same nobleman also took possession of York, and the Earl of Newcastle dislodged the forces of the parliament under Fairfax at Tadcaster; but his victory was not decisive. Other advantages were also gained by the royalists, the most important of which was at Stratton, where Waller, who commanded the parliamentary army, was entirely defeated, and forced to fly with only a few horse to Bristol. This happened on the 13th of July, and was followed by the siege of Bristol, which surrendered to Prince Rupert on the 25th of the same month.

Although the taking of Bristol cost the royalists dear, five hundred having fallen in the attempt to carry it by storm, yet their general success had greatly dispirited the opposite party; and the confusion which now prevailed at London was so great that some proposed to the king to march directly to the metropolis, which it was hoped might be reduced by an insurrection of the citizens, by victory, or by treaty, and thus put an end at once to the civil disorders. But this judicious advice was rejected; and it was resolved, first of all, to reduce Gloucester, that the king might have the whole course of the Severn under his command. The siege accordingly commenced on the 10th of August; but the town being defended by Massey, a resolute governor, and well garrisoned, made a vigorous defence. The consternation in London, however, was as great as if the enemy had already been at the gates; and in the midst of the general confusion a design was formed by Waller of forcing the parliament to accept of some reasonable conditions of peace. He imparted his design to some others; but a discovery being made of their proceedings, he and two others were condemned to death. Waller, how-

ever, escaped with a fine of £10,000. In the meanwhile Gloucester was reduced to the utmost extremity. A general assault had been repelled by the desperate enthusiasm of the garrison and city; but the means of prolonging the defence were now entirely exhausted. As a last resource, the parliament dispatched Essex with an army of fourteen thousand men to raise the siege. This he effected without much difficulty; and, on entering the place, he found only one barrel of gunpowder left and the provisions nearly exhausted.

But on his return to London he was intercepted by the king's army, and a desperate battle ensued at Newbury, which lasted till night. Essex's horse were several times broken by the king's, but his infantry preserved its formation; and the front ranks presenting a formidable array of pikes, whilst those in the rear poured in a destructive fire. Prince Rupert and the gentry composing the royal cavalry were unable, notwithstanding the furious impetuosity of their attacks, to make any impression on its compact order. Night put an end to the contest, but left the victory undecided. On the side of the king fell the brave, accomplished and virtuous Lord Falkland, one of the few personages to be met with in history whose life and death were equally honorable and glorious. Next morning Essex proceeded on his march to London; and although he had rather escaped a defeat than gained a victory, he obtained the approbation of parliament. The king followed in the same direction, and, having taken possession of Reading, he established a garrison there, and by that means straitened London and the quarters of the enemy.

In the north, during the summer, the Earl, now created Marquis, of Newcastle, had raised a considerable force for the king; and great hopes of success were entertained from that quarter. But there appeared, in opposition to him, two men, on whom the event of the war finally depended, and who about this time began to be remarked for



their valor and military conduct. These were Sir Thomas Fairfax, son to the lord of that name, and Oliver Cromwell. The former gained a considerable advantage over the royalists at Wakefield, and took General Goring prisoner; the latter obtained a victory at Gainsborough over a party commanded by General Cavendish, who perished in the action. But both these defeats were more than compensated by the total rout of Lord Fairfax at Atherton Moor, and the dispersion of his army, which happened on the 31st of July. After this victory, the Marquis of Newcastle sat down before Hull with an army of fifteen thousand men; but, being beaten off by a sally of the garrison, he suffered so much that he thought it proper to raise the siege. About the same time Manchester advanced from the eastern associated counties, and having joined Cromwell and young Fairfax, defeated the royalists at Horncastle, where the conduct and gallantry of these two rising officers were eminently conspicuous. But though fortune had thus balanced her favors, the king's party still remained much superior in the north; and had it not been for the garrison of Hull, which kept Yorkshire in awe, a junction of the northern forces with the army of the south might have enabled the king, instead of undertaking the imprudent enterprise against Gloucester, to march directly to London and put an end to the war. The indecisive battle of Newbury terminated the campaign of 1643, by both parties retiring into winter quarters.

The issue of the war being still doubtful, both the king and parliament began to look for assistance from other nations. The former looked to Ireland, the latter to Scotland. The parliament of England, at the commencement of the civil dissensions, had invited the Scots to interpose their mediation, which, however, the king had declined. Early in the spring of 1643 this offer was renewed, but with no better success than before. Commissioners were also empowered to urge on the king to a compliance with the

presbyterian worship and discipline; but this he absolutely refused, as well as to call a parliament in Scotland; and the commissioners, finding themselves unable to prevail in any one of their demands, returned highly dissatisfied. Disappointed in all these views, the English parliament now sent commissioners to Edinburgh, to treat of a more close confederacy with the Scottish nation. The person in whom they principally confided on this occasion was Sir Harry Vane, who, in eloquence, address and capacity, as well as in art and dissimulation, was not surpassed by any one in that age, so famous for men of active talents. By his persuasions was framed at Edinburgh the Solemn League and Covenant, which effaced all former protestations and vows taken in both kingdoms, and long maintained its credit and authority. By a treaty with the convention, twenty-one thousand Scottish troops were to be retained in arms at the expense of England, to be led by their own generals, and to receive orders from a committee of both kingdoms.

The king likewise, in order to secure himself, had concluded a cessation of arms with the Irish rebels, and recalled a considerable part of his army from Ireland. Some Irish Catholics came over with these troops and joined the royal army, where they continued the same cruelties and disorders to which they had been accustomed; and the parliament voted that no quarter should ever be given them in any action. But Prince Rupert having made some reprisals, this inhumanity was repressed on both sides.

The campaign of 1644 proved very unfortunate to the royal cause. The forces brought from Ireland were landed at Mostyne in North Wales, and placed under the command of Lord Biron. They then besieged and took the castles of Hawarden, Beeston, Acton and Deddington-house. No place in Cheshire or the neighborhood now adhered to the parliament except Lantwich, and to it Biron laid siege in the depth of winter. Alarmed at this progress, Sir Thomas Fairfax assembled an army of four thousand

men in Yorkshire, and having joined Sir William Brereton, approached the camp of the royalists. Biron and his soldiers, elated with success, entertained a most profound contempt for their enemies. Fairfax suddenly attacked their camp, while the swelling of the river by a thaw divided one part of the army from the other. Those immediately opposed to Fairfax were quickly driven from their post, and having retired into the church of Acton, were surrounded and taken prisoners; the other part retreated precipitately without fighting; and thus was dissipated or rendered useless the body of auxiliaries from Ireland. This happened on the 25th of January. On the 11th of April ensuing Colonel Bellasis was totally defeated at Selby in Yorkshire by Sir Thomas Fairfax, who had returned from Cheshire with his victorious forces. Being afterwards joined by Lord Leven with the Scottish army, Fairfax, in conjunction with his ally, sat down before the city of York, but being unable to invest the city completely, they were obliged to content themselves with incommoding it by a loose blockade. Hopetoun, having assembled a body of fourteen thousand men, endeavored to break into Sussex, Kent and the southern association, which seemed well disposed to receive him; but he was defeated by Waller at Cherington. At Newark, however, Prince Rupert totally routed the parliamentary army which besieged that place, and thus preserved the communication open between the king's northern and southern quarters.

The great advantages which the parliament had gained in the north seemed now to second their enterprises, and finally to promise them success. Manchester having taken Lincoln, had united his army to that of Leven and Fairfax; and York was now closely besieged by their numerous forces. The town, though vigorously defended by the Marquis of Newcastle, was reduced to the last extremity, when Prince Rupert, having joined Sir Charles Lucas, who commanded Newcastle's horse, hastened to its

relief with an army of twenty thousand men.

The Scottish and parliamentary generals raised the siege, and, drawing up on Marston-moor, prepared to give battle to the royalists. By a dexterous movement, or rather by masking his movements, Rupert, interposing the Ouse between him and the enemy, threw military stores and provisions into York, and joined his forces with those under Newcastle. The marquis then endeavored to persuade him, that, having successfully effected his purpose, he ought to be contented with the present advantages; remain on the defensive at least till an expected reinforcement arrived; and leave the enemy, diminished by losses, and discouraged by ill-success, to dissolve by the mutual dissensions which had begun to take place among them. The prince, however, hurried on by his natural impetuosity, gave immediate orders for fighting. His forces occupied Marston-moor; those of his opponents were posted in the adjacent fields; and both sides were nearly equal in numbers. After an ineffectual cannonade across a bank and ditch which separated the two armies, the signal for close combat was given nearly at the same instant by both sides. A moment of silent suspense followed, each party expecting that the other would begin the attack. But evening approached, and no time was to be lost. At the head of the left wing of the parliamentary army Cromwell and David Leslie crowned the bank, drove back Rupert's right wing, dispersed his cavalry, and overpowered part of his centre. A different fortune awaited the right wing of the parliamentary army, where young Fairfax commanded. Charged with irresistible impetuosity by General Hurry, it was beaten back in disorder; and a reserve of the Scottish infantry, which moved to its support, was also cut up with astonishing celerity. The royalists then pushed for the enemy's baggage, and began to plunder. But while they were thus occupied, Cromwell and Leslie wheeled round



and restored the battle. The parliamentary right wing now rallied on the left, and the whole army having changed its front, drew up in a position at right angles to that which it had occupied at the commencement of the battle. The royalists did the same, and the combat was renewed with great fury on both sides. But fortune soon declared in favor of the parliamentarians. The shock, though bloody, was brief, and the victory decided by Leslie's three Scottish regiments and Cromwell's brigade of Ironsides. The royal army was driven off the field, and its whole artillery taken.

Immediately after this unfortunate action, the Marquis of Newcastle left the kingdom, while Prince Rupert retired into Lancashire. The city of York surrendered in a few days, and Newcastle was soon afterwards taken by storm. This was a fatal blow to the royal cause, and far from being counterbalanced by an advantage gained at Cropredy-bridge by the king over Waller, or even by the surrender of Essex's forces, which happened on the 1st of September. On the 27th of October another battle was fought at Newbury, in which the royalists were worsted; but soon after they retrieved their honor at Dennington Castle, which finished the campaign in 1644.

In 1645 negotiations were renewed, and the commissioners, sixteen from Charles, twelve from the parliament, and four from the Scots, assembled at Uxbridge on the 30th of January; but it was soon found impossible to come to any agreement. The demands of parliament were exorbitant, and, what was worse, their commissioners alleged that these were nothing but preliminaries. The king was required to attain, and except from a general pardon, forty of the most considerable of his English, and nineteen of his Scottish subjects, together with all the catholic recusants who had borne arms for him. It was insisted that forty-eight more, with all the members of either house who had sat in the parliament called by the king at Oxford, all lawyers and di-

viners who had embraced the king's party should be rendered incapable of any office, be forbidden the exercise of their profession, be prohibited from coming within the verge of the court, and should forfeit the third of their estates to the parliament. It was required, that whoever had borne arms for the king should forfeit the tenth of their estates, or, if that did not suffice, the sixth, for the payment of public debts. And, as if such terms would not have sufficiently annihilated the royal authority, it was further demanded that the court of wards should be abolished; that all the considerable officers of the crown, and particularly the judges, should be appointed by parliament; and that the right of peace and war should not be exercised without consent of parliament. Considerable abatement was, however, made in these rigorous demands; and as the rising power of the Independents made it the interest of the Presbyterians to conclude peace, if it could be done with any degree of safety, the treaty was now limited to the three subjects of religion, the militia, and Ireland. On the first, the king's enemies required the abolition of prelacy, the confirmation of the acts of the assembly of divines at Westminster, and the ratification of the Solemn League and Covenant, with an injunction to all to take it, beginning with the king himself; on the second, the management of the militia till seven years after the peace, and an act of mutual oblivion; on the third, or Ireland, a cessation of arms, and the surrender to parliament of the direction of the war, and of the power of concluding peace without their consent. But after a great deal of fruitless negotiation, Charles ultimately refused to concede any of these points, and the treaty was in consequence broken off. The news of Montrose's victories in Scotland, and the hope of ten thousand men under the Duke of Lorraine, which the queen had stipulated for, are alleged to have been the chief causes of the failure of the treaty. A little before the commencement of this negotiation, the par-

liament, to show their determined resolution to proceed as they had begun, brought to the block Archbishop Laud, who had for a considerable time been a prisoner in the Tower, and was no longer capable of giving offence, or rendering himself dangerous to any one.

But while the king's affairs were daily becoming worse in England, they seemed to revive a little in Scotland, through the conduct and valor of the Earl of Montrose. On his return from his travels, Montrose had been introduced to the king; but not meeting with an agreeable reception, he went over to the Covenanters, and had been active in forwarding all their schemes. Being commissioned, however, by the tables to wait upon the king while the army lay at Berwick, he was gained over by the civilities and caresses of that monarch, and thenceforth devoted himself entirely, though secretly, to his service. Having attempted to form an association in favor of the royal cause, Montrose was thrown into prison; and on his release, which he managed to obtain, he found the king ready to give ear to his counsels, which were of the boldest and most daring kind. The whole nation of Scotland was occupied by the Covenanters; considerable armies were kept on foot by them, and every place was guarded by a vigilant administration; yet, by his own credit, and that of a few friends who remained to the king, this bold renegade undertook to raise such commotions as should soon oblige the malcontents to recall the forces which had so sensibly turned the balance in favor of the English parliament. The defeat at Marston-moor had left him no hopes of any succors from England; he was therefore obliged to stipulate with the Earl of Antrim for a supply of men from Ireland. And having used various disguises, as well as passed through many dangers, he arrived in Scotland, where he lay for some time concealed on the borders of the Highlands.

Although the Irish did not exceed eleven hundred foot, very ill-armed, Montrose im-

mediately put himself at their head; and, being joined by thirteen hundred Highlanders, he attacked Lord Elcho, who lay at Tibermore, near Perth, with six thousand men, and utterly defeated him, killing two thousand of the Covenanters. He next marched northwards in order to rouse the Marquis of Huntly and the Gordons, who had before taken arms, but had been overpowered by the Covenanters. At Aberdeen he attacked and entirely defeated Lord Burley, who commanded two thousand five hundred men. But by this victory Montrose did not obtain the end he proposed; for the Marquis of Huntly showed no inclination to join an army where he was sure to be eclipsed by a powerful and daring genius acting from its own impulses.

Montrose was now in a very dangerous situation. Argyll, reinforced by the Earl of Lothian, was behind him with a great army; while the militia of the northern counties of Moray, Ross and Caithness, to the number of five thousand, opposed him in front, and guarded the banks of the Spey, a deep and rapid river. In order to save his troops, he turned aside into the hills; but, after some marches and counter-marches, Argyll came up with him at Faivy Castle. Here, after some skirmishes, in which he was victorious, Montrose got clear of a superior army, and, by a quick march through almost inaccessible mountains, placed himself absolutely beyond their reach.

But it was the misfortune of this general, that good or ill fortune proved equally destructive to his army. After every victory his Scottish adherents went home with the spoil they had collected; and had his army been composed of these only, he must soon have been altogether abandoned. But the Irish under his command, having no place to which they could retire, adhered to him in every fortune. With these, therefore, and some reinforcements of Atholemen and Macdonalds, Montrose fell suddenly upon Argyll's country, letting loose upon it all the horrors of war in their most savage form.



Having collected three thousand men, Argyll, marched in quest of the enemy, who had retired with their plunder, and took up a position at Innerlochy, supposing himself to be still at a considerable distance from his antagonist. While this force had thus established itself in front, the Earl of Seaforth, at the head of the garrison of Inverness and a body of five thousand new levied troops, pressed the royalists on the other side, and threatened them with total destruction. The situation of Montrose was critical in the extreme; but a stroke of genius and fortune relieved him, and brought back victory to his standard. By a rapid and unexpected march he hastened to Innerlochy, and presented himself in order of battle before the Covenanters at the head of about eighteen hundred men. Argyll, seized with a panic, deserted his army, and, at a secure distance, having pushed off from the shore of the loch in a boat, witnessed the conflict which he had not the courage to share. The Campbells, however, made a stout resistance, but were at last defeated and pursued with great slaughter. After this victory, Montrose was joined by great numbers of Highlanders; Seaforth's army dispersed of itself; and the Lord Gordon, eldest son of the Marquis of Huntly, having escaped from his uncle Argyll, who had hitherto detained him, now joined Montrose with a considerable number of his followers, accompanied by the Earl of Aboyne.

Alarmed at these victories, the council at Edinburgh sent for Baillie, an officer of reputation, from England, and, joining him in command with Urrey, dispatched them with a considerable army against the royalists. Montrose, with a detachment of eight hundred men, had attacked Dundee, a town remarkable for its zeal in favor of the covenant, carried it by assault, and given it up to be plundered by his soldiers, when Baillie and Urrey with their whole force suddenly came upon him. He instantly called off his soldiers from the plunder, put them in order, covered his retreat by a series of skillful man-

œuvres, and, having marched sixty miles in the face of a superior enemy without stopping or allowing his soldiers the least time for sleep or refreshment, he at last secured himself in the mountains. His antagonists now divided their forces, in order to carry on the war against an enemy who surprised them as much by the rapidity of his marches as by the boldness of his enterprises. Urrey met him with four thousand men at Auldearn, near Inverness, and, trusting to his superiority in number, Montrose having only two thousand men, attacked him in the post which he had chosen. Montrose posted his right wing on some strong ground, and drew the best of his forces to the other, leaving no main body between them; a defect which he artfully concealed by showing a few men through the trees and bushes with which the ground was covered. And, that Urrey might have no leisure to discover the stratagem, he instantly led his left wing to the charge, and made a furious onset on the Covenanters, whom he drove from the field in complete disorder. Baillie now advanced to revenge Urrey's defeat, and re-establish, if possible, the credit of the popular arms. But he himself met with a similar fate at Alford. Montrose, weak in cavalry, intermixed his troops of horse with platoons of infantry, and, having put his enemy's horse to rout, fell with united force upon their foot, which were entirely cut in pieces, though with the loss of the gallant Lord Gordon on the part of the royalists. Victorious in so many battles, which his vigor had rendered as decisive as they were successful, Montrose now prepared to march into the southern counties, in order to put down the power of the Covenanters, and disperse the parliament, which had been ordered to assemble at St. Johnstone or Perth.

While Montrose was thus signaizing his valor in the north, Fairfax, or rather Oliver Cromwell under his name and sanction, employed himself in new modelling the parliamentary army, and throwing the whole into

a different and much more effective form. And never perhaps was there a more singular army established than that which was now re-organized by the parliament. To the greater number of the regiments chaplains were not appointed: the officers assumed the spiritual duty which they united with their military functions. The private soldiers were infected with the same spirit; and such an enthusiasm seized the whole army as perhaps has scarce ever been equalled in the history of the world. The royalists ridiculed the fanaticism of the parliamentary armies, without being sensible how much reason they had to dread its effects. They were at this time equal, if not superior, in numbers to their enemies, but so licentious in their conduct, that they had become more formidable to their friends than to their enemies.

The natural consequence of this enthusiasm in the parliamentary army, and this licentiousness in that of the king, was, that equal numbers of the latter were no longer able to maintain their ground against the former. This appeared conspicuously in the decisive battle of Naseby, which was fought between forces nearly equal. Prince Rupert, by his furious onset, broke the wing of the enemy opposed to him, but, as usual, pursued too far. Cromwell also bore down the wing of the royalists opposite that which he commanded; but instead of imitating the example of the impetuous prince, he sent a detachment in pursuit, and executing what is technically called a *quart de conversion*, attacked the exposed flank of the centre, where the royalist infantry were pressing hard on Fairfax. The result of this movement was decisive. When Rupert returned from pursuit the battle was irretrievably lost. The king called out to make but one charge more and the day would be their own; but his artillery and baggage being already taken, his infantry destroyed, and the prince's cavalry wholly exhausted by their exertions, it was now too late to attempt any such effort. After an obstinate struggle, Charles was en-

tirely defeated, with the loss of five hundred officers and four thousand private men prisoners, and all his artillery and ammunition, while his infantry were totally dispersed.

After this fatal battle, the king retired first to Hereford, then to Abergavenny, and remained some time in Wales, in the vain hope of raising a body of infantry in these quarters, already harassed and exhausted. His affairs now went to ruin in all quarters; Fairfax retook Leicester on the 17th of June, and on the 10th of July he raised the siege of Taunton, while the royalists retired to Lamport, an open town in the county of Somerset. Here they were attacked by Fairfax, and driven from their position, with the loss of three hundred killed and fourteen hundred taken prisoners. This was followed by the loss of Bridgewater, which Fairfax took three days after, making the garrison, to the amount of two thousand six hundred men, prisoners of war. He then reduced Bath and Sharburn; and on the 11th of September Bristol was surrendered by Rupert, though a few days before he had boasted, in a letter to Charles, that he would defend the place for four months. This so enraged the king, that he immediately recalled all the prince's commissions, and sent him a pass to go beyond sea.

In the meantime the Scots, having made themselves masters of Carlisle after an obstinate siege, marched southwards and invested Hereford, but were obliged to raise the siege on the king's approach. This was the last glimpse of success that attended his arms. Having marched to the relief of Chester, which was anew besieged by the parliamentary forces under Colonel Jones, his rear was attacked by Poyntz, and an engagement immediately ensued. The fight was maintained with great obstinacy, and victory seemed to incline to the royalists, when Jones fell upon them from the other side, and defeated them with the loss of six hundred killed and a thousand taken prisoners. The king, with the remains of his army, fled to Newark, and thence escaped to Oxford, where he shut



himself up during the winter season. After the surrender of Bristol, Fairfax and Cromwell, having divided their forces, marched, the former westwards in order to complete the conquest of Devonshire and Cornwall, and the latter to attack the king's garrisons to the eastward of Bristol. Nothing was able to stand before these victorious generals; every town was obliged to submit, and every body of troops which ventured to resist them were utterly defeated.

At last news arrived that Montrose himself, after some more successes, had been defeated; and thus the only hope of the royal party was destroyed. When he had descended into the southern counties, the Covenanters, assembling their whole force, met him with a numerous army, and gave him battle at Kilsyth. But here he obtained a memorable victory. Of the Covenanters above four thousand were killed on the spot, and no remains of an army left them in Scotland. Many noblemen, who had secretly favored the royal cause, now declared openly for it, when they saw a force able to support them. The Marquis of Douglas, the Earls of Anandale and Hartfield, the Lords Fleming, Seton, Maderty, Carnegie, and many others flocked to the royal standard. Edinburgh opened its gates and gave liberty to all the prisoners detained there by the Covenanters, and amongst the rest to Lord Ogilvy, son to the Earl of Airly, whose family had contributed essentially to the victory gained at Kilsyth. David Leslie was now detached from the army in England, and marched to the relief of his distressed party in Scotland. Allured by vain hopes of rousing to arms the Earls of Hume, Traquaire, and Roxburgh, who had promised to join him, and of obtaining from England some supply of cavalry, in which he was still very deficient, Montrose advanced still further to the south. But by the negligence of his piquet, or more probably from security engendered by success, Leslie surprised his army at Philiphaugh in the Forest, then much diminished in numbers from the desertion of the Highlanders, who,

according to custom, had retired to the hills to secure their plunder. After a sharp conflict, in which Montrose displayed great valor his forces were routed by Leslie's cavalry, and he was himself forced to fly to the mountains.

In the situation to which the king was now reduced, he resolved to grant the parliament their own terms, and sent them repeated messages to this effect; but a considerable time elapsed before they deigned to make him any reply. At last, after reproaching him with the blood spilt during the war, they informed him that they were preparing some bills, to which, if he would consent, they should then be able to judge of his pacific inclinations. In the mean time Fairfax was advancing with a victorious army in order to lay siege to Oxford; and Charles, rather than submit to be taken captive and led in triumph by his insolent subjects, resolved to give himself up to the Scots, who had never testified such implacable animosity against him, and to trust to their loyalty for the rest. After passing in disguise through many bye-ways and cross-roads, he arrived, in company with only two persons, Doctor Hudson and Mr. Ashburnham, at the Scottish camp before Newark, and immediately discovered himself to their general, Lord Leven.

On the authority of an intercepted letter of the king, it has been asserted that he threw himself on the Scottish army in consequence of an assurance that they would assist him in recovering his lost prerogative, unite with the forces under Montrose, and compel the English parliament to accept a peace. In a declaration still extant, however, the Scottish leaders disclaim, in the strongest terms, any public or private agreement whatsoever with the king; and as this disclamation, which was publicly made, received no contradiction at the time, the reasonable conclusion is, that it could not be disputed.

Next came the negotiations between the Scots and English for the payment of arrears due to the former, and for the surrender of

the king's person into the hands of the latter. The arrears, after many deductions, were finally settled at £400,000; and this adjustment has been perpetually identified by historians with the agreement to deliver up the king's person, and represented as the equivalent given, or the price paid, for an act of unparalleled baseness. The amount of the arrears was fixed in August. In November the question as to the disposal of the royal person remained still unsettled. At this time the Scottish parliament, indignant at a vote passed by the English parliament in September (a month after the settlement of the arrears) claiming the sole disposal of the king's person, resolved to maintain the freedom of the king, and assert his right to the English throne; but the vote was afterwards rescinded, on the just ground that it amounted to an abandonment of the solemn league and covenant, adopted in concert with the English Presbyterians, unless their joint demands were granted by the king. They offered, however, to reinstate him on the throne, and to obtain for him a just settlement with his English subjects, provided he would consent to take the covenant; and commissioners were appointed by the estates in Scotland to signify to his majesty these conditions, upon which alone he could expect to be received in Scotland, or assisted by the Scottish nation. But the king remained inflexible. In vain did the Duke of Hamilton, one of his principal friends in Scotland, unite with the ministers in representing that this alone could save him; in vain was it urged that if he conceded the Presbyterian church to both kingdoms, the demands respecting the militia would be relaxed, that all Scotland would declare in his favor, and that, while the Presbyterians remained numerous and powerful, few in England would venture to oppose the reconstitution of the monarchy with limited power. Nothing could move him to accede to that which alone could save him. On the eve of his departure the commissioners renewed with great earnestness their offers to con-

duct him to Berwick, and to procure more equitable terms, provided he would take the covenant; and so anxious were they to save him, that a bare promise to comply with their religious demands would have been deemed sufficient. But all that could be wrung from this unhappy prince was a doubtful consent to tolerate Presbytery for three years; and even in making this concession, he justified it to his own curious conscience, by declaring before two of his bishops his unalterable resolution to restore and uphold Episcopacy.

After the flight of Charles, Oxford surrendered to Fairfax, and the civil war terminated exactly four years after the king's standard was first erected at Nottingham. In consequence of the transactions at Newark, and the total failure of all attempts at an accommodation with the Presbyterians, the king was delivered over to the English Commissioners, and conducted under a guard to Holdenby, in Northamptonshire, where he was very rigorously confined, and debarred from visits of his friends, as well as all communication with his family.

The civil war being thus ended, the king absolved his followers from their allegiance, and the parliament had now no enemy to fear but the troops which had fought for them. But it was not long before they found themselves in the same unfortunate predicament to which they had reduced the king. The majority of the house were Presbyterians, but the majority of the army were Independents. Soon after the retreat of the Scots, the former seeing every thing reduced to obedience, proposed to disband a considerable part of the army, and send the rest over to Ireland. But this was by no means relished by the Independents, and Cromwell took care to heighten the disaffection. Instead of preparing to disband, therefore, the soldiers resolved to petition, and began by demanding an indemnity, ratified by the king, for any illegal actions they might have committed during the war. But the Commons voted that this petition tended to intro-duce



munity, and threatened to proceed against the promoters of it as enemies to the state and disturbers of the public peace. The army accordingly began to set up for themselves, and a military parliament was organized in opposition to the parliament at Westminster. The principal officers formed a council to represent the body of Peers; the soldiers elected two men out of each company, called the *agitators* of the army to represent the Commons; and of this assembly Cromwell took care to be a member. The new parliament soon found many grievances to be redressed, and specified some of the most considerable. The Commons were obliged to yield to every request, and the demands of the agitators rose in proportion to the concessions they extorted. The Commons accused the army of mutiny and sedition; but the army retorted the charge, and alleged that the king had been deposed only to make way for their usurpations. In the mean time Cromwell, who secretly conducted all the measures of the army, while he exclaimed against their violence, resolved to seize the king's person. Accordingly a party of five hundred horse appeared at Holmby Castle, under the command of one Joyce, originally a tailor, now a cornet; and by this man was the king conducted to the army, who were hastening to their rendezvous at Triplow Heath, near Cambridge. Next day Cromwell arrived, and being received with acclamations of joy, was immediately invested with the supreme command. The Commons now discovered the designs of the army; but it was too late. All resistance had become hopeless. Cromwell advanced with precipitation, and was in a few days at St. Alban's. Even submission was now to no purpose. The army still rose in their demands, in proportion as these were gratified, and at last proclaimed their intention of modelling the whole government, as well as settling the nation.

Cromwell began with accusing eleven members of the house, leaders of the Presbyterian party, as guilty of high treason,

and enemies to the army. The Commons were willing to protect them; but the army insisting on their dismissal, they voluntarily left the house. At last the citizens of London, finding the constitution totally overturned, and a military despotism about to be established on the ruins of the kingly tyranny which they formerly dreaded, began to think seriously of repressing the insolence of the troops. The common council assembled the militia of the city; the works were manned; and a manifesto was published, aggravating the hostile intentions of the army. Finding that the Commons, in compliance with the request of the army, had voted that the city militia should be disbanded, the multitude rose, besieged the door of the house, and obliged them to reverse the vote which they had so lately passed. The assembly was in consequence divided into two parties: the greater part siding with the citizens, but the minority, with the two speakers at their head, being for encouraging the army. Accordingly the two speakers, with sixty-two of the members, secretly retired from the house and threw themselves on the protection of the army, which was then at Hounslow Heath. They were received with shouts and acclamations; their integrity was extolled; and the whole force of the soldiery, to the number of twenty thousand men, now moved forward to reinstate them in their places.

In the meanwhile the part of the house which was left resolved to resist the encroachments of the army. They chose new speakers, gave orders for enlisting troops, and ordered the train-bands to man the lines; while the whole city boldly resolved to resist the invasion. But this resolution only held while the enemy was at a distance. When Cromwell appeared, all was obedience and submission; and the gates were opened to the general, who attended the two speakers and the rest of the members peaceably to their habitations. The eleven impeached members having been accused as the cause of the tumult, were expelled, and most of them re-

tired to the Continent. The mayor, the sheriff, and three aldermen, were sent to the Tower; several citizens and officers of the militia were committed to prison; the lines about the city were leveled with the ground; and the command of the Tower was given to Fairfax.

It now only remained to dispose of the king, who continued a prisoner at Hampton Court. The Independent army, at the head of which was Cromwell, on the one hand, and the Presbyterians, in name of both houses, on the other, treated with him separately in private. He had sometimes even hopes, that in these struggles for power, he might be chosen mediator in the dispute; and he expected that the kingdom, at last sensible of the miseries of anarchy, would of its own accord relapse into tranquillity. At this time he was treated with flattering marks of distinction, and allowed to converse with his own servants; whilst his chaplains were permitted to attend him, and celebrate divine service in their own way. But the most exquisite pleasure he enjoyed was in the company of his children, with whom he had several interviews. The meeting on these occasions was so touching, that Cromwell himself, who happened once to be present, could not help being moved, and was heard to declare that he never before beheld such an affecting scene. But these instances of respect were not of long continuance. As soon as the army had gained a complete victory over the House of Commons, the king was treated not only with the greatest disrespect, but even kept in continual alarm for his personal safety. The consequence was, that Charles at last resolved to withdraw himself from the kingdom.

Accordingly, on the 11th of November, 1647, the king, attended only by Sir John Berkeley, Ashburnham, and Legg, privately left Hampton Court; and his escape was not discovered till nearly an hour afterwards, when those who entered his chamber found on the table some letters directed to the parliament, to the general, and to the officer who

had attended him. He travelled all night through the forest, and arrived next day at Titchfield, a seat of the Earl of Southampton, occupied by the countess dowager, a woman of honor, to whom the king knew he might safely intrust his person. Before he arrived at this place, he went to the seacoast, and expressed great anxiety that a ship, which he seemed to look for, had not arrived. As he could not hope to remain long concealed at Titchfield, the question was, what measure should next be embraced? In the neighborhood lay the Isle of Wight, of which Hammond was governor. This man was a dependent of Cromwell's, which was an unfavorable circumstance; yet as he was a nephew to Dr. Hammond, the king's favorite chaplain, and had acquired a good reputation in the army, it was thought proper to have recourse to him in the present emergency, when no other rational expedient could be thought of. Ashburnham and Berkely were accordingly dispatched to the island. They had orders not to inform Hammond of the place where the king lay concealed, till they had first obtained from him a promise not to deliver up his majesty, even though the parliament and army should require him, but restore him to his liberty, if he could not protect him. The promise would have been but a slender security; yet, even without exacting it, Ashburnham imprudently, if not treacherously, brought Hammond to Titchfield; and the king was obliged to put himself into his hands, and to attend him to Carisbrooke Castle in the Isle of Wight, where, though he was received with great demonstrations of respect and kindness, he was in reality a prisoner.

While the king continued in this forlorn situation, Cromwell found himself upon the point of losing all the fruits of his schemes, by having his own artifices turned against himself. Among the Independents, who in general were hostile to all ecclesiastical systems, a set of men grew up called Levellers, who disallowed all subordination whatsoever, and declared that they would have no



other chaplain, king, nor general, save Jesus Christ. All this would have gone down very well with Cromwell as long as it was only directed against his enemies, but he did not relish it quite so well when applied to himself. Accordingly, having intimation that the Levellers were to meet at a certain place, he unexpectedly appeared before them at the head of his red regiment, which had hitherto been deemed invincible, and demanding; in the name of God, what these meetings and murmurings meant, he expostulated with them upon the dangerous consequences of their precipitate schemes, and desired them immediately to depart. Instead of obeying, however, they returned an insolent answer; upon which he ordered his guards to disperse them, caused several of them to be hanged upon the spot, sent others to London, and thus dissipated a faction which was no otherwise criminal than in having followed his own example. Cromwell's authority was greatly increased by the reduction of this sect; and it became irresistible in consequence of a new and unexpected addition to his successes.

Meanwhile the relative situations of parties had materially changed, and the power of the Independents been increased as that of the Presbyterians declined. The former, too, began to disclose ulterior views and intentions which had never hitherto been suspected by their allies the Scots, whom they now took all occasions to mortify. The latter also found, that in the matter of Presbytery, no less than in the conduct of the war and the policy pursued towards the king, they had been overreached and deceived. The discovery in question brought on an accommodation between Charles and his Scottish subjects, who, in consideration of his majesty agreeing to confirm the covenant in parliament, and establish the Presbyterian church till it should be revised by the assembly of divines, engaged to assert and restore his authority by force of arms. This treaty was afterwards called *The Engagement*; but although discontents had multiplied between

the two kingdoms, it was found no easy matter to induce the nation to enter into the views of those by whom the engagement had been concluded. The Scottish royalists, under Traquair and Callender, were impatient for action; the moderate Presbyterians, under the Duke of Hamilton, wished to restore the king and the power of the English Presbyterians; the wild party, headed by Argyll, and seconded by the kirk, denounced the engagement as a deadly breach of the covenant, and deprecated hostilities with England. Amidst this division of party and opinion, new levies were raised for the invasion of England, and the chief command given to Hamilton, as David Leslie and the other officers could not act without the sanction of the church.

Langdale headed a separate body of royalists who had not taken the covenant, and both invaded the north of England. But though these two armies amounted to above twenty thousand men, Cromwell, at the head of eight thousand hardy veterans, feared not to give battle to the divided and undisciplined mass, conducted by an incapable leader. Attacking these bodies in succession, he routed and dispersed them, took Hamilton prisoner, and, followed up the blow, soon entered Scotland. Of the whole Scottish force only a small body under Callender, who disdained to surrender, made their way back to Scotland. This overthrow was the signal for the High Presbyterian party to bestir themselves. New levies were indeed raised by the Earl of Lanark, Hamilton's brother; but these proved of no avail. The Earls of Argyll, Cassillis, and Eglintoun, at the head of the Presbyterians of the west country and the Highlands, marched to Edinburgh, and inviting Cromwell to the metropolis, conducted him thither in triumph, suppressed the engagement, and renewed the solemn league and covenant with England. This expedition of the Covenanters to Edinburgh, commonly called the *Whigamores' Inroad*, gave the finishing blow to the royal cause in Scotland at this time.

During these contentions the king, who was kept a prisoner at Carisbrooke Castle, continued to negotiate with the parliament for putting an end to the unspeakable calamities of the kingdom. And the parliament, on the other hand, saw no method of restraining the military, except to counterbalance it by the kingly power. Frequent proposals for an accommodation accordingly passed between the captive king and the Commons; but the great obstacle which had all along stood in the way still remained unshaken. This was the king's refusal to abolish Episcopacy, though he consented to alter the liturgy. However, the treaty was still carried on with vigor, and the parliament for the first time seemed in earnest to conclude their negotiations. But all was now too late. The victorious army, headed by Cromwell, advanced to Windsor, and with furious remonstrances began to demand vengeance on the king. The unhappy monarch had been lately sent in custody to that place; and from thence he was now conveyed to Hurst Castle in Hampshire, opposite to the Isle of Wight. The parliament in the meanwhile began to issue ordinances for a more effectual opposition to these military encroachments, when they were astonished by a message from Cromwell, intimating his intention of paying them a visit next day with his whole army, and at the same time ordering them to raise him £40,000 on the city of London.

The Commons, though destitute of all hopes of prevailing, had still the courage to resist, and to attempt in the face of the whole army to finish the treaty they had begun with the king. They had taken into consideration the whole of his concessions; and although they had formerly voted them unsatisfactory, they now renewed the consultation with great vigor. After a violent debate, which lasted three days, it was carried in the king's favor, by a majority of 129 against 83, that his concessions were a foundation for the houses to proceed upon in settling the affairs of the nation. This was

the last attempt in his favor; for the next day Colonel Pride, at the head of two regiments, blockaded the house, and seizing in the passage forty-one members of the Presbyterian party, sent them to a low room belonging to the house, that passed by the denomination of *Hell*. Above a hundred and sixty members were excluded; and none were allowed to enter but the most furious and determined of the Independents, in all not exceeding sixty. This atrocious invasion of parliamentary rights commonly passed by the name of *Pride's Purge*, and the remaining members were called the *Rump*. The latter soon voted that the transactions of the house a few days before were entirely illegal, and that their general's conduct was just and necessary.

Nothing now remained to complete the career of the *Rump* but to put the king to death. In this assembly, composed of the most obscure citizens and officers of the army, a committee was appointed to bring in a charge against the king; and on their report a vote was carried, declaring it treason in a king to levy war against his parliament. It was therefore resolved that a high court of justice should be appointed, to try his majesty for this newly-invented treason. For form's sake they desired the concurrence of the few remaining Lords in the upper house; but there was virtue enough left in that body unanimously to reject the proposal. The Commons, however, were not to be stopped by so small an obstacle. They voted that the concurrence of the House of Lords was unnecessary, and that the people were the origin of all just power. And to add to their zeal, a woman of Herefordshire, illuminated by prophetic visions, desired admittance, and communicated a revelation which she pretended to have received from heaven. She assured them that their measures were consecrated from above, and ratified by the sanction of the Holy Ghost. This intelligence gave them great comfort, and much confirmed them in their present resolutions. Colonel Harrison, the son of a



butcher, was commanded to conduct the king from Hurst Castle to Windsor, and from thence to London. His subjects, who crowded to see their fallen sovereign, were greatly affected at the change which appeared in his face and person. He had permitted his beard to grow, and his hair had become venerably gray, rather by the pressure of anxiety than by the hand of time; whilst the rest of his apparel bore the marks of misfortune and decay. He had long been attended by an old decrepid servant commonly called *Sir Philip Warwick*, who could only deplore his master's fate, without being able to revenge his cause. All the exterior symbols of sovereignty were now withdrawn, and his attendants had orders to serve him without ceremony. He could not, however, be persuaded that his adversaries would bring him to a formal trial; but he every moment expected to be dispatched by private assassination.

From the 6th to the 20th of January was spent in making preparations for this extraordinary trial. The court of justice consisted of a hundred and thirty-three persons named by the Commons; but of these about seventy only met upon the trial. The members were chiefly composed of officers of the army, most of them of very mean birth, together with some of the Lower House, and a few citizens of London. Bradshaw, a lawyer, was chosen president; Coke was appointed solicitor for the people of England; Dorislaus, Steel, and Aske, were named assistants. The court sat in Westminster Hall. When the king was brought forward before this court, he was conducted by the mace-bearer to a chair placed within the bar. Though long detained a prisoner, and now produced as a criminal, he still maintained the dignity of a king. The charge was then read by the solicitor, accusing him of having been the cause of all the bloodshed which had flowed since the commencement of the war; after which Bradshaw directing his discourse to Charles, told him that the court expected his answer. The king began his defence by

declining the authority of the court. He represented, that having been engaged in treaty with his two houses of parliament, and having finished almost every article, he expected a different treatment from that which he had now received. He perceived, he said, no appearance of an upper house, which was necessary to constitute a just tribunal. He alleged that he was himself the king and fountain of law, and consequently could not be tried by laws to which he had never given his assent; that having been intrusted with the liberties of the people, he would not now betray them by recognizing a power founded in usurpation; that he was willing, before a proper tribunal, to enter into the particulars of his defence; but that until then he must decline any apology for his innocence, least he should be considered as the betrayer of, and not as a martyr for, the constitution. Bradshaw, in order to support the authority of the court, insisted that they had received their authority from the people, the source of all right. He pressed the king not to decline the authority of the court which was delegated by the Commons of England, and interrupted, overruled, and browbeat him in his attempts to reply. In this manner the king was three times produced before the court, and as often persisted in declining its jurisdiction. The fourth and last time he was brought before this self-created tribunal, he was insulted on his way thither by the soldiers and the mob, who cried out, "Justice! justice! Execution! execution!" but he continued undaunted. His judges now examined some witnesses, by whom it was proved that the king had appeared in arms against the forces commissioned by parliament, and then pronounced sentence against him. He seemed very anxious at this time to be admitted to a conference with the two houses, and it was supposed that he intended to resign the crown in favor of his son; but the court refused compliance, and considered his request as an artifice to delay justice.

On his return to Whitehall, Charles do

sired permission of the house to see his children, and to be attended in his private devotions by Dr. Juxon, late bishop of London. These requests were granted, and three days were also allowed him to prepare for execution. Every night between his sentence and execution the king slept soundly as usual, though the noise of the workmen employed in erecting the scaffold continually resounded in his ears. The fatal morning having at last arrived, Charles rose early; and calling one of his attendants, bade him employ more than usual care in dressing him, and preparing him for so great a solemnity. The street before Whitehall was the place destined for his execution; for it was intended in this way to increase the severity of his punishment. He was led through the banqueting house to the scaffold adjoining to that edifice, attended by his friend and servant Bishop Juxon, a man of the same mild and steady character as his master. The scaffold, covered with black, was guarded by a regiment of soldiers under the command of Colonel Tomlinson; and on it were to be seen the block, the axe, and two executioners in masks. The people, in crowds, stood at a distance. The king surveyed all these solemn preparations with composure; and, as he could not expect to be heard by the people at a distance, he addressed himself to the few persons who stood round him. He there justified his own innocence in the late fatal wars, observing that he had not taken arms till after the parliament had shown him the example; and that he had no other object in his warlike preparations, than to preserve that authority entire which had been transmitted to him by his ancestors. But, though innocent towards his people, he acknowledged the equity of his execution in the eyes of his Maker, and owned that he was justly punished for having consented to the execution of an unjust sentence against the Earl of Stafford. He forgave all his enemies; and exhorted the people to return to their obedience, and acknowledge his son as his successor; and signified his attachment to the Protestant

religion as professed by the church of England. So strong was the impression made by his dying words on those who could hear him, that Colonel Tomlinson himself, to whose care he had been committed, acknowledged himself a convert. At one blow his head was severed from his body. The other executioner then, holding up the head, exclaimed, "This is the head of a traitor."

It is impossible to describe the grief, indignation, and astonishment, which took place, not only among the spectators, who were overwhelmed with a flood of sorrow, but throughout the whole nation, as soon as the report of this execution was conveyed to them. Each blamed himself, either with active disloyalty to the king, or a passive compliance with his destroyers. The very pulpits which used to resound with insolence and sedition were now bedewed with tears of repentance; and all united in their detestation of those dark hypocrites, who, to satisfy their own enmity, involved a whole nation in the guilt of this catastrophe. Charles was executed on the 30th of January, 1649, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and twenty-fourth of his reign.

The dissolution of the monarchy followed, as a natural consequence, the execution of the king. At the commencement of the struggle the demands of the two houses were limited to the redress of existing grievances; but now when it was over, the triumphant party refused to be content with anything less than the abolition of the old, and the establishment of a new and more popular form of government. A republic was therefore their choice, first, because it promised to shelter them from the vengeance of their enemies; and, secondly, because it offered them the additional advantage of sharing among themselves all the power, the patronage, and the emoluments of office. In accordance with this decision, the head of the king had no sooner fallen on the scaffold at Whitehall, than a proclamation was issued, declaring it treason to give to any person the title of king without the authority of



parliament; and at the same time was published the vote of the 4th of January (1649), by which it had been decreed that the supreme authority in the nation resided in the representatives of the people. The peers, though aware of their approaching fate, met on the day fixed at their adjournment, and proceeded to business; but after a pause of a few days the Commons voted that the House of Lords, as useless and dangerous, ought to be abolished; and they declared it high treason to acknowledge Charles Stuart, son of the late king, as successor to the throne. A council of state was next appointed, consisting of forty-one members, with powers limited in duration to twelve months, and charged with the preservation of domestic tranquillity, the disposal of the military and naval force, the superintendence of internal and external trade and the negotiation of treaties with foreign powers. A new great seal was then made, on one side of which were engraven the arms of England and Ireland, with this inscription, "The great seal of England;" and on the reverse was represented the House of Commons sitting, with this motto—"On the first year of freedom, by God's blessing restored, 1649." The forms of all public business were changed, and instead of proceeding in the king's name, ran in that of the "keepers of the liberties of England." The Court of King's Bench was called the Court of Public Bench; and so cautious on this head, it is said, were some of the republicans, that, in reciting the Lord's Prayer, they would not say "thy kingdom," but "thy commonwealth, come." The king's statue in the exchange was thrown down; and on the pedestal these words were inscribed, *Ecce tyrannus, regum ultimus*, "The tyrant is gone, the last of the kings." The merit or demerit of thus erecting a commonwealth on the ruins of the monarchy belongs chiefly to Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw and Marten, who, by their superior influence, guided and controlled the opinions and passions of their associates in the senate and the army.

The Commons next proceeded to punish those who had been most remarkable for their attachment to their late sovereign. The Duke of Hamilton, Lord Capel and the Earl of Holland were condemned and executed; the Earl of Norwich and Sir John Owen were also condemned, and afterwards pardoned. These executions greatly irritated the Scots; and the insolence of the Independents, with their victories, inflaming them still more, they determined to acknowledge Prince Charles as their king, but, at the same time, to abridge his power by limitations similar to those which they had attempted to impose upon his father. But as Argyll and the more rigid Covenanters still predominated, they made their loyalty conditional on his own good behaviour. The first propositions were made to Charles at Paris, where he had passed some time in hopes of obtaining assistance; and renewed offers were made to him at Breda, to which place he had withdrawn on finding France indisposed to lend him any aid. But as he had by this time commanded Montrose to attempt a descent in his favor upon Scotland by force of arms, he, with the characteristic duplicity of his race, protracted the negotiations until the result of this enterprise should be known. With arms and money furnished by Sweden and Denmark, and accompanied by about six hundred Germans, Montrose, accordingly, arrived in Orkney from Hamburg, and by a compulsory levy of the islanders, raised his force to fourteen hundred men. He then passed over to the mainland of Scotland, where the people, remembering his former cruelties, fled in horror before him. But his career was destined to be a short one. Having advanced beyond the pass of Invercarron, his motley band was surprised by a superior force, surrounded, beaten and dispersed. Montrose contrived to effect his escape, but having thrown himself on the protection of Macleod of Assynt, he was betrayed by that worthy for a thousand bolls of meal, and being brought prisoner to Edinburgh, he was condemned on

his former attainer to be hanged for the space of three hours on a gibbet thirty feet in height, and his limbs were ordered to be stuck up in the principal towns of the kingdom; his head on a spike in Edinburgh, his arms on the gates of Perth or Stirling, his legs on those of Glasgow and Aberdeen, and his body to be interred by the hangman in Boroughmuir, unless the sentence of excommunication by the kirk were previously relaxed. Montrose's defeat and death, however, were productive only of a further limitation of the terms offered to Charles; and as he no longer refused to accept these conditions, and to take the covenant, if required to do so, he embarked with his court in a Dutch fleet, and arrived at the mouth of the Spey. But as the jealousy of the Scots had been roused by the late invasion, the covenant was exacted from him before he was suffered to land. His English attendants, with the exception of a few complying persons, who accommodated themselves to the times, were dismissed; and he was surrounded by the fanatical clergymen, who, though they approached his person in the most respectful manner, launched out in continual invectives on the iniquity of his father's house, the idolatry of his mother, and his own connection with inveterate malignants. Charles pretended to listen to their discourses, but nevertheless made an attempt to escape. Being overtaken, however, and brought back, he owned the greatness of his fault, and testified his repentance for what he had done.

Cromwell, in the meantime, having been appointed by the parliament to command the army in Ireland, prosecuted the war in that kingdom with his usual success. He had to encounter the royalists commanded by the Duke of Ormond, and the native Irish led on by O'Neale. But he quickly overcame their force; and most of the towns, intimidated by his energy, opened their gates at his approach. He was on the point of reducing the whole kingdom, when he was recalled by the parliament to defend his

country against the Scots, who had raised a considerable army in support of the royal cause.

As Fairfax had conscientiously declined to draw his sword against the Presbyterians of Scotland, Cromwell received the command of the forces destined to invade that kingdom, and, in a month from the time of the king's arrival, he was on the banks of the Tweed at the head of sixteen thousand veteran troops. Argyll, then at the head of the committee of estates, made the most vigorous preparations for his reception; while Leslie, who had never yet been beaten, opposed his great experience and cool sagacity to the genius of Cromwell. The latter, having established between Edinburgh and Leith a fortified camp, as a secure rallying point, wasted the Merse and the Lothians, in order to deprive Cromwell of subsistence; and when forced at length to retire within his entrenchments, he remained resolutely on the defensive, in spite of every expedient tried by his adversary to draw him out to action. At this time the king arrived at the Scottish headquarters, but his presence having excited the jealousy of the clergy, they ordered him to leave it, and forthwith proceeded to purge the camp of four thousand Malignants and Engagers, the only soldiers of credit and experience in the army; so that being now a host of saints, they concluded, somewhat hastily, that they could not be beaten. In the blindness of their folly, they murmured at their prudent general; and, in the extravagance of their fanaticism, they expostulated with the Lord in prayer on the urgent necessity of his interposition, in order to uphold the kirk and deliver them from the sectaries. An opportunity of striking a blow to advantage having presented itself on a Sunday, Leslie proposed instantly to attack; but he was prevented by these insane fanatics, who affected great horror at the crime of Sabbath-breaking. Meanwhile Cromwell, straitened for provisions, withdrew his army, now reduced in numbers by sickness, to Dunbar,



Leslie followed his movement, and encamped on the heights which command the town, taking care, at the same time, to occupy the passes by which alone the enemy could retire to Berwick. Cromwell's situation had become now most critical. His adversary's position was too strong to be assaulted with any hope of success; his retreat was intercepted; his provisions were nearly exhausted; sickness was daily thinning his ranks; destruction brooded over him. But the madness of the clergy restored the ascendancy of this extraordinary man's fortune, and snatched from Leslie the fruits of his masterly combinations, when he was on the very eve of reaping them in a bloodless harvest of victory. They had been wrestling with the Lord in prayer, as they termed it, and, pretending some special revelation, they now fancied that they had obtained the victory, and that the heretical army, together with Agag their general, would forthwith be delivered into their hands. These holy idiots, accordingly, forced their general to descend to the plain, and to attack the English. When Cromwell discovered through his glass that the Scots were actually in motion, he exclaimed, "They are coming down; the Lord hath delivered them into our hands!" His anticipation was speedily realized. Descending from the hills during a tempestuous night, which had extinguished their matches, the Scots, consisting entirely of raw undisciplined levies, were overthrown at the first onset by the veteran troops of Cromwell, who had been carefully sheltered from the storm; three thousand were slain, nine hundred made prisoners, and the remainder dispersed, whilst the loss of the English scarcely exceeded forty men.

This disaster, so richly merited, showed, in a striking point of view, the danger of disunion. In a meeting held at Perth, the Scottish parliament accordingly resolved to call in the aid of the Malignants and Engagers, on condition of repentance of past errors; but two of the western shires still held out against this approximation of parties,

and withdrew from the general levy about five thousand men. Charles had by this time become thoroughly satisfied that soothing the religious prejudices of the kirk was indispensable to give him a chance of acquiring due preponderance in the state. On the 1st of January, 1651, his coronation was performed with great solemnity at Scone. There, on his bended knees, and with his arm upraised, he swore by the Eternal and Almighty God to observe strictly the two covenants. Argyll then placed the crown upon the king's head, an act for which his own was afterwards the forfeit; and having seated him on the throne, both nobility and gentry swore allegiance, "according to the national covenant, and the solemn league and covenant."

In the meanwhile Cromwell was making rapid progress in subduing the kingdom. He had obtained possession of Edinburgh Castle, taken Tantallon by storm, attempted Dumbarton, though without success, and carried many places of inferior note. A severe attack of ague for a time retarded his operations; but in the month of July he marched with his army towards Stirling. The Scots faced him in their entrenched camp at Torwood, and resolved to pursue the same cautious conduct observed by Leslie till it had been so fatally overruled by the clergy. After observing them for a time, Cromwell withdrew to Glasgow, and the Scots took up a position at Kilsyth: he retrograded to Falkirk, and his opponents returned to their camp at Torwood. Both parties had now resumed the respective positions which they had originally occupied; but the aspect of affairs had materially changed. Whilst the attention of the Scots was engaged by the enemy in their front, a body of men had crossed the Frith in boats, and, having fortified a hill near Inverkeithing, were immediately followed by Lambert at the head of a powerful division. Holburn was dispatched from the camp at Torwood, with orders to drive the enemy into the sea; but being suddenly charged by Lambert at the head of

a superior force, he was routed and put to flight. Cromwell then transported his army to the left bank of the river, and advanced on the rear of the Scots, who, in consequence, retired from the position which had thus been completely turned. The progress of the English excited the most fearful anticipations in the minds of the Scottish leaders; to Charles it suggested the execution of a project which he had long meditated, namely, to march into England, accompanied by such of his subjects of Scotland as were willing to share in the toils and perils of the enterprise. This scheme was opposed by Argyll and a few other chieftains, who regarded it as utterly desperate; but the king was inflexible; and the rest having expressed their readiness to stake their lives on the issue of the attempt, twelve thousand men began their march from Stirling, in the direction of Carlisle, and gained three days in advance before the movement was discovered.

Cromwell was surprised and embarrassed: he had not calculated on such a daring adventure, and his army was unprepared to follow at a moment's notice. But exerting all the energies of his powerful mind, he quickly assembled a large force, more formidable even for its quality than its numerical strength, and set out in quest of the fugitive invaders, who had met with none of the support upon which they had so confidently reckoned, either from the English royalists or Presbyterians. At last the Scottish army, which had thrown itself into Worcester, was attacked by Cromwell at the head of thirty thousand men, and, after a desperate contest, completely defeated. The battle was fought on the 3d of September, 1651, the day on which, twelve months before, the English general had defeated the Scots at Dunbar.

The king, who had greatly signalized his personal courage during the battle, now entered upon a scene of adventures the most romantic that can be imagined. After cutting off his hair, the better to disguise his person, he worked for some days in the habit of a peasant, making faggots in a wood. He

next attempted to retire into Wales, under the conduct of one Pendrel, a poor farmer, who was sincerely attached to his cause, but in this attempt he failed, as every pass was guarded to prevent his escape. Being obliged to return, he met one Careless, who had escaped the carnage at Worcester; and in his company the king was obliged to climb a spreading oak, among the branches of which they lay concealed during the day, while the soldiers of the enemy were heard in pursuit of them below. After this he experienced all the varieties of famine, fatigue, and pain, till he arrived at the house of Colonel Lane, a zealous royalist, in Staffordshire. Here he deliberated about the means of escaping into France; and Bristol being supposed the most suitable port, it was resolved that he should ride thither before this gentleman's sister, on a visit to a person who lived in the neighborhood of that city. During this journey the king every day met with persons whose faces he knew, and at one time passed through a whole regiment of the enemy's army. But on finding that, for a month to come, no ship would sail for Bristol either for France or Spain, he was obliged to go elsewhere for a passage. He therefore repaired to the house of Colonel Wyndham in Dorsetshire, where he was cordially received; and thence pursuing his journey to the sea-side, he once more had a narrow escape at an inn, where he tarried for a night. The day had been appointed for a solemn fast; and a weaver, who had been a soldier in the parliamentary army, was preaching against the king in a little chapel fronting the house. To avoid suspicion, Charles was himself among the audience. But it happened that a smith, of the same principles with the weaver, had been examining the horses belonging to the passengers, and came to assure the preacher that he knew by the fashion of the shoes that one of the strangers' horses came from the north. The preacher immediately affirmed that this horse could belong to no other than Charles Stuart, and instantly went with a constable to search the inn. But



the king had taken timely precautions, and left the inn before the constable's arrival. At Shoreham, in Sussex, a vessel was as last found, in which he embarked. He was known to so many, that if he had not set sail at that critical moment, it would have been impossible for him to escape. After forty-one days' concealment he arrived safely at Feschamp in Normandy. No fewer than forty persons of both sexes had at different times been privy to his escape, although a reward of a thousand pounds was offered for his person.

All parts of the British dominions being now reduced to perfect subjection to the parliament, they next resolved to chastise the Dutch, who had given some cause for complaint. It happened that Dorislaus, one of the late king's judges, being sent by the parliament as their envoy to Holland, was assassinated by one of the royal party who had taken refuge there; and some time after, Mr. St. John, appointed their ambassador to that court, was insulted by the friends of the Prince of Orange. These were judged sufficient grounds for a declaration of war against Holland by the commonwealth of England. The parliament's chief dependence lay in the activity and courage of Blake their admiral, who, although he had not entered the navy till late in life, yet surpassed all who went before him in courage and skill. On the other side, the Dutch opposed to him Van Tromp, justly celebrated for his bold and enterprising genius. Many engagements took place between these renowned commanders with various success; but these fierce encounters served rather to show the excellency of the admirals than to determine their superiority. At last the Dutch, who experienced many disadvantages by the loss of their trade, and by the total suspension of their fisheries, were willing to treat for peace. The parliament, however, gave an evasive answer, and studied to keep their navy in action as long as they could; rightly judging, that while the force of the nation was exerted by the sea, it would di-

minish the formidable power of Cromwell by land.

But this remarkable man quickly perceived their designs, and, secure in the attachment of the army, resolved to seize the sovereign power. He persuaded the officers to present a petition for payment of arrears and redress of grievances. His orders were obeyed. The house was highly offended, and appointed a committee to prepare an act, declaring that all persons who presented such petitions for the future should be deemed guilty of high treason. Against this the officers warily remonstrated, and the parliament as angrily replied. Cromwell, informed of the altercation, started up in the utmost fury, and turning to Major Vernon, cried out "that he was compelled to do a thing that made the very hair of his head stand on end." Then hastening to the house at the head of three hundred soldiers, and with marks of violent indignation on his countenance, he entered, took his place, and attended to the debates for some time. But when the question was about to be put, he suddenly started up, and, after some general remarks, began to load the parliament with the bitterest reproaches for their tyranny, ambition, oppression, and robbery of the public. Having finished his harangue, he stamped with his foot on the ground, which was the preconcerted signal for the soldiers to enter; and the place was immediately filled with armed men. He then turned, and again addressing himself to the members, said, "For shame, get you gone; give place to honest men, those who will more faithfully discharge their trust. You are no longer a parliament; I tell you, you are no longer a parliament; the Lord has done with you." Sir Harry Vane exclaiming against his conduct, "Sir Harry," cried Cromwell with a loud voice, "O, Sir Harry Vane; the Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane." Then taking hold of one of the members by his cloak, he exclaimed, "Thou art a whoremaster;" to another he said, "Thou art an adulterer;" to a third, "Thou art a drunkard;" to a fourth,

'Thou art a glutton;' and afterwards selecting different members in succession, he described them as dishonest and corrupt livers, a shame and scandal to the profession of the Gospel. Suddenly checking himself, however, he turned to the guard and ordered them to clear the house. At these words Colonel Harrison took the Speaker by the hands and led him from the chair; Algernon Sidney was next compelled to quit his seat; and the other members, eighty in number, on the approach of the military, rose and moved towards the door. Cromwell now resumed his discourse. "It is you," he exclaimed, "that have forced me to do this. I have sought the Lord both day and night, that he would rather slay me than put me on the doing of this work." Then pointing to the mace, "Take away that fool's bauble," cried he; after which he cleared the hall, ordered the doors to be locked, and putting the keys in his pocket, returned to Whitehall. In the afternoon the members of the council of state assembled at their usual place of meeting. As Bradshaw took the chair, however, the lord-general entered and told them, that if they were as private individuals they were welcome, but if as the council of state, they must know that the parliament was dissolved, and with it also the council. "Sir," replied Bradshaw, with the spirit of an ancient Roman, "we have heard what you did at the house this morning, and before many hours all England shall know it. But, sir, you are mistaken in thinking that the parliament is dissolved. No power under heaven can dissolve them but themselves. Therefore take you notice of that." After this protest they withdrew. But the decisive blow had been struck. By the parricidal hands of its own children perished the long parliament, which, under a variety of forms, had for more than twelve years defended and invaded the liberties of the nation. It fell without a struggle, unpitied and unregretted. The members slunk away to their homes, where, by submission, they sought to purchase the forbearance of their new master;

while their partisans, if such they had, reserved themselves in silence for the day of retribution, which, however, came not until after Cromwell slept in his grave.

The whole civil and military power of the state now centred in Cromwell, who, by this bold transaction, became, in effect, king of Great Britain, with uncontrollable authority. Desirous, however, to amuse the people with the form of a commonwealth, he proposed to give his subjects a parliament, but such a one as should be altogether obedient to his commands. For this purpose it was decreed that the sovereign power should be vested in a hundred and forty-four persons, under the denomination of a parliament; and the lord-general undertook to select them himself. The persons pitched upon were the lowest, meanest, and most ignorant of the citizens, and the very dregs of the fanatics. To go farther than others in the absurdities of fanaticism was the chief qualification upon which each of these valued himself. Their very names, borrowed from scripture, and rendered ridiculous by their misapplication, served to show their excess of folly. One of them particularly, a canting leather-seller, called Praise-God-Barebones, gave his name to this odd assembly, which was called Barebones' Parliament. They were principally composed of Antinomians, a sect which, after receiving the spirit, supposed themselves incapable of error, and fifth-monarchy men, who every hour expected Christ's second coming on earth. They began by choosing eight of their number to seek the Lord in prayer, while the rest calmly sat down to deliberate upon the suppression of the clergy, the universities, and courts of justice; and besides all this, it was their intention to substitute the law of Moses in the room of the law of the land.

It was impossible such a legislature as this could stand; even the vulgar exclaimed against it, and Cromwell himself began to be ashamed of its absurdities. He had carefully chosen many persons among the members who were entirely devoted to his inter-



ests, and these he commanded to dismiss the assembly. They accordingly met by concert earlier than the rest of their fraternity; and observing to each other that this parliament had sat long enough, they hastened to Cromwell, with Rouse, their Speaker, at their head, and into his hands resigned the authority with which he had invested them. Cromwell accepted their resignation with pleasure; but being told that some of their number showed themselves refractory, he sent Colonel White to clear the house of such as ventured to remain there. They had placed one Moyer in the chair by the time the colonel arrived; and he being asked by the colonel what they did there, replied, very gravely, that they were seeking the Lord. "Then you may go elsewhere," rejoined Colonel White, "for, to my certain knowledge, the Lord hath not been here these many years."

This shadow of a parliament being thus dissolved, the officers, by their own authority, declared Cromwell protector of the Commonwealth of England. The mayor and aldermen were sent for to give solemnity to his appointment, and he was installed into his new office at Whitehall, in the palace of the kings of England. He was to be addressed by the title of Highness; and his power was proclaimed in London, and in other parts of the kingdom. It was now, indeed, in a great measure necessary that some person should take the supreme command; for affairs had been brought into such a situation, by the furious animosities of the contending parties, that nothing short of absolute power could prevent a renewal of bloodshed and confusion. The government of the kingdom was adjusted in the following manner. A council was appointed, which was not to exceed twenty-one, nor fall below thirteen persons, who were to enjoy their offices for life, or during good behaviour; and, in case of a vacancy, the remaining members were to name three, of whom the protector was to choose one. The protector was appointed the supreme magistrate of the Commonwealth, with power such as the king was

formerly possessed of. The power of the sword was vested in him jointly with the parliament when sitting, or with the council at other times. He was obliged to summon a parliament once every three years, and to allow them to sit five months without adjournment. The standing army was fixed at twenty thousand foot and ten thousand horse, and funds were assigned for their support. The protector was to enjoy his office for life, and on his death his place was to be supplied by the council.

Thus Cromwell continued to govern, though without assuming the title of king, in as absolute a manner as the most despotic prince in Europe. As he was feared at home, so he made himself respected abroad. The Dutch, humbled by repeated defeats, were obliged to sue for peace; to consent to pay deference to the British flag; to abandon the interests of the king; to pay £85,000 as an indemnification for former expenses; and to restore to the English East India Company a part of those dominions which they had been dispossessed of by the Dutch during the former reign. The ministry of France thought proper to pay court to the protector; and as he had furnished that court with a body of six thousand men to attack the Spanish dominions in the Netherlands, the French put Dunkirk into his hands as a reward for his attachment. By means of the fleet under Blake he humbled Spain and chastised the Algerines and Tunisians. Penn and Venables, two other admirals, made an attempt on the island of Hispaniola; but failing in this, they steered to Jamaica, which was surrendered to them without a blow. Yet so little was thought of this conquest at the time, that, on their return, the two admirals were committed to the Tower, by reason of the failure of the principal object of their expedition.

It is not to be supposed that a numerous standing army could be maintained, and so many foreign wars carried on, without incurring extraordinary expenses. In fact, the protector's revenues were so much exhaust-







ed, that he was obliged to have recourse to methods which he probably would not have chosen had he not been driven to them by necessity. One or two royalist conspiracies, though detected and punished, served him as a pretext for imposing a tax upon that party, of the tenth penny on all their possessions; and in order to raise this oppressive impost, ten major-generals were instituted, who divided the whole kingdom into as many military jurisdictions. They had power to subject whom they pleased to the tax, and to imprison such as denied their jurisdiction. Under color of these powers they exercised the most arbitrary authority; the people had no protection against their exactions; the very mask of liberty was entirely thrown off; and all property was placed at the disposal of a military tribunal. It was in vain that the nation cried out for a free parliament. Cromwell assembled one in consequence of their clamors, but as speedily dissolved it when he found it refractory to his commands. At last, as parliaments were always held in such estimation by the people, he resolved to give them one, but such as should be entirely of his own choosing, and chiefly composed of his creatures. Lest any of a different description should enter the house, guards were placed at the doors, and none admitted but such as produced a warrant from his council.

The principal design of convening this assembly was to offer him the crown, with the title of king, and all the other ensigns of royalty. His creatures, therefore, took care to insinuate the confusion which existed in legal proceedings without the name of a king; that no man was acquainted with the extent or limits of the authority of the present magistrates; but that those of a king had been well ascertained by the experience of ages. The motion was at last formally made in the house, easily carried through, and nothing seemed now wanting but Cromwell's own consent to have his name enrolled among those of the kings of England.

This consent, however, he had not resolution enough to give. His doubts continued for some days; and the conference carried on with the members who had made him the offer, as far as it is intelligible on his part, seems to argue that he was desirous of being compelled to accept the offer. The conference, however, terminated in his total refusal.

But with all these proffered honors, and with all his despotic power, the situation of Cromwell was far from being enviable. Perhaps no situation, however mean and contemptible, was more truly distressing than his, even at the time when the nation was loading him with congratulations and addresses. He had at last rendered himself hateful to every party, and he owed his safety solely to their mutual hatred and distrust. His arts of dissimulation were exhausted; none could be any longer deceived by them; and even those of his own party and principles disdained the use to which he had converted his zeal and professions. Though the whole nation silently detested his administration, he would not not have been completely wretched if he could have found domestic consolation. But even his own family had embraced republican principles with so much vehemence, that they could not without indignation behold him invested with uncontrolled power; and even Mrs. Claypole, his favorite daughter, upbraided him on her death-bed, with all the crimes by which he had waded "through slaughter to a throne." To aggravate all this, conspiracies were formed against him; and it was at last openly thought, that his death was not only desirable, but that his assassination would be meritorious. A book was published by one Colonel Titus, a man who had formerly been attached to his cause, entitled "Killing no Murder." Of all the pamphlets which appeared at that time, or which have since been published, this was one of the most masterly. Cromwell read it, and is said never to have smiled afterwards.

The protector now found, that the grand



eur to which he had sacrificed his former tranquillity was only an inlet to fresh inquietudes. He was haunted with perpetual apprehensions of assassination. He wore armor under his clothes, and always kept pistols in his pockets. His aspect was clouded by a settled gloom, and he regarded every stranger with suspicion. He was always attended by a numerous guard, and generally traveled in a hurry. He never returned from any place by the road he went; and never slept above three nights together in the same chamber. At last, however, he was delivered from this life of horror and anxiety by a tertian ague, of which he died on the 3rd of September, 1658, after having held the reins of government nine years.

Oliver Cromwell was succeeded in his office of protector by his son Richard, who immediately called a parliament. To this assembly the army presented a remonstrance, desiring to have some person appointed for their general in whom they could confide. But the house voted such meetings and remonstrances unlawful; upon which the officers, surrounding Richard's house, forced him to dissolve the parliament; and he soon afterwards signed an abdication of the government. His younger brother Henry, who had been appointed to the command in Ireland, followed Richard's example, and resigned his commission without striking a blow.

The officers, thus left at liberty, resolved to restore the Rump Parliament, as it was called, consisting of that remnant of a parliament which had condemned Charles. But no sooner were they reinstated in authority, than they began to humble the army by cashiering some of the officers, and appointing in their room others on whom they could place more reliance. The officers, accordingly, decided to dissolve the assembly. For this purpose Lambert, one of the general officers, drew together a chosen body of troops, and, placing them in the streets which led to Westminster Hall, when the Speaker, Lenthall, proceeded in his carriage to the house, he ordered the horses to be turned,

and very civilly conducted him home. The other members were likewise intercepted, and the army returned to their quarters to observe a solemn fast, which generally either preceded or attended all their remarkable proceedings. A committee was then elected, of twenty-three persons, of whom seven were officers. These they invested with sovereign authority; and a military government was established, which gave the nation a prospect of endless servitude and tyranny without redress.

Upon learning that the officers had by their own authority dissolved the parliament, General Monk, who was then in Scotland with eight thousand veteran troops, protested against the measure, and resolved to defend the national privileges. As soon as he had put his army in motion, he found himself eagerly courted by all parties; but so cautious was he of declaring his mind, that, till the very last, no one knew which side he would take. As a remarkable instance of this politic or hesitating behavior, when his own brother came to him with a message from Lord Granville in the name of the king, he refused all conversation with him upon hearing that he had told his errand to Mr. Price, the general's own chaplain, and a man of known probity and honor.

Informed that the officers were preparing an army to oppose him, Monk amused them with negotiations; and the people, finding themselves not entirely defenceless, began to declare for a free parliament. The Rump, being invited by the navy and part of the army, again ventured to resume their seats, and to thunder votes in their turn against the officers and that of the army by which they had been ejected. Without taking any notice of Lambert, they sent orders to the troops to repair immediately to the garri- sons appointed for them. The soldiers obeyed; and Lambert at last found himself deserted by his whole army. Monk in the meantime proceeded with his army to London. The gentry, on his march, flocked

round him with addresses, expressing their desire of a new parliament; but that general, still continuing his inflexible taciturnity, at last reached St. Alban's, within a few miles of the capital, leaving all the world in doubt as to his motives and designs. Here he sent the parliament a message, desiring them to remove such forces as remained in London to country quarters. Some of the regiments willingly obeyed this order; and such as did not, Monk turned out by force; after which he took up his quarters in Westminster. The house voted him thanks for his services. He desired them to call a free parliament; and this soon inspired the citizens with courage to refuse submission to the present government. They resolved to pay no taxes until the members formerly excluded by Colonel Price should be replaced. But for this they were punished by Monk, at the desire of the parliament. He arrested eleven of the most obnoxious of the common council; broke the gates and portcullises, and, having exposed London to the scorn and contempt of all who hated it, he returned in triumph to his quarters at Westminster. The next day, however, he made an apology for this conduct, and promised for the future to co-operate with the mayor and common-council in such schemes as they should approve.

The Commons were now greatly alarmed. They tried every method to detach the general from his new alliance; some of them even promised to invest him with the dignity of supreme magistrate, and to support his usurpation. But Monk was too cunning or too wise to hearken to such proposals; he resolved to restore the secluded members, and by their means to bring about a new election. The restoration of the expelled members was easily effected; and their number was so much superior to that of the Rump, that the chiefs of this last party now withdrew in their turn. The restored members began with repealing all the orders by which they had been expelled. They renewed and enlarged the general's commission; fixed a proper stipend for the

support of the fleet and army; and, having passed these votes, dissolved themselves, giving orders for the immediate assembling of a new parliament. Meanwhile Monk new-modelled his army to the purposes he had in view; and some officers, by his direction, presented him with an address, in which they promised to obey implicitly the orders of the ensuing parliament. He approved of this engagement, which he ordered to be signed by all the different regiments; and this furnished him with a pretence for dismissing all the officers by whom it was rejected.

In the midst of these transactions, Lambert, who had been confined in the Tower, escaped from prison, and began to raise forces; and as his activity and principles were sufficiently known, Monk took prompt measures to oppose his proceedings. He dispatched Colonel Ingoldsby with his own regiment, against Lambert, before the latter had time to assemble his dependents. With four troops of horse Lambert had taken possession of Daventry; but the greater part of them having joined Ingoldsby, Lambert also surrendered, not without exhibiting strong marks of pusillanimity.

All this time Monk still persisted in his reserve; nor had he intrusted his secret intentions to any person except one Morris, a gentleman of Devonshire. The latter was of a sedentary and studious disposition; and with him alone had the general deliberated on the great and dangerous enterprise of the restoration. Sir John Granville, who had a commission from the king, applied for access to the general; but he was desired to communicate his business to Morris. Granville refused, though twice urged, to deliver his message to any but the general himself; upon which Monk, finding he could depend on this minister's secrecy, opened to him his whole intentions, but with his usual caution, refused to commit anything to paper. In consequence of these overtures the king left the Spanish territories, but very narrowly escaped being detained at Breda by the



governor, under pretence of treating him with proper respect and formality. From this he retired to Holland, where he resolved to wait the course of events.

The new parliament being assembled, Sir Harbottle Grimstone was chosen Speaker, a man known to be a royalist in his heart. The eyes of all were now turned towards the king; yet such were their fears, and such the dangers which attended freedom of speech, that for some days no one ventured to make any mention of his name. At length Monk gave directions to Annesley, president of the council, to inform them that one Sir John Granville, a servant of the king's, had been sent over by his majesty, and was now at the door with a letter to the House of Commons. After some manoeuvring, this message was received, Granville was called in, the letter read, and the king's proposals accepted of. He offered a general amnesty to all persons whatsoever, and that without any other exceptions than should be made by parliament. He promised to indulge scrupulous consciences with liberty in matters of religion; to leave to the examination of parliament the claims of all such as possessed lands with contested titles; to confirm all these concessions by act of parliament; to satisfy the army under General Monk with respect to their arrears; and to give the same rank to his officers when they were enlisted in the king's army.

In consequence of this agreement between the king and the parliament, Montague, the English admiral, waited on Charles, to inform him that the fleet expected his orders at Scheveling. The Duke of York immediately went on board, and took command as lord high admiral. The king embarked without delay, and landing at Dover, was received by Monk, whom he honored with particular marks of attention. He entered London on the 29th of May, 1660, which was his birth-day; and was attended by a great number of people, who testified their joy, as the multitude commonly do on such occasions, by loud acclamations

Charles II. was thirty years of age at the time of his restoration. Being naturally of an engaging countenance, and possessed of an open, affable disposition, he became a favorite with all classes of his subjects. They had now experienced all the miseries of anarchy, and in proportion to these was the satisfaction they felt on the accession of the young monarch. His first measures were also calculated to give general satisfaction. He seemed desirous of obliterating the memory of past animosities, and of uniting every party in affection for their prince and country. He admitted into his council the most eminent men of the nation, without regard to former distinctions. The Presbyterians shared this honor equally with the royalists. Calamy and Baxter, Presbyterian clergymen, were even made chaplains to the king. Admiral Montague was created Earl of Sandwich, and General Monk Duke of Albemarle. Morris, the general's friend, was appointed secretary of state. The choice which the king at first made of his principal ministers and favorites, was, in like manner, popular. Sir Edward Hyde, created Earl of Clarendon, was made prime minister and chancellor; the Marquis, created Duke of Ormond, was named steward of the household; the Earl of Southampton became high-treasurer; and Sir Edward Nicholas secretary of state. These men, united in the strictest bonds of friendship, supported each other's credit, and for a time steadily pursued the interests of the public.

The parliament having been summoned without the king's consent, received at first only the title of a Convention; and it was not until after an act had passed for that purpose that they were acknowledged by the name of a Parliament. Both houses acknowledged the guilt of the former rebellion, and gratefully received in their own name, and in that of all the subjects, his majesty's gracious pardon and indemnity. The king having before promised an indemnity to all criminals, excepting such as should be excluded by parliament, he now issued a pro-

clamation, declaring, that such of the late king's judges as did not surrender themselves within fourteen days should receive no pardon. Nineteen surrendered themselves; some were taken in their flight; and others escaped beyond the sea. The Peers seemed inclined to great severity on this occasion, but were restrained by the king, who, in terms apparently the most earnest, pressed the act of general indemnity.

After repeated solicitations, the act of indemnity passed both houses, with the exception of those who had an immediate hand in the king's death. Even Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, though dead, were considered as proper objects of resentment. Their bodies were dug from their graves, dragged to the place of execution, and, after hanging some time, buried under the gallows. Of the rest who had sat in judgment on the late monarch's trial, some were dead, and others thought worthy of pardon. Ten only out of eighty were doomed to immediate destruction. These were enthusiasts who had long acted from principle, and who, in the general spirit of rage excited against them, showed a fortitude which would have done honor to any cause.

This was all the blood that was shed at the Restoration. The rest of the king's judges were relieved, and afterwards dispersed in several prisons. The army which had for so many years governed the nation was now disbanded, and prelacy, with all the ceremonies of the church of England, was at the same time restored; yet the king pretended to preserve the air of moderation and neutrality. In regard to religion, Charles, in his gayer hours, was a professed deist; but in the latter part of his life he showed an inclination to the Catholic persuasion, which he had strongly imbibed in his infancy and exile.

On the 13th of September this year died the young Duke of Gloucester, a prince of some promise. The king was never so deeply affected by any incident in his life. The Princess of Orange, also, having come to England, in

order to share the joy attending the restoration of her family, with whom she lived in great friendship, soon afterwards sickened and died. The queen-mother paid a visit to her son, and obtained his consent to the marriage of the Princess Henrietta with the Duke of Orleans, brother to the French king. The parliament having met on the 6th of November, and carried on business with the greatest unanimity and dispatch, was dissolved by the king on the 29th of December 1660.

During the reign of Charles II., the spirit of the people seemed to take a turn quite opposite to that which it had exhibited in the time of his father. The latter found his subjects animated with a fierce though often ill-regulated zeal for liberty. They knew not what it was to be free, and therefore imagined that liberty consisted in throwing off entirely the royal authority. After a bloody and protracted struggle they carried their point; the unhappy monarch was dethroned and put to death; but instead of liberty they found themselves involved in the meshes of a more formidable tyranny than that which they had overthrown. From this, however, they were freed by the Restoration; but they now ran into the contrary extreme; and instead of an unbounded spirit of opposition, there was nothing but an unbounded spirit of submission, through which Charles at length found means to render himself almost quite absolute, and to govern without requiring, or indeed without having any occasion for parliaments. A similar revolution, or rather revulsion, took place in matters connected with religion. During the former reigns a spirit of the most gloomy enthusiasm had overspread the whole island, and men imagined that the Deity was only to be appeased by their denying themselves all social pleasure, and resisting every thing which tended to make life agreeable. The proceedings of Cromwell and his associates, to say nothing of the conduct of others, showed that this was not genuine religion; but, in avoiding one error, they ran into another



equally dangerous. Every thing religious or serious was now discountenanced; riot and dissipation everywhere prevailed. The court set the example. Nothing but scenes of gallantry and festivity were to be seen; the horrors of the late war became the subject of ridicule; the formality of the sectaries was displayed on the stage, and even laughed at from the pulpit; in a word, the best mode in religion now was to have as little as possible, and, in deriding the hypocrisy of the sectaries, to transgress even the common duties of morality. In the midst of this riot and dissipation, the old and faithful followers of the royal family were left unrewarded. Numbers who had fought both for the king and his father, and had lost their whole fortunes in his service, were suffered to pine in want and oblivion; whilst their persecutors, who had acquired fortunes during the civil war, were permitted to enjoy them without molestation. The wretched royalists petitioned and murmured in vain. The monarch fled from their expostulations to scenes of mirth and festivity: and the act of indemnity was with some reason described as an act of forgiveness to the king's enemies, and of oblivion to his friends.

In 1661 the Scottish and English parliaments vied with each other in protestations of loyalty and attachment to the king. In England, monarchy and episcopacy were raised to the greatest splendor. The bishops were permitted to resume their seats in the House of Peers, and all military authority was acknowledged to be vested in the king. He was empowered to appoint commissioners for regulating corporations, and expelling such members as had intruded themselves by violence, or professed principles dangerous to the constitution. An act of uniformity was passed, by which it was required that every clergyman should be re-ordained, if he had not before received episcopal ordination; that he should declare his consent to every thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and should take the oath of canonical obedience. In consequence of

this law, above two thousand of the Presbyterian clergy resigned their cures at once. In Scotland the right of the king was asserted in the fullest and most positive terms to be hereditary, divine, and indefeasible. His power was extended to the lives and possessions of his subjects, and his original grant was held to be the source whence all that they enjoyed was derived. They voted him additional revenue of £40,000; and all the former violences were spoken of in terms of the utmost detestation.

But this intoxication and loyalty soon began to wear off. The king's profusion and extravagance in his pleasures, together with his indolence in administration, furnished opportunities of making very disadvantageous comparisons between him and Oliver Cromwell. And these dispositions were increased by the ejection of so many ministers, and also by observing Dunkirk, which had been acquired during Cromwell's vigorous administration, sold to the French for £40,000, and that merely to supply the king's extravagance. From this time, August, 1662, Charles found himself perpetually opposed; and his parliaments granted supplies much more reluctantly than before.

A few months previously, the continual exigencies of the king had forced him to conclude a marriage with the Infanta of Portugal, for the sake of her portion, which was to be £500,000 in money, together with the fortress of Tangier in Africa, and that of Bombay, in the East Indies. The Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and the Dukes of Ormond and Southampton urged many reasons against this match, particularly the likelihood of her never having any children; but all their objections were fruitless, and therefore Clarendon, like a true courtier, set himself to promote it as far as lay in his power. But the king's necessities being still greater than his supplies could meet, he resolved to sacrifice his minister, Clarendon, to the resentment of the parliament, to whom he had become obnoxious, in order to procure more money. In 1663, an extraordinary supply

was demanded. On the 12th of June the king sent for the Commons to Whitehall; and having complained of their inattention, he informed them of a conspiracy which had been formed to seize the castle of Dublin, hoping by this means to furnish a reason for demanding a present supply. The artifice succeeded. Four subsidies were immediately granted, and the clergy, in convocation, followed the example of the Commons. On this occasion the Earl of Bristol ventured to impeach the Chancellor in the House of Peers; but as he did not support his charge, the affair was dropped for the present.

In 1664, Charles was induced to declare war against the Dutch, with the view probably, of getting the money, to be employed for that purpose, into his own hands. In this war the English, under the command of Sir Robert Holmes, expelled the Dutch from Cape Coast Castle in Africa, and likewise seized on their settlements of Cape Verd and the Isle of Goree. Sailing thence to America, the admiral took possession of Nova Belgia, since called New York, and long afterwards a dependency of Great Britain. On the other hand, De Ruyter dispossessed the English of all their settlements in Guinea, except Cape Coast. He afterwards sailed to America, where he attacked Barbadoes and Long Island, but was at last repulsed.

At length a battle between the grand fleets of each nation was fought near Lowestoffe, on the 3d of June, 1665, the one under the Duke of York, to the number of a hundred and fourteen sail; the other commanded by Opdam, admiral of the Dutch navy, of nearly equal force. The English fleet was divided into three squadrons; the red, under command of the duke; the white, under that of Prince Rupert, and the blue, under the Earl of Sandwich. James hoisted his flag on board the Royal Charles. The Dutch fleet sailed in seven divisions, comprising one hundred and thirteen ships. The bravest and noblest of the Dutch youths had repaired on board, to share the dangers of the expedition; and as the admiral had received positive or-

ders to fight, every heart beat high with the hope of victory. But Opdam did not share this confidence. In the inexperience of many of his captains, and the insufficiency of their crews, this able seaman discovered enough to make him doubt the result of the coming battle; and to those near him he observed, "I know what prudence would suggest; but I must obey my orders, and by this time to-morrow you shall see me crowned with laurels or the cypress." Early in the morning of the 3d the hostile fleets descried each other near Lowestoffe, and seven hours were spent in attempts on each side to gain the water-gate. At length the English, tacking in the same direction as the enemy, soon pushed alongside of them, in a parallel line, upon which the signal was made for each ship to bear down and engage her opposite in the enemy's fleet. The sea was calm, and the sky cloudless, but a breeze which blew from the north-west facilitated the duke's orders. The two nations fought with their characteristic obstinacy, and during four hours the issue hung in suspense. On one occasion the duke was in imminent peril. All the ships of the red squadron except two had dropped out of the line to refit and prepare again for action, and the weight of the enemy's fire was poured into the flag-ship. The Earl of Falmouth, Lord Muskerry, and Boyle, son to the Earl of Burlington, were killed by the same shot, and James was bespattered with their blood. But the disabled ships gradually resumed their stations in the line and as the fire of the English began to increase, that of the enemy was observed to slacken. At length, the Eendracht, bearing Opdam's flag, blew up, and the admiral with five hundred men perished in the explosion. Dismayed at the loss of their commander, the Dutch fled in confusion. Four of their sternmost ships running foul of each other, were destroyed by a fire-ship, and three others shortly afterward experienced the same fate. Van Tromp endeavored to keep the fugitive ships together; and as the darkness of the night retarded pursuit, the Dutch fleet in the morning was moored



in safety within the shallows. In this battle the enemy lost four admirals, seven thousand men slain or made prisoners, and eighteen sail either burnt or taken. The loss of the victors was small in proportion, not exceeding six hundred men.

This success excited the jealousy of the neighboring states, particularly France and Denmark, who immediately resolved to protect the republic against such a formidable enemy. De Ruyter, the great Dutch admiral, on his return from Guinea, was appointed, at the head of seventy-six sails, to join the Duke of Beaufort, the admiral, who it was supposed was then entering the British channel from Toulon. The Duke of Albemarle (Monk) and Prince Rupert now commanded the British fleet, which did not exceed seventy-four sail. Albemarle detached Prince Rupert with twenty ships to oppose the Duke of Beaufort; a piece of rashness against which Sir George Ayseue protested in vain. The fleets thus engaged on most unequal terms, and the memorable battle of the Four Days ensued. The first day the Dutch admiral Evertzen, was killed by a cannon-ball, one of their ships was blown up, and three of the English ships were taken; darkness parted the combatants. The second day the battle was renewed with incredible fury. Sixteen fresh ships joined the Dutch; and the English were so shattered that their fighting ships were reduced to twenty-eight. They retreated toward their own coast, followed by the Dutch; and another fierce conflict commenced, but was put a stop to by the darkness of the night. In the morning of the third day the English continued their retreat, and the Dutch their pursuit. Albemarle came to the desperate resolution of blowing up his own ship rather than submit to the enemy, when he found himself happily reinforced by Prince Rupert with his squadron of twenty sail. By this time, however, it was night; but the next day, being the fourth, the fleets came again to close action, which was continued with great fury, till they were parted by a mist.

Sir George Ayseue had the misfortune to strike on the Galoper Sand, where he was taken, with a ship, the Prince Royal, of a hundred guns. Both sides claimed the victory, but the Dutch certainly had the advantage in this engagement. A second, however, equally bloody, happened soon after, with larger fleets on both sides, but commanded by the same admirals. In this the Dutch were vanquished; but few prizes were made, and De Ruyter conducted his retreat in such a gallant and masterly manner that he kept his pursuers at bay, and soon moored his fleet in safety within the Wierings.

This success brought on negotiations, which were protracted on various pretexts. The English exchequer was completely drained, and to prepare the fleet for sea again, required an immediate supply of money. Parliament had indeed made a grant for the public service; but, though liberal in amount, it offered only a distant resource. In these circumstances it was, in an evil hour, proposed to lay up the larger ships in ordinary, and to equip two squadrons of light frigates for harassing the enemy's trade in the Channel and the German Ocean; and although the Duke of York stated that such a proceeding was in truth tantamount to an abandonment of the sovereignty of the sea, the difficulty of procuring money, and the expectation of a speedy peace, weighed so much with the king and council, as to obtain their consent to a measure which brought lasting disgrace on the government and the country. It was in fact disarming, and inviting attack. Nor did the enemies of England forego the opportunity which was thus offered. A secret treaty was on the eve of being concluded between that country and France; and four out of the seven United Provinces, desirous of peace, resolved to withdraw their contributions towards the expenses of the war. But the pensionary, De Witt, still thirsted for revenge. The Dutch fleet being ready for sea, whilst that of England was dismantled and in the docks, he determined not to throw

away the opportunity which fortune had placed in his hands. The English argued, and the French remonstrated, but the pensionary continued inexorable. He left the Texel in company with De Ruyter, and ordered the fleet, to the amount of seventy, to join him in separate squadrons off the Nore. The English government was not taken altogether by surprise. The warnings of the Duke of York had awakened them to a sense of their danger; and three months before orders had been issued to strengthen the fortifications at Sheerness, to throw a boom across the Medway at the stakes, to mount guns on the batteries, and to prepare a number of fire-ships. But these orders were very ill executed. The commissioners of the navy were already a million in debt; their credit was gone; to procure ready money, either by application to the treasury, or by loan from the bankers, was impossible; and without immediate payment, the sailors refused to serve, the laborers to work, and the merchants to sell. Little had therefore been done, and that little imperfectly. Meanwhile De Witt, in order to distract the attention of the government, ordered one division of his fleet to sail up the Thames as far as Gravesend, and the other to destroy the shipping in the Medway. The works at Sheerness opposed but a feeble resistance, and were levelled with the ground, by a few broadsides. At the first alarm, Monk hastened to the mouth of the Medway, where he erected batteries, moored guard-ships for the protection of the boom, and sunk five ships before it in the narrowest part of the channel. He had scarcely completed these preparations, when the Dutch advanced with the wind and tide in their favor; but the obstructions in the main passage proved insurmountable; and they were forced to drop away with the ebb. In the night, however, they discovered another channel deep enough for large ships at high water, and in the morning worked their way through without impediment. The foremost ships then opened their fire on the batteries, while a heavy fire-ship running

against the boom, hung upon it, and a second following in her wake, it broke under their united pressure. The guard-ships were soon in a blaze, and the Royal Charles, a first-rate, became the prize of the assailants. Finding all his efforts here fruitless, Monk hastened back to Upnor Castle, and employed the night in mounting guns, collecting ammunition, and manning the batteries. Morning revealed a most humiliating spectacle, the Dutch fleet advancing triumphantly up the river. Two line-of-battle ships led the line then came six enormous fire-ships; which, at a short distance, were followed by the rest of the squadron. The men of war anchored to receive and return the fire of the batteries on either bank; the fire-ships passed between them, and speedily set fire to the Royal James, the Oak, and the London, three first-rates. Indescribable consternation reigned in the capital. It was fully expected that the Dutch would sail up next tide to London Bridge, destroy the whole shipping, and reduce the metropolis to a heap of ruins. At the ebb, however, their commander, Van Ghent, made the signal to the fleet to fall down the river, and having burnt two of his vessels which had grounded, he rejoined the other division at the Nore. The disgrace which had thus been inflicted on England, so lately mistress of the seas, sunk deep in the hearts of the people. Unable to conceive how the Dutch, whom they had so often defeated, should ride triumphant in their rivers, burn their ships, and fill with dismay the capital and the country, their grief and indignation knew no bounds; and whilst many attributed the calamity to imaginary machinations of the Catholics, others believed that the king had secretly leagued with the enemy to depress the nation, that he might the more easily establish a despotic government.

During these transactions London was desolated by one of the most calamitous visitations ever experienced by any nation. In the winter of 1664, two or three isolated cases of plague had occurred in the outskirts of the metropolis, and excited general alarm;



but it was not till about the end of May, 1665, that, under the malignant influence of excessive heat, and a close, stagnant atmosphere, the evil burst forth in all its terrors. From the centre of St. Giles the infection spread with a rapidity over the adjacent parishes, threatened the court at Whitehall, and, in spite of every precaution, crept into the city. A general panic ensued. The nobility and gentry fled; the royal family followed; and all who had power or the means prepared to imitate their example. By every outlet the tide of emigration flowed towards the country, till it was checked by the lord mayor refusing to grant certificates of health; and by the opposition of the neighboring townships, which rose in their own defence, and drove back the fugitives into the devoted city. The absence of the wealthier class of citizens, and the consequent breaking up of establishments, with the cessation of trade, served to aggravate the calamity; and although the charity of the opulent seemed to keep pace with the progress of the pestilence, forty thousand servants were left without a home, and the number of artizans and laborers thrown out of employment was still more considerable. The mortality was at first confined to the lower classes, carrying off a larger proportion of children than adults, and females than males; but, by the end of June, its diffusion became so rapid, its virulence so great, and its ravages so destructive, that the civil authorities, in virtue of the powers with which they had been invested by an act of James I. "for the charitable relief and ordering of persons infected with the plague," divided the parishes into districts, allotting to each a competent number of officers; and ordered a red cross, one foot in length, to be painted on the door of every infected house, with the words "Lord have mercy on us" placed above it, that the healthy might be warned of the existence of the disease. Provision was also made for the interment of the dead. In the day-time persons were always on the watch to withdraw from public view the bodies of those who expired in the

street; during the night the tinkling of a bell, accompanied by the lurid glare of torches, announced the approach of the pest-cart making its melancholy round to receive the victims of the previous twenty-four hours. "No coffins were prepared; no funeral service was read; no mourners were permitted to follow the remains of their relatives and friends. The cart proceeded to the nearest cemetery, and shot its burden into the common grave, a deep and spacious pit, capable of holding some scores of bodies, and dug in the churchyard, or, when the church-yard was full, in the outskirts of the parish."

In September the heat of the atmosphere abated; but, contrary to expectation, the mortality increased. From this time the infection became the certain harbinger of death, which followed often within the space of twenty-hours, generally in the course of three days. An experiment, grounded on the practice of former times, was now ordered to be tried. Fires of sea-coal, in the proportion of one to every twelve houses, were kindled in the streets, courts, and alleys of London and Westminster, and were kept burning three days and nights, till a heavy, continuous rain extinguished them. By the supposed disinfecting power of heat, it was hoped to dissipate the pestilential miasm, or at least to abate its virulence; and, in fact, the next report exhibited a considerable diminution in the number of deaths. But whilst the survivors were congratulating themselves on the prospect of deliverance, the destroying angel was scattering a fiercer pestilence from his wings. In the following week, ten thousands victims sank under the accumulated virulence of the disease, and despair reigned in every heart. Yet, even now, in this lowest depth of human misery, deliverance was at hand. The high winds which usually accompany the autumnal equinox cooled and purified the air; the fever assumed a less malignant form; the weekly number of deaths successively decreased; in the beginning of December seventy-three parishes were pronounced clear of disease;

and in February the court, attended by the nobility and gentry, returned to Whitehall. Upwards of a hundred thousand individuals are said to have perished in London alone; and as the pestilence extended its destructive sway over the greater part of the kingdom, the fugitives from the metropolis carrying the infection with them wherever they found an asylum, the total amount of its ravages must have been truly dreadful.

This calamity was followed by another, if possible, more dreadful. On the night of Sunday, the 2d of September, 1666, a fire broke out in Pudding Lane, near Fish Street, one of the most crowded quarters of the metropolis. It originated in a bakehouse; the buildings of the neighborhood being constructed of wood, with pitched roofs, quickly caught the flames; and the stores with which they were filled consisting of the highly combustible articles used in the equipment of shipping, nourished the conflagration. The pipes from the new river were found empty, and the engine which raised water from the Thames was consumed. No decisive measures were adopted to check the progress of the devouring element, and several hours elapsed before the aid of the military was called for. Meanwhile the wind, which during the day blew from the east, augmented hourly in violence, and became a perfect hurricane. The fire spread with astonishing velocity, leaping as it were from roof to roof, and frequently igniting houses at a distance; "the night was as light as day for ten miles round; a vast column or pillar of fire, about a mile in diameter ascended to the clouds; the flames as they rose, were bent, broken, and shivered, by the fury of the tempest; and every blast scattered through air flakes of fire, which, falling on inflammable materials, kindled new conflagrations. The lurid red glare of the sky, the scorching heat of the atmosphere, the roaring of the flames, and the frequent crash of falling buildings, combined to fill every breast with astonishment and terror. While the storm raged, the conflagration bade defiance to every effort of human ingenuity or

power. Houses had been blown up or demolished, and gaps thus made, in hopes of arresting the progress of the flames; but ignited flakes were carried over the empty space, or the ruins again took fire, or the flames unexpectedly turned in a new direction. On the evening of Wednesday the violence of the wind began to abate; and the church of the Temple, as well as Westminster Abbey and Whitehall, were saved by the destruction of the neighboring buildings. Towards the evening of Thursday the weather became calm, and hopes were entertained that this dreadful calamity was approaching its close. But in the night new alarms were excited. The fire burst out again in the Temple, while it still raged with unabated fury near Cripplegate, and a large body of flame seemed to be making rapid advances towards the Tower. With the aid of gunpowder, however, large openings were made; and as the weather continued calm, the conflagration was thus prevented from extending its ravages, and, in consequence, gradually died out, although months elapsed before the combustion was altogether extinguished in the immense accumulation of ruins. By this deplorable calamity two thirds of London, including the whole space from the Tower to the Temple, were reduced to ashes. The number of houses consumed amounted to thirteen thousand two hundred, and that of churches, including St. Paul's, to eighty-nine, covering three hundred and seventy-three acres within, and sixty-three without the walls.

These complicated misfortunes did not fail to excite many murmurs among the people. Whilst the blame of the fire was laid on the Papists, the Dutch war was exclaimed against as unsuccessful and unnecessary, and as an attempt to humble that nation, who were equally enemies to Popery with themselves. Charles himself also began to be sensible, that all the ends for which he had undertaken this war were likely to be entirely frustrated. Instead of being able to lay up money for his own purposes, the supplies of



parliament had hitherto been so scanty, that he found himself considerably in debt. A treaty was therefore set on foot, and concluded at Breda, on the 21st of July, 1667. By this treaty the only advantage gained by Britain was, the cession of the colony of New York. It was therefore accounted disgraceful by the nation, and the blame of it thrown upon the Earl of Clarendon, who, besides, was charged with the sale of Dunkirk, the bad payment of the seamen, the disgrace inflicted by the Dutch fleet, and his own ambition. His daughter, whilst yet in Paris, had countenanced the addresses of the Duke of York, and, under a solemn promise of marriage, had admitted him to the privileges of a husband. James, however, either of his own accord, or through the persuasions of his brother Charles, afterwards married her; and this was imputed as a crime to Clarendon. On these grounds the king, who had never much loved this nobleman, ordered the seals to be taken from him, and given to Sir Orlando Bridgemen. Clarendon was again impeached; and though the charges were manifestly frivolous, yet so strong was the popular torrent against him, that he thought proper to withdraw into France. Soon after, Charles formed an alliance with Holland and Sweden, in order to prevent the French king from completing his conquest of the Netherlands, the greatest part of which he had already subdued; and he was unexpectedly stopped in his career by this league, in which it was agreed by the contracting powers to constitute themselves arbiters of the differences between France and Spain, and to check the exorbitant pretension of both.

The king now began to govern in a very arbitrary manner. He had long wished to extend his prerogative, and to be able to furnish himself with whatever sums he wanted for his pleasures, and he therefore sought ministers who would make no scruple of gratifying him in both particulars. In Clifford Ashley (afterwards Shaftesbury), Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale, who were distinguished by the term *Cabal*, a word

formed from the initials of their names, he found a junta in all respects suited to his wishes. The first effects of the advice given by the Cabal were a secret alliance with France, and a rupture with Holland. The undivided disgrace of both transactions belong to them, notwithstanding the king had taken a bribe from France, which, however he kept from the knowledge of his ministers, lest they should claim their share in the wages of infamy. Soon after this the Duke of York declared himself a Catholic; and liberty of conscience was proclaimed to all sectaries, Dissenters as well as Catholics. A proclamation was also issued, containing very rigorous clauses in favor of impressment; and at the heels of this came another full of menaces against those who should speak undutifully of his majesty's measures, nay, even against those who heard such discourses, unless they informed in due time against the offenders. These things gave great and just offence to the people; but they were especially alarmed at the alliance with France, and afraid of the perfidy by which the policy of that nation was characterized.

In the meanwhile the Dutch, attacked by Louis on land, and by the combined navies of England and France on sea, and at the same time deserted by their ally Sweden, seemed on the very verge of destruction. But the republic of the United Provinces was not wanting to itself in this crisis. War was declared with Holland on the 17th of March, 1672; and by the beginning of May, the Dutch fleet put to sea. It consisted of seventy-five men of war, and a considerable number of fire-ships, with which De Ruyter stationed himself between Dover and Calais, to prevent the intended junction of the French and English fleets. The Duke of York lay at the Nore with forty sail, being all he was able to muster; but with this force he contrived, under cover of a fog, to pass the enemy unnoticed, and to reach St. Helens, where he awaited the arrival of the French squadron under D'Estrées. When the latter had joined, the combined fleet immediately sailed in

quest of the enemy. He was discovered lying off Ostend, but prudently declined to engage even upon equal terms; and baffling all the manœuvres employed to bring him to action, at last reached Goree. The duke then returned to Southwold Bay, in order that his ships might take in their full complement of men and provisions, in both of which they had previously been deficient. Meanwhile De Ruyter, learning the situation and employment of the English, suddenly resolved to become the aggressor; and sailing from Goree with his whole force on the evening of the 27th May, he would probably have surprised his enemies at anchor, had it not been for Cogolin, the captain of a French frigate, who, ignorant of the coast had anchored during the night at a distance of several miles from Southwold Bay, and having desiered two of the Dutch ships in the morning, fired off his guns in succession as a signal of the approach of the enemy. Still the bold and decided advance of De Ruyter had all the effect of a surprise. James it is true, immediately ordered every ship to get under way, and take her station in the line; but the wind being easterly, and the tide running to leeward, not more than twenty sail could form to meet the enemy. The duke, with part of the red squadron, encountered De Ruyter and the fleet from the Maas; the Earl of Sandwich led the blue against Van Ghent and the fleet from Amsterdam; whilst D'Estrées opposed Banker with the ships from Zealand, though, probably from respect for conservative principles, the French commander cautiously avoided coming to close action with his opponent. The battle raged long and fiercely. The English had to contend with a bold, skillful and experienced enemy, and, owing to the inexplicable inactivity of their French allies, no less than to the suddenness of the attack, they had to make head against a fearful disparity of force. Their ships, becoming intermingled with those of the enemy, could afford each other little support, whilst they were in imminent danger of being overwhelmed by the num-

ber of their adversaries. Still they fought with desperate courage, in order to protract their resistance till they could be joined by the remainder of the fleet from the bay. About eleven o'clock the flag-ship, the Prince, of one hundred guns, lay a complete wreck on the water, having lost all her rigging and above one third of her crew. Finding her no longer manageable, the duke ordered her to be towed out of the fire, and immediately shifted his flag to the St. Michael of ninety guns. The gallant Earl of Sandwich was less fortunate. In his ship the Royal James, a first-rate, he had repeatedly beat off the enemies by whom he was surrounded; carried by boarding a seventy gun ship which lay athwart his hawse; and sunk a fire ship which was drifting towards him. But after a contest of eight hours' duration, the Royal James became unmanageable; a second fire-ship now grappled her on the larboard side; and in a few minutes that magnificent vessel was in flames. The duke ordered the Dartmouth and a number of boats to hasten to her assistance, and between two and three hundred of the crew were saved; the rest, with their gallant commander, perished in the waves. Meanwhile the other ships joined the fleet, and the combat became more equal. About five the duke shifted his flag from the St. Michael, which could with difficulty be kept afloat, to the London, which had sustained less damage, and the battle continued with unabated fury. But, about seven o'clock, De Ruyter shrunk from the conflict, and sailed to overtake the Zealand squadron. The honor of the victory belonged to the English. With all the disadvantages of a surprise, and with wind and tide against them, they encountered a force greatly superior, and, notwithstanding the skill of the Dutch admiral and the bravery of his men, they maintained the combat with that cool, determined courage which, when properly directed, nothing under heaven can overcome, and ultimately compelled the enemy to retreat. The English lost one, and the Dutch three ships of the line; but the French suffered very little, not



having entered into the heat of the engagement. It was even supposed by some that they had orders to observe this conduct, and to spare their own ships, whilst the Dutch and English weakened each other by their mutual fury in the combat.

The combined powers were more successful against the Dutch by land. Louis carried all before him, crossed the Rhine, took the frontier towns of the enemy, and threatened the new republic with dissolution. Terms were proposed to them by the conquerors. Louis offered them such as would have deprived them of all power of resisting an invasion from France by land; those of Charles would have exposed them equally to invasion by sea. At last the murmurs of the English at seeing this brave and industrious people, the supporters of the Protestant cause, totally sunk and on the brink of destruction, were too loud not to reach the king. He was obliged to call together the parliament in order to take the sense of the nation respecting his conduct; and he soon found how his subjects stood affected towards him.

The parliament met on the 24th of February, 1673. They began with resisting some of the king's extraordinary stretches of prerogative, and taking means for promoting uniformity in religious matters. A law was passed entitled the Test Act, imposing an oath on all who should enjoy any public benefice. Besides taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, such persons were obliged to receive the sacrament once a year in the established church, and to abjure all belief in the doctrine of transubstantiation. As the Dissenters also had seconded the efforts of the Commons against the king's declaration of indulgence to Roman Catholics, a bill was passed for their ease and relief, which, however, met with some difficulty in passing through the Peers. The Dutch, in the meantime, continued to defend themselves with such valor, that the Commons began to despair of success. They therefore resolved that the standing army was a griev-

ance; and declared that they would grant no more supplies to carry on the Dutch war, unless it appeared that the enemy were so obstinate as to refuse all reasonable conditions. To cut short these disagreeable altercations, the king resolved to prorogue the parliament; and with that intention he went unexpectedly to the House of Peers, and sent the usher of the black rod to summon the House of Commons to attend. The usher and the Speaker happened to meet nearly at the door of the house; but the Speaker being within, some of the members suddenly shut the door, and cried, "To the chair." It was then moved, and voted by acclamation, that the alliance with France was a grievance, that the evil counsellors of the king were a grievance, and that the Earl of Lauderdale was a grievance; upon which the house rose in great confusion. The king finding that he could expect no supply from the Commons for carrying on a war so unpopular, resolved to make a separate peace with the Dutch, on the terms which they had proposed through the Spanish ambassador; and having asked the advice of his parliament, a peace was concluded accordingly.

The prepossession which Charles had all along shown in favor of France, and his manifest inclination upon all occasions to attach himself to that kingdom, had given great offence to his people; and other circumstances also conspired to raise a general discontent. The toleration of Catholics, so much wished for by the king, and the bigotry of the Duke of York, the heir-apparent to the crown, who was zealous for the propagation of the Catholic religion, excited an alarm, not altogether without foundation, that the Protestant religion was in danger. But these fears and discontents were carefully fomented by wicked and designing men, who, to promote their own interests, scrupled not to advance the greatest falsehoods. In 1678, an account of a plot, supposed to have been formed by the Papists, for burning London, putting the Protestants to death, and destroying the king and the Protestant religion,

was circulated by one Kirby, a chemist; Tong, a weak, credulous parson; and Titus Oates, who had likewise been a clergyman, and was in reality one of the most abandoned miscreants that ever disgraced humanity. The circumstances attending this pretended discovery were so perfectly incredible and monstrous, that it seems amazing how any person of common sense could give ear to them; yet so violently were the minds of the nation at this time inflamed against the Catholics, that it not only produced the destruction of many individuals of the Romish persuasion, but a general massacre of that unfortunate sect was apprehended. The parliament, who ought to have repressed these delusions, and brought back the people to calm deliberate inquiry, showed themselves even more credulous than the vulgar themselves. The cry of the plot was immediately echoed from one house to the other; the country party could not let slip so favorable an opportunity of managing the passions of the people; and the courtiers were afraid of being thought disloyal if they ventured to doubt the guilt of those who were accused of designs against the king's person. The whole nation was seized by a sort of epidemic madness. Danby, the prime minister, himself entered into it very furiously, and persisted in his inquiries notwithstanding all the king's advices to the contrary; and Charles himself, who was the only person that ought to have been most concerned, was the only one who treated it with contempt. Nothing, however, could check the popular phrenzy; and for a time the king was obliged to give way to it. Meanwhile accident after accident, occurring in a manner unparalleled in history, contributed to maintain the delusion, and to give temporary credibility to the infernal perjuries of Oates, Bedloe, and their associates in infamy. Letters were seized which discovered the Duke of York's correspondence with France, in opposition to the religion and interests of his country; Danby's correspondence, which involved the king in the disgrace of similar machinations,

was also detected; and, to crown the whole, Godfrey, the magistrate who had first given publicity to the plot, was either murdered, or, which seems at least equally probable, committed suicide. This last occurrence made every good Protestant imagine that he felt a Catholic poniard at his throat; and, whilst it aggravated the terrors, confirmed the credulity of the people. The verdict of willful murder returned by the coroner's inquest on the body of Godfrey imparted the stamp of authority to all the reports previously in circulation. The ignorant believed and trembled, the artful secretly fomented the panic with which the nation was now seized. It was no longer safe to deny that Godfrey had been murdered by the Papists, or that the latter had conspired the destruction of the king, the constitution, and the church of England, with the extermination of every Protestant in the kingdom. The plot having thus attained a sudden and bloated maturity, it was greedily adopted by the popular party as an engine against the court; and whilst the extraordinary hallucination lasted, every species of injustice and iniquity was perpetrated without compunction or remorse. Coleman, Ireland, Grove, Pickering, and others suffered death for an imaginary conspiracy, on the contradictory testimony of incredible witnesses, and after trials in which the judges and juries seemed to vie with each other in abetting perjury. Nor was the reign of delusion and blood short-lived. For two years, Protestant credulity and vengeance were satiated, from time to time, with the invention of new horrors and the immolation of fresh victims; nor were these legal murders stayed till the execution of the venerable Lord Viscount Stafford excited pity and remorse in the public mind.

In the midst of this general uproar and persecution, the lord treasurer Danby, was impeached in the House of Commons, by Seymour, the Speaker. The principal charge against him was, his having written a letter to Montague, the king's ambassador at Paris,



directing him to sell the king's good offices at the treaty of Nimeguen, to the king of France, for a certain sum of money; contrary to the general interests of the confederates, and also to those of his own kingdom. But although the charge was just, Danby had the good fortune to find the king resolved to defend him. Charles assured the parliament that, as he had acted in everything by his orders, he held him entirely blameless; and although he would deprive him of all his employments, yet he positively insisted on his personal safety. The Lords, however, still went on to impeach him, and Danby was sent to the Tower; but no worse consequences followed.

These proceedings were carried on by a House of Commons which had continued in existence above seventeen years. They were now dissolved, however, and another parliament was called; but this one proved as unmanageable as the preceding. The members resolved to check the growth of Popery, by striking at the root of the evil; and therefore brought in a bill for the total exclusion of the Duke of York from the crown of England and Ireland, which passed the lower House by a majority of seventy-nine. They next voted the king's standing army and guards to be illegal; and proceeding to fix limits to the king's power of imprisoning delinquents, the celebrated statute of *Habeas Corpus* was passed, which confirms to the subject an absolute security against oppressive power.

During these troubles the Duke of York had retired to Brussels; but an indisposition of the king induced him to return to England, to be ready, in case of accident, to assert his right to the throne. After prevailing with his brother to disgrace his natural son, the Duke of Monmouth, who had now become very popular, he set out for Scotland, under pretence of quieting the apprehensions of the English nation, but in reality to strengthen his interests in that part of the kingdom. This proceeding, however, served still more to inflame the country party, who

were strongly attached to the Duke of Monmouth, and resolved to support him against the Duke of York. Mobs, petitions, and burnings of the pope in effigy, were the artifices employed to keep up the terrors of the people, and to alarm the court. The parliament had shown favor to the various tribes of informers, and that of course served to increase the number of these miscreants. Plots also became more numerous. Conspiracy was set up against conspiracy; and the people, uncertain what to believe or whom to trust, were kept in a state of the most dreadful apprehension.

But it was not by plots alone that the adverse parties endeavored to supplant each other. Tumultuous petitions on the one hand, and adulatory addresses on the other, were sent up from all quarters. Wherever the country party prevailed, petitions were sent to the king, filled with grievances and apprehensions. Wherever the church or court party had the ascendancy, addresses were framed, containing expressions of the highest regard for his majesty, and the deepest abhorrence of those who endeavored to disturb the public tranquillity. Thus the nation came to be distinguished into Petitioners and Abhorers. The names of *Whig* and *Tory*, also, were now first used as terms of reproach. The whigs were so denominated from a cant name given to the Presbyterian conventiclers, "whig" being milk turned sour; and the tories received that honorable appellation from the Irish banditti, so called, whose usual phrase, in ordering people to stand and deliver, was the Irish word *toree*, "give me."

During all this time the king had tyrannized over the Scots in a very cruel manner. Being apprized of the tendency of Presbyterian principles to a republican form of government, Charles, like his predecessors, had endeavored to introduce Episcopacy there, but in a much more violent manner than had formerly been attempted. The right of patrons had for some years been abolished, and the power of electing minis-

ters had been vested in the kirk-sessions and lay elders; but it was now enacted, that all incumbents who had been admitted upon this title should receive a presentation, and be instituted anew by the bishop, under the penalty of deprivation. In consequence of this, three hundred and fifty parishes were at once declared vacant. New ministers were sought for all over the kingdom, and none were too vicious or ignorant to be rejected. The people, as might have been expected, were displeased to the highest degree, but gave no sign of mutiny or sedition, notwithstanding their discontent. This submission made their case still worse; it being rather hastily imagined, that, as they did not complain for a little ill usage, they would submit with equal patience to worse.

Affairs remained tolerably tranquil, till, in 1661, a severe act was passed in England against conventicles, which severity was imitated by the Scottish parliament, who passed an act of the same kind. Military force was next let loose on the people. Wherever they had forsaken their churches, the guards were quartered throughout the country. These legalized banditti were commanded by Sir James Turner, a man of a furious temper and dissolute life, who went about and received lists from the clergy, of those who absented themselves from the churches, or were supposed to frequent conventicles. Without proof or legal conviction, he exacted fines, and quartered soldiers on the supposed criminals till he received payment. An insurrection being dreaded during the Dutch war, new forces were levied, and intrusted to the command of Dalziel and Drummond, two men of savage dispositions, and the Scottish parliament gave full scope to whatever enormities they chose to commit.

Representations were now made to the king, who promised some redress. But his lenity came too late. In 1668 the people rose in arms, and having surprised Turner in Dumfries, resolved to put him to death; but finding his orders much more violent than

his execution of them, they spared his life. At Lanark they renewed the covenant, and published a manifesto, in which they professed submission to the king, and only desired the re-establishment of Presbytery, and the re-instatement of their former ministers. Their force never exceeded two thousand men; and although the country in general bore them great favor, men's spirits were so subdued, that the insurgents could expect no further increase of numbers. Dalziel took the field to oppose them. The number of the Covenanters had now been reduced to a little more than a thousand, and these were no way capable of contending with regular forces. Having advanced towards Edinburgh, and met with no support, they attempted to make their way back to the west by the Pentland Hills. But at a spot called Rullion Green they were attacked by the king's troops, and received the first charge with great firmness. This, however, was the whole action. They immediately fell into confusion and fled. About forty were killed on the spot, and a hundred and thirty taken prisoners.

As long ago as the year 1661 the Presbyterians had deputed Sharpe, then one of their number, to lay their grievances before the king. Instead of doing so, however, their deputy abandoned the cause altogether, became their violent enemy, and, as a reward of his treachery, was created Archbishop of St. Andrews. After the affair of Pentland this man was the foremost to take vengeance on the unhappy insurgents, whose oppressed state and inoffensive behavior made them objects of universal compassion. Ten were hanged on one gibbet in Edinburgh, and thirty-five before their own doors in different parts of the country. Some of them were previously tortured, and, after death, their mutilated limbs were stuck up in different parts of the kingdom. All of them might have saved their lives upon condition of renouncing the covenant; but this they absolutely refused. The executions were proceeding without mercy, when the king wrote



a letter to the privy council, in which he ordered that such of the prisoners as simply promised to obey the laws for the future should be set at liberty, and that the incorrigible should be sent to the plantations. This letter was brought to the council by Burnet, but was not immediately delivered by Sharpe, whose renegade vengeance was not yet satiated.

On the 3d of May, 1679, Sharpe was waylaid and murdered in Magus Muir, near St. Andrews, by a troop of fanatics, who had been driven to madness by his tyranny, and who, in perpetrating this unholy deed, were actuated solely by their own enthusiasm or revenge. But the act committed by these men was nevertheless imputed to the party to which they ostensibly belonged; and the consequence was, that all who attended field conventicles were ordered to be indiscriminately massacred. This brought matters to a crisis.

The Convenanters, finding themselves obliged to meet in large bodies, and bring arms for their own security, drew up a declaration against prelacy, which they published at Rutherglen, a small burgh near Glasgow; and in the market-place they burned the several acts of parliament which had established that mode of ecclesiastical government, and had prohibited all conventicles. For this purpose they chose the 20th day of May, the anniversary of the Restoration, having previously extinguished the bonfires which had been kindled on that occasion. Graham of Claverhouse, afterwards Viscount Dundee, an active and merciless agent of the council, attacked a great conventicle upon Loudon Hill, but was repulsed with the loss of thirty men. The Covenanters, finding themselves thus unwarily engaged in rebellion, were obliged to persevere, and therefore push on to Glasgow, which, though repulsed at first, they afterwards made themselves masters of. Here they dispossessed the established clergy, and issued proclamations, in which they declared that they fought against the king's supremacy, against

Romanism and prelacy, and against a Catholic successor to the crown.

Alarmed at this rising, Charles dispatched against the Covenanters a small body of English cavalry under the Duke of Monmouth, who, having joined the Scottish guards, and some regiments of militia levied from the well-affected counties, marched with great celerity in quest of the insurgents. They had taken post at Bothwell Bridge, between Hamilton and Glasgow; a good position, to which there was no access but by the bridge, which a small body might have defended against the king's army. The whole force of the Covenanters never exceeded 8000 men, and they had in reality no other generals than their clergymen. Monmouth attacked the bridge, and a party of the Covenanters stoutly maintained their post as long as their ammunition lasted. When they sent for a fresh supply, they received orders to quit their post and retire; and this imprudent measure occasioned an immediate defeat. Monmouth passed the bridge without opposition, and, drawing up his forces opposite to the enemy, soon put them to the rout, which, indeed, was affected by his cannon alone. About seven hundred were killed in the pursuit, for, properly speaking, there was no action. Twelve hundred were taken prisoners, and treated with humanity by Monmouth. Such as promised to live peaceably under the present government were dismissed; and about three hundred who refused this condition were shipped for Barbadoes, but unfortunately perished during the voyage. Two of their clergymen, however, were hanged. Soon afterwards an act of indemnity was passed; but Lauderdale took care that it should afford little protection to the unhappy Covenanters; for, although orders were given thenceforward to connive at all conventicles, he found means, under a variety of pretences, to elude the execution of them.

That Charles had formed a scheme for overturning the established religion, and substituting Catholicism in its place, as well as

for rendering himself absolute, is now certainly known. But in this he met with strenuous opposition from his parliaments; and as the present one seemed to surpass its predecessors in resisting the schemes of the court, the king was induced to dissolve them and to call another in 1680. By this step, however, he gained nothing; for they voted the legality of petitioning the king, and fell with extreme severity on the Abhorers, who, in their addresses to the crown, had expressed their disapprobation of such petitions. Great numbers of this class were seized by their order in all parts of England, and committed to close custody; and the liberty of the subject, which had been so carefully guarded by their own recent law, was violated by such arbitrary and capricious imprisonments. But one Stowel of Exeter put a stop to these proceedings. He refused to obey the sergeant-at-arms who had been sent to apprehend him; and, standing upon his defence, declared that he knew of no law by which the House of Commons could pretend to commit him. The house, finding it equally dangerous to proceed or recede, got off by an evasion. They voted that Stowel was indisposed; and a month was allowed him for his recovery, about which, as may well be supposed, they gave themselves no further concern.

But the chief point labored by the present parliament was the Exclusion Bill, which, though voted by a former house, had never yet made any further progress. In the present House of Commons it passed by a great majority, but was thrown out by the House of Peers. All the bishops except three voted against it; being of opinion that the church of England was in greater danger from the prevalence of Presbyterianism than from the introduction of Romanism. The Commons were extremely mortified at the rejection of their favorite bill, and in retaliation they passed several other disagreeable acts. Amongst these was one which set forth, that, till the exclusion bill was passed, they could not consistently with the trust reposed

in them, grant the king any manner of supply; and that whoever should hereafter lend, by way of advance, any money upon the branches of the king's revenue, should be responsible to parliament for his conduct. Finding that there were no hopes of extorting either money or compliance from the Commons, Charles came to a resolution of once more dissolving the parliament; and this accordingly took place while they were voting that the dissenters ought to be encouraged, and that the city of London had been burned by the Catholics.

It was for some time doubtful whether the king would ever call another parliament. But his necessities surmounted all his fears, and in 1681, he summoned a parliament to meet at Oxford, that he might thus have an opportunity of punishing the city of London, by showing his suspicions of their loyalty. In this, however, as in all former parliaments, the country party predominated; and they trode exactly in the footsteps of their predecessors. The same Speaker was chosen, and the exclusion bill urged more fiercely than before. Ernely, one of the king's ministers, went so far as to propose that the duke should be banished five hundred miles from England, and that on the king's decease the next heir should be appointed regent. Yet even this expedient, which left the duke only the barren title of king, failed to obtain the approbation of the house; nothing but a total exclusion could satisfy them.

The opposite factions had for some time indulged their animosities by reviling and ridiculing each other in pamphlets and libels; but this practice, too common in party warfare to deserve particular mention, was at length attended with an incident which deserves notice. One Fitzharris, an Irish adventurer, employed a Scotchman named Everard, who, like himself, hung loose on society, to write a libel against the king and the Duke of York. The Scot, who was actually a spy for the opposite party, supposing this a trick to entrap him, discovered the whole



to Sir William Waller, a justice of the peace; and, to convince the magistrate of the truth of his information, secreted him and two other persons in a place where they overheard the whole conference between Fitzharris and himself. The libel concocted betwixt them was replete with the utmost rancour and scurrility. Waller carried the intelligence to the king, and obtained a warrant for committing Fitzharris, who at the time happened to have a copy of the libel in his pocket. Finding himself in the hands of a party from which he could expect no mercy, Fitzharris resolved to change his game, and to throw the odium of the libel upon the court, who, he said, had employed him to draw it up with the view of imputing it to the exclusionists, and thus rendering them hateful to the people. And, in order to enhance his services in the estimation of the country party, he revealed to them a new popish plot, still more tremendous than any of those previously hatched, and accused the Duke of York as a principal accomplice in the conspiracy. The king, however, imprisoned Fitzharris in Newgate. But the Commons immediately espoused his cause, and voted that he should be impeached by themselves, in order to screen him from the ordinary forms of justice. The Lords rejected the impeachment; the Commons asserted their right; and a commotion was likely to ensue, when the king, in order to break off the contest, went to the house and dissolved the parliament, with a fixed resolution never to call another.

From this moment the king ruled with despotic sway. His temper, which had generally been easy and merciful, now became arbitrary and cruel; he entertained spies and informers round the throne, and imprisoned all those whom he thought most daring in their designs. In particular, he resolved to humble the Presbyterians. They were divested of all their employments, and their offices given to such as were favorable to the court, and approved the doctrine of non resistance. The clergy began to testify their

zeal and their principles by their writings and sermons; but although the partizans of the king were the most numerous, those of the opposite faction were the most enterprising. The king openly espoused the cause of the former; and thus placing himself at the head of a faction, he deprived the city of London, which had long headed the popular party, of their charter. Terror was also employed to confirm this new species of monarchy. Fitzharris was brought to trial, condemned, and executed. The whole gang of spies, witnesses, informers, and suborners, who had long been encouraged and supported by the leading patriots, finding now that the king was entirely master, turned short upon their ancient employers, and tendered evidence against those who had first put them in motion. The king's ministers gave encouragement to these miscreants; and in a short time the same injustice and the same cruelties were practiced under pretence of Presbyterian, as had formerly been committed under the delusive apprehension of Catholic treasons. But the king's chief resentment was levelled against the Earl of Shaftesbury; and not without reason, as he had been very active in the late disturbances. No sums were spared to seek for evidence, nor even to suborn witnesses, against this intriguing and formidable man. A bill of indictment was presented to the grand jury, and witnesses were examined, who swore to such incredible circumstances as must have invalidated their testimony, even if they had not been branded as perjured villains. Amongst his papers, indeed, was found a draught of an association, which might have been construed into treason; but it was not in the Earl's handwriting, nor could it be proved that he had ever communicated this scheme to any body, or signified his approbation of any such project. But the sheriffs had taken care to summon a jury whose principles coincided with those of the earl; and in that, more than in any insufficiency of proof, consisted his safety. The bill was ignored by the

grand jury; the hall resounded with applause; and the day was closed with the ringing of bells, bonfires, and other demonstrations of popular joy.

But it was in Scotland that the character of the restored government appeared in its most hideous features. The duke, after a temporary exile from Britain, had been sent to that country; and there, during his administration, he exercised a tyranny, if possible still more frightful than that of Lauderdale. The battle of Bothwell Bridge had tamed the spirit of the Covenanters, and many of them, by frequenting the churches of the indulgent ministers, succeeded in screening themselves from the vengeance of the government. But there was still left a remnant of faithful adherents of the covenant, inconsiderable in number, and despicable in point of influence, but men of stern character, exalted enthusiasm, and indomitable zeal, who followed their spiritual guides, Cargill and Cameron, into the wilderness. Deeply convinced of the truth of their doctrine, Cameron, accompanied by twenty persons of his sect, proceeded to Sanquhar, and there published "A Declaration and Testimonie of the true Presbyterian, Anti-Prelatic, Anti-Erastian, and persecuted Party in Scotland," setting forth their grievances, disowning the king by reason of his tyranny, proclaiming war against him as a tyrant and usurper, and testifying against the reception of the Duke of York, a professed Catholic, in Scotland, as repugnant to their principles, and their vows to the most high God. This persecuted remnant, who mustered in all twenty-six horse and forty foot, now prepared to support their bold defiance by force of arms; but they were surprised, defeated, and dispersed, by three troops of dragoons, at Airmoss, in the district of Kyle. Cameron fell in the skirmish, fighting with heroic courage; his brother, with seven of his companions, shared his fate; Hackston of Rathillet, who had been a passive spectator merely of the murder of Sharpe, and a few others, were wounded and made prisoners.

Cargill escaped from the field, and prepared to avenge the death of his friends. Having repaired to Torwood in Stirlingshire, and assembled a number of his disciples, henceforward known by the name of Cameronians, he proceeded, after a lecture and sermon, to excommunicate the king, "for his mocking of God, his perjury, his uncleanness of adultery, his drunkenness, and his dissembling with God and man;" the Duke of York, for idolatry; the Duke of Monmouth, for invading God's people at Bothwell Bridge; the Duke of Lauderdale, for blasphemy, apostacy, and adultery; and the Duke of Rothes, Sir George Mackenzie, and Dalziel of Binns, for different offences. He concluded by declaring that "no power on earth, of kings, princes, magistrates, or ministers of the Gospel, could, without the repentance of the persons openly and legally appearing, reverse this excommunication;" and there can be no doubt whatever that his affirmation was most devoutly believed.

These proceedings exasperated the council beyond all measure, and hurried them into the commission of unparalleled atrocities. The prisoners brought from Airmoss were executed with every circumstance of barbarity; a strict search was made, not only after their associates, but also for the professors of their doctrines; and of the latter, many, including females, testified with the loss of their lives the sincerity of their belief. Even those innocent of all offence towards the government were insidiously involved in the same fate with those who had openly defied it. Taking advantage of the spirit which the cruelties of the government had alone excited and inflamed, the privy council sought to entrap fresh victims by means of ensnaring questions.

But the mass of the people were not the only objects of this fierce and frantic tyranny. Anon it took a higher flight, and struck at the Earl of Argyll, a man whose only fault appears to have consisted in his submission to the frightful misrule under which his country had so long groaned; a submission



dictated by a love of peace, not by an approval of its enormities. When required, as a privy counsellor, to take a self-contradictory test, which the Scottish parliament had prescribed, Argyll accepted it with an explanation, that he took it in as far as it was consistent with itself and the Protestant religion, adding, that he would "not debar himself from endeavoring in a lawful way, and in his station, to make such changes in the church and state as he might judge beneficial." For this explanation he was imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh, brought to trial, and, by an infamous perversion of his words, a charge of treason made out against him. Nairne, a superannuated judge, carried into court at midnight to make a majority on the relevancy of the indictment, fell asleep during the proceedings, and was only awakened to give his vote. A jury of Argyll's personal enemies, with the Marquis of Montrose at their head, found him guilty of treason, leasing-making and leasing-telling, though not of the perjury libelled; and he received sentence of death, although the execution of it was suspended during the king's pleasure. But Argyll did not choose to trust to the tender mercies of his enemies. He escaped from the castle in disguise, and thus saved his life; but sentence of attainder was passed against him. After the defeat of the exclusionists, and the dissolution of parliament, the duke was recalled to England; but the consequent change of administration was productive of little or no relief to this oppressed country.

In 1683, the city of London was deprived of its charter, which was only restored upon terms of abject submission, and its giving up the nomination of its own magistrates. This was so arbitrary a proceeding, that all the other corporations in England began to dread the same treatment, and, in fact, were successively induced to surrender their charters into the hands of the king. Considerable sums were exacted for the restoration of these charters, and all the offices of power and profit were left at the disposal of the

crown. Resistance now, however justifiable, was no longer safe; and prudent men saw no other expedient but submitting with patience to the present grievances.

There was a party in England, however, which still cherished their former ideas of freedom, and resolved to restore liberty to their country by dethroning the monarch who acted in a manner so despotic and arbitrary. The principal members of this confederacy were Monmouth, Shaftesbury, Russell, Essex, Howard, Algernon Sidney, and John Hampden, grandson to the great man of that name. Monmouth engaged the Earl of Macclesfield, Lord Brandon, Sir Gilbert Gerard, and other gentlemen in Cheshire; Lord Russell entered into a correspondence with Sir William Courtney, Sir Francis Knowles, and Sir Francis Drake, who promised to raise the west; and Shaftesbury, with one Ferguson, a restless potter, undertook to manage the city, upon the aid of which the confederates chiefly relied. These schemes had been laid in 1681. But the caution of Lord Russell, who induced the Duke of Monmouth to postpone the enterprise, saved the kingdom from the horrors of a civil war; whilst Shaftesbury was so struck with a sense of his impending danger, that he left his house, and lurking about the city, attempted in vain to force the Londoners into open insurrection. Enraged at the numberless cautions and delays which clogged and defeated his projects, he at last threatened to begin with his own friends singly; but after a long struggle between fear and exasperation, he abandoned all hopes of success, and fled to Amsterdam, where he soon afterwards died. But the loss of Shaftesbury, though it retarded, did not put an end to the designs of the patriots. The remaining six formed a council, corresponded with Argyll and the malcontents in Scotland, and, though they widely differed in principles from one another, resolved to prosecute the scheme of the insurrection. Monmouth aspired to the crown; Russell and Hampden proposed to exclude the Duke of York from the succes-

sion, and to redress the grievances of the nation; Sidney was for restoring the republic; and Essex shared the same wishes and opinions. Lord Howard was an abandoned man, who having no fixed principles of any kind, sought to embroil the nation, in hopes of advancing his own private interest during the confusion.

Besides these there was a subordinate set of conspirators, who frequently met together, and carried on projects quite unknown to Monmouth and his council. Among them was Colonel Rumsey, a military adventurer; Lieutenant-Colonel Walcot, a man of the same stamp; Goodenough, under-sheriff of London, a zealous and noted party-man; Ferguson, an Independent minister; and several attorneys, merchants, and tradesmen of London. But Rumsey and Ferguson were the only persons who had access to the great leaders of the conspiracy. These men took the resolution of assassinating the king in his way to Newmarket; and as Rumboldt, one of the party, possessed a farm upon the road called the *Rye-house*, the conspiracy was thence called the *Rye-house Plot*. The scheme they had fixed on was to stop the king's coach by overturning a cart on the highway at this place, and to shoot him through the hedges. But the house in which the king lived at Newmarket having accidentally taken fire, he was obliged to leave that place eight days sooner than was expected, and to this circumstance he owed his safety. Soon afterwards the conspiracy was discovered; Russell, Sidney, and Walcot, were executed; Essex cut his own throat; Hampden was fined forty thousand pounds; and scarcely one escaped who had been in any manner concerned, except the Duke of Monmouth, who was the most culpable of all.

This was the last blood shed on account of plots or conspiracies, which had abounded during the greater part of his reign. Severe punishments, however, were inflicted on many who had treated the Duke of York unworthily. The infamous Titus Oates was fined a hundred thousand pounds for calling him a

popish traitor, and was imprisoned till he paid the mullet, which he was absolutely incapable of doing. A similar sentence was passed upon Dutton Colt; and Sir Samuel Barnadiston was fined ten thousand pounds for having in some private letters reflected on the government. The government of Charles was now as absolute as that of any prince in Europe; but to please his subjects by a popular act, he judged it proper to marry the Lady Ann, his niece, to Prince George, brother to the King of Denmark; which was the last transaction of this extraordinary reign.

On the second of February, 1685, about eight in the morning, the king was seized with a fit of apoplexy, as he came dressed out of his closet, where he had been for some time after he rose from bed. Being immediately bled, he was restored to his senses, and hopes were entertained of his recovery. But on the fourth day the physicians despaired of his life, and therefore sent for the queen. He was in his perfect senses when she arrived. She threw herself on her knees, and asked his pardon for all her offences. He replied that she had offended in nothing, but that he had been guilty of offences against her, and asked her pardon. He spoke with great affection to the Duke of York, and gave him excellent counsel for his future conduct, advising him to adhere to the laws with strictness, and invariably to support the church of England. But the duke seemed anxious to convince his brother before he died how little he intended to follow his advice. Having removed the bishops, and several of the lords who attended at the bedside of the king, he sent for Huddleston, a Catholic priest, who, in the presence of the duke, the Earl of Bath, and Trevannion, a captain in the guards, gave extreme unction to the king, and administered to him the sacrament according to the rites of the church of Rome. All this was done in about the space of half an hour. The doors was then thrown open; and six prelates, who had before attended the king, were



sent for to give him the sacrament. Kenn, Bishop of Bath and Wells, read the visitation of the sick, and, after the dying man had said he repented of his sins, the absolution. The king assisted with seeming devotion at the service; but his mouth being distorted with fits, and his throat contracted, he could not swallow the elements. He professed, however, his satisfaction with the church of England, and expired on the 6th of February, after a reign of twenty-four years, and the fifty-fifth year of his age.

The first act of James II.'s reign was to assemble the privy council, in which, after bestowing some praise on the memory of his predecessor, he made professions of his resolution to maintain the established government both in church and state; and as he had heretofore ventured his life in defence of the nation, he declared that he would still go as far as any man in maintaining all its just rights and privileges.

The king, however, soon showed, either that he was not sincere in his promises, or that he entertained so lofty an idea of his own regal power, that even his utmost sincerity could tend but little to the security of the liberties of the people. All the customs, and the greater part of the excise, which had been voted to the late king for his life only, were levied by James without any new act for that purpose. He went openly to mass with all the ensigns of his dignity, and even sent one Caryl as his agent to Rome to make submissions to the pope, and to pave the way for the re-admission of England into the bosom of the Catholic church. By the suggestions of these men all his measures were undertaken. One day when the Spanish ambassador ventured to advise his majesty against putting too much confidence in such kind of people, "Is it not the custom in Spain," said James, "for the king to consult with his confessor?" "Yes," answered the ambassador, "and that is the reason why our affairs succeed so very ill."

James's first parliament, which was composed mostly of zealous Tories, was strongly

inclined to comply with the measures of the crown, and passed a unanimous vote, settling on James during life all the revenue enjoyed by the late king till the time of his decease. For this favor James assured them that he would secure them in the full enjoyment of their laws; but with regard to religion, no answer could be extorted from him, for that he was resolved at all hazards to change. He applied himself to business with unremitting attention; he managed his revenue with the strictest economy; he retrenched superfluous expenses, and showed himself zealous for the glory of the nation; he endeavored to expel from the court the vice which had prevailed so much during the former reign, and to restore decency and morality; he presided daily at the council, and at the boards of admiralty and treasury; he even entered into the whole detail of the concerns of the great departments of the state.

But whilst every thing remained in tranquillity at home, a storm was gathering abroad. For a long time the Prince of Orange had entertained hopes of ascending the British throne, and had even used endeavors to exclude James. Monmouth, who, since his last conspiracy, had been pardoned, but ordered to depart the kingdom, had retired to Holland, where he was received by the Prince of Orange with the highest marks of distinction, and became his chief favorite. When the news of Charles's death arrived, indeed, the prince made a show of changing his tone, and dismissed Monmouth, but still kept a close correspondence with him. The duke retired to Brussels; and, having resolved to invade England, he was seconded by the Earl of Argyll, who formed the scheme of exciting an insurrection in Scotland. But the generosity of the Prince of Orange did not correspond with the warmth of his professions. The unfortunate duke derived from his own plate and jewels the whole supply of the war; whilst the enthusiasm of a rich widow supplied Argyll with £10,000, with which he purchased three vessels, and loaded them with arms and ammunition.

Having landed in Scotland, Argyll published his manifestoes, put himself at the head of two thousand five hundred men, and strove to influence the people in his favor. But a formidable body of the king's forces having marched against him, his army fell away; and he himself, after being wounded in attempting to escape, was taken prisoner by a peasant, carried to Edinburgh, and, after suffering many indignities, publicly executed.

By this time Monmouth had landed in Dorsetshire with scarcely a hundred followers. His name, however, was so popular, and so great was the hatred of the people to James on account of his religion, that in four days he had assembled a body of above two thousand men, and continuing to make a rapid progress, in a short time found himself at the head of six thousand men; but he was daily obliged to dismiss great numbers for want of arms. Alarmed at his invasion, the king recalled six regiments of British troops from Holland; and a body of regulars, to the number of three thousand, was sent, under the command of the Earl of Feversham, and of Lord Churchill, to check the progress of the rebels. They took post at Sedgemore, a village in the neighborhood of Bridgewater, and were joined by considerable numbers of the country militia. Here Monmouth resolved to make a stand; and having drawn up his followers in the best order he could, he drove the royal infantry from their ground, and was on the point of gaining a complete victory, when the cowardice of Gray, who commanded the horse, ruined all. This nobleman fled at the first onset; and the insurgents being charged in flank, gave way after a contest of three hours. About three hundred were killed in the engagement, and a thousand in the pursuit. Monmouth fled about twenty miles from the field of battle, till his horse sunk under him. He then alighted, and, exchanging clothes with a shepherd, fled on foot, attended by a German count who had accompanied him from Holland. Being at length

quite exhausted with hunger and fatigue, they both lay down in a field, and covered themselves with fern. Meanwhile the shepherd being found in Monmouth's dress, increased the diligence of the search; and by means of blood-hounds he was detected in his miserable situation, with raw peas in his pocket, on which he had subsisted for some days. He burst into tears when seized by his enemies, and petitioned, with abject importunity, for his life.

He also wrote to the queen dowager; he sent a letter to the reigning queen, as well as to the king himself; and he begged his life, when admitted into the presence of James, with a meanness unsuitable to his pretensions and high rank. But all his entreaties and submissions were of no avail. James told him that he was much affected at his misfortunes, but that his crime was too dangerous in its example to be left unpunished. In his last moments Monmouth behaved with a magnanimity worthy of his former courage. When he came to the scaffold, he conducted himself with decency and even with dignity. He spoke little, he made no confession, nor did he accuse any of his friends. The circumstances attending his death excited horror among the spectators. The executioner missed his aim, and struck him slightly on the shoulder. Monmouth raised his head from the block, and looked him full in the face, as if reproaching him for his mistake. The man struck twice again, but feebly, and then threw away the axe. The sheriff forced him to renew his attempt; and the head of the duke, who seemed already dead, was at last severed from his body.

Those concerned in the Duke of Monmouth's conspiracy were punished with the utmost severity. Immediately after the battle of Sedgemore, Feversham hanged up above twenty prisoners, and was proceeding with his executions when the Bishop of Bath and Wells informed him that these unhappy men were now by law entitled to a trial, and that their execution would be



deemed murder. Nineteen were put to death in the same manner at Bridgewater by Colonel Kirke, a man of a thoroughly savage and bloody disposition. No fewer than eighty were executed by his orders at Dorchester; and on the whole, at Exeter, Taunton, and Wells, two hundred and fifty are computed to have fallen by the hand of justice, as it was called, under the auspices of Judge Jefferies, who had been sent down to try the delinquents. This man, not satisfied with the sacrifice of the principals, charged the juries to search out the aiders and abettors of the rebellion; and those persons who, in compassion for the wretched fugitives, had afforded them an asylum, were denounced and punished as such. Even women did not escape, and two, Lady Lisle and Mrs. Gaunt, were sentenced to be burned alive for similar acts of humanity. Jefferies, on his return from his campaign in the west, was immediately created a peer, and soon after invested with the dignity of chancellor. In his Memoirs James complains, with apparent indignation, of "the strange havock made by Jefferies and Kirke in the west," and attributes the unpopularity which afterwards deprived him of the crown to the violence and barbarity of those pretended friends of his authority.

James now began to throw off the mask, and to endeavor openly to establish Romanism and arbitrary power. He told the House of Commons that the militia were found by experience to be of no use; that it was necessary to augment the standing army; and that he had employed a great many Catholic officers, in whose favor he had thought proper to dispense with the test required to be taken by all those who were employed by the crown. These stretches of power naturally led the Lords and Commons into some degree of opposition; but they soon acquiesced in the king's measures, and then the parliament was dismissed for their tardy compliance.

The parliament being dissolved, James' next step was to secure a Catholic interest in

the privy council. Accordingly four Catholic lords, Powis, Arundel, Bellasis, and Dover, were admitted as members. Sunderland, who saw that the only way to gain preferment was by Catholicism, became a convert. Rochester, the treasurer, was turned out of his office because he refused to conform. Even in Ireland, where the Duke of Ormond had long supported the royal cause, this nobleman was displaced as being a Protestant, and the Lord Tyrconnel, a furious Catholic, was placed in his stead. In his zeal for Romanism, it is said that James stooped so low as even to attempt the conversion of Colonel Kirke; but the daring soldier told him that he was pre-engaged, for he had promised the King of Morocco, when he was quartered at Tangiers, that if ever he changed his religion he would turn Mohammedan. At last the clergy of the church of England began to take the alarm, and commenced an opposition to court measures. The pulpits now thundered out against Rome; and it was in vain that James attempted to impose silence on this topic. Instead of avoiding the controversy, the Protestant preachers pursued it with greater warmth.

To effect his designs, the king determined to revive the High Commission Court, which had formerly given the nation so much disgust, and which had been abolished for ever by act of parliament. An ecclesiastical commission was accordingly issued, by which seven commissioners were invested with full and unlimited authority over the whole church of England. The next step was to allow liberty of conscience to all sectaries. This was done in the belief that the truth of the Catholic religion would, upon a fair trial, gain the victory. Besides the same power that granted liberty of conscience might restrain it; and the Catholic religion alone would thus predominate. He therefore issued a general indulgence, declaring that non-conformity to the established religion was no longer penal; but in Scotland he ordered his parliament to grant a toleration

only to the Catholics, without interceding in the least for the other dissenters. In Ireland the Protestants were totally expelled from all offices of trust and profit, and Catholics put in their places. These measures sufficiently disgusted every part of the British empire; but to complete the work, James publicly sent the Earl of Castlemaine as ambassador extraordinary to Rome, in order to express his obedience to the pope, and reconcile his kingdoms to the Catholic communion. This proceeding was too precipitate to be relished even by the pope himself; and therefore the only return he made to this embassy was the sending a nuncio into England. Soon after this the Jesuits were permitted to erect colleges in different parts of the kingdom, and to exercise the Catholic worship in the most public manner.

In 1686, a second declaration in favor of liberty of conscience was published almost in the same terms with the former, but with this particular injunction, that all divines should read it after service in their churches. The clergy resolved to disobey this order. Loyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, Kenn of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, White of Peterborough, and Trelawney of Bristol, together with Saneroft the primate, concerted an address in the form of a petition to the king, which, with the warmest expressions of zeal and submission, signified that they could not read the declaration consistently with their consciences or the respect they owed the Protestant religion. The king received their petition with marks of surprise and displeasure. He said he did not expect such an address from the church of England, particularly from some amongst them; and persisted in his orders for their obeying his mandate. As the petition had been delivered in private, the king summoned the bishops before the council, and there questioned them whether they would acknowledge it. They for some time declined giving an answer; but being urged by the chancellor, they at last owned the petition. On their refusal to give bail, an order was

immediately issued for their commitment to the Tower, and the crown lawyers received directions to prosecute them for a seditious libel. The king gave orders that they should be conveyed to the Tower by water as the whole city was in commotion in their favor. But the people when informed of their danger, ran to the river side in great multitudes, craving their blessing, and calling upon Heaven to protect them; whilst the very soldiers by whom they were guarded kneeled down before them and implored their forgiveness. The 29th of June, 1686, was fixed for the trial of the bishops Twenty-nine peers, a great number of gentlemen, and an immense crowd of persons, waited upon them to Westminster Hall. The discussion was learnedly managed by the lawyers on both sides. The jury withdrew into a chamber, where they passed the whole night; but next morning they returned into court, and pronounced the bishops not guilty. Westminster Hall instantly rang with loud acclamations, which were communicated to the whole extent of the city, and even reached the camp at Hounslow, where the king was at dinner in Lord Feversham's tent. His majesty demanded the cause of those rejoicings, and being informed that it was nothing but the soldiers shouting for the delivery of the bishops, "Call you that nothing?" said he; "but so much the worse for them."

As the king found the clergymen everywhere averse to his measures, he was willing next to try what he could do with the army, thinking that if one regiment could be brought to promise implicit obedience, their example would soon induce others to comply. He therefore ordered one of the regiments to be drawn up in his presence, and desired that such as were against the late declaration of liberty of conscience should lay down their arms. He was surprised to see the whole battalion ground their arms, except two officers and a few Roman Catholic soldiers. A few days before the acquittal of the bishops the queen was delivered of a



son. This, if any thing could at that time, might have served to establish James on the throne; but so violent was the animosity against him, that a story was propagated that the child was supposititious; and the monarch's pride scorned to take any precautions to refute the calumny.

Though the enthusiasm of James himself was sufficiently extravagant, the wildest of his religious projects seem to have been suggested by his enemies in order to accomplish his ruin. The Earl of Sunderland, whom he chiefly trusted, was a man of abandoned principles, insatiable avarice, and fitted by nature for stratagem, deception, and intrigue. The love of money was his ruling passion, and he accordingly sold his influence to the highest bidder. To such a degree was he mercenary, that he became at once the pensioner of the Prince of Orange and of the King of France. The former, who had long fixed his eye on the English throne, watched James' motions, and took every advantage of his errors. He had laid his schemes so extensively, that nothing but the birth of a male heir to the crown of England seemed likely to prevent him from obtaining an almost immediate possession of the kingdom; and he had the address to render two-thirds of the powers of Europe interested in his success. The treaty of Augsburg, formed to break the power of France, could not accomplish its object without the accession of England. The house of Austria, in both its branches, preferred their political views to their zeal for the Roman Catholic faith, and promoted the dethronement of James as the only means of humbling Louis XIV. Odescalchi, who under the name of Innocent XI. then filled the papal chair, was also gained to the measures of the Prince of Orange by other considerations, as well as through his fixed aversion to France.

Seeing the national discontent now raised to the highest pitch, the Prince of Orange resolved to take advantage of it. He began by giving one Dykevelt, his envoy, instructions to apply in his name to every religius

sect in the kingdom. To the church party he sent assurances of favor and regard; protesting that his education in Holland had no way prejudiced him against Episcopacy. To the non-conformists he sent exhortations not to be deceived by the insidious caresses of their known enemy, but to wait for a real and sincere protector. In consequence of these insinuations, the prince soon received invitations from the most considerable persons in the kingdom. Admirals Herbert and Russell assured him in person of their own and the national attachment. Henry Sidney, brother to Algernon, and uncle to the Earl of Sunderland, came over to him with assurances of a universal combination against the king. Lord Dumblane, son to the Earl of Danby, being master of a frigate, made several voyages to Holland, and carried from many of the nobility tenders of duty, and even considerable sums of money, to the Prince of Orange. Soon after, the Bishop of London, the Earls of Danby, Nottingham, Devonshire, Dorset, and several other lords, gentlemen, and principal citizens, united in their addresses to him, and entreated his speedy descent. The people, though long divided between whig and tory, now joined against their misguided sovereign as against a common enemy. William therefore determined to accept their invitation; and this the more readily, as he perceived that the malcontents had conducted themselves with prudence and secrecy. Having the principal servants of James in pay, he was minutely informed of the most secret actions and designs of that prince. His intelligence came through Sidney from Sunderland, who betrayed the very measures which he himself had advised. The prince had a fleet ready to sail, and troops provided for action, before the beginning of June, 1688.

The King of France was the first to give James warning of his danger, and offered to assist him in repelling it. But he declined this friendly offer, lest it should be said that he had entered into a private treaty with that monarch to the prejudice of the Protest-

ant religion. Being also deceived and betrayed by Sunderland, he had the weakness to believe, that the reports of an invasion were invented in order to frighten him into a strict connection with France. He gave credit to the repeated assurances of the States, that the armament preparing in their ports was not designed against England; nay, he even believed the assertions of the prince himself, whose interest it was to deceive. Sunderland descanted against the possibility of an invasion, and turned into ridicule all who believed the report. Having, with the consent of James, taken possession of all the foreign correspondence, he suppressed every kind of intelligence that might alarm; and all others whom James trusted, except Dartmouth, affected long to place no faith in the reports of an invasion. Louis finding his first offers rejected, next proposed to march down his army to the frontiers of the Dutch provinces, and thus detain their forces at home for their own defence. But this proposal met no better reception than the former one. Still Louis, unwilling to abandon a friend and ally whose interest he regarded as closely connected with his own, ventured to remonstrate with the Dutch against the preparations they were making to invade England. But the Dutch treated his remonstrances as an officious impertinence, and James himself declined his mediation.

The king of England, having thus rejected the assistance of friends, and being left to face the danger alone, was astonished with an advice from his minister in Holland, that an invasion was not only projected, but avowed. When he first read the letter containing this information, he grew pale, and the letter dropped from his hand. He saw himself on the brink of destruction, and knew not to whom to apply for protection. In this emergency, Louis wrote to James in his own hand, that to divert the Dutch from their intended invasion of England, he would lay siege to Maestricht with thirty thousand men. James communicated this intelligence to Sunderland, and the latter to the Prince of Orange,

by whom six thousand men were thrown into Maestricht; and the design of Louis being thus rendered impracticable, it was laid aside.

James had now no resource but in retreating from those precipitate measures which had plunged him into inextricable distress. He paid court to the Dutch, and offered to enter into any alliance with them for their common security. He replaced in all the counties in England, the deputy lieutenants and justices who had been deprived of their commissions for their adherence to the test and penal law. He restored the charters of such corporations as he had possessed himself of, annulled the High Commission Court, re-instated the expelled president and fellows of Magdalen College, and even caressed the bishops whom he had so lately persecuted and insulted. But all these concessions were now too late, and were regarded as the effects of fear, not of repentance.

In the mean time, William set sail from Helvoetsluys with a fleet of near five hundred sail, and an army of about fourteen thousand men. Fortune, however, seemed at first very unfavorable to his enterprise. He was driven back by a dreadful storm; but he soon refitted his fleet, and again set sail for England. It was given out that this invasion was designed for the coast of France; and many of the English, who saw the fleet pass along their coast, little suspected the place of its destination. It happened that the same wind which sent the Dutch to their place of destination, detained the English fleet in the river; so that the Dutch passed the Straits of Dover without molestation, and, after a voyage of two days, landed at Brixholme in Torbay, on the 5th of November, 1688, the anniversary of the gunpowder treason.

But although the invitation from the English was general, the prince for some time had the mortification to find himself joined by very few. He continued for ten days in expectation of being joined by the malcontents, and at last was beginning to despair of success, and to deliberate about re-embark



ing his forces, when he was joined by several persons of consequence; and the whole country soon afterwards flocked to his standard. The first person who went over to the prince was Major Burrington, and he was quickly followed by the gentry of the counties of Devon and Somerset. Sir Edward Seymour made proposals for an association, which was signed by great numbers; and every day there appeared some new proof of that universal combination into which the nation had entered against the measures of the king. This was followed by the defection of the army. Lord Colchester, son to the Earl of Rivers, first deserted to the prince; Lord Cornbury, son of the Earl of Clarendon, carried off the greatest part of three regiments of cavalry at once; and several officers of distinction informed Feversham their general, that they could not in honor fight against the Prince of Orange. Soon after this the unhappy monarch found himself deserted by his own servants and creatures. Lord Churchill had been raised from the rank of page, and had been invested with a high command in the army; he had been created a peer, and owed his whole fortune to the king's bounty; yet even he deserted among the rest, and carried with him the Duke of Grafton, natural son to the late king, besides Colonel Berkeley and others.

In this universal defection, James, not knowing where to turn, began to think of requesting assistance of France, when it was now too late. He also wrote to Leopold, Emperor of Germany; but that monarch only returned for answer, that what he had foreseen had happened. James had some dependence on his fleet; but in reality they were entirely disaffected. In a word, his interests were deserted by all, for he had long deserted them himself. His army, however, still amounted to twenty thousand men; and had he led them immediately to battle, it is possible they might then have fought in his favor. But his misfortunes had deprived him of his natural firmness and resolution; and seeing himself deserted by those in whom

he thought he could place most confidence he became suspicious of all, and was in a manner deprived even of the power of deliberation. In this extremity of distress, the Prince of Denmark, and Ann, James's favorite daughter, perceiving the desperation of his circumstances, resolved to take part with the Prince of Orange. Informed of this event, the king was stung with the most bitter anguish. "God help me," said he; "my own children have forsaken me." To add to his distress as a parent, he was accused of being accessory to the death of his own child.

On the 30th of November, 1688, James dispatched three noblemen to treat with the Prince of Orange. But though the latter knew very well that the king's commissioners were in his interest, his behavior showed plainly that he now thought the period of treating was past. For some time he would not admit them to an audience; and when he did, he gave no satisfactory answer. James now began to be alarmed for his personal safety; but what most affected him was the terror of the queen for herself and her infant son. He therefore resolved to send them abroad. They crossed the river in a boat, at Whitehall, on a stormy day, and were carried to Gravesend in a coach, under the conduct of the Count de Lauzun; a yacht, commanded by Captain Gray, which lay there ready for the purpose, soon transported them in safety to Calais.

The king was now so dispirited and distracted, that he resolved to leave the kingdom at once, and thus plunge every thing in confusion. He threw the great seal into the Thames; he left none with any authority to conduct the government in his absence; and he vainly hoped to derive advantage to his affairs from anarchy and disorder. About twelve at night, on the 10th of December, he disguised himself, took a boat at Whitehall, and crossed the river. Sir Edward Hales, with another friend, met him at Vauxhall with horses. He mounted; and being conducted through by-ways by a guide, he passed in the night-time to the Medway, which he

crossed by Ailesford-bridge. At Woodpeck he took fresh horses, sent thither before by Shelden, one of his equerries, who was in the secret of his flight. Having arrived at Emby-ferry near Feversham, he found a custom-house boy, hired by Sir Edward Hales, lying ready to receive him on board. But the wind blew fresh, and the vessel had no ballast. The master, therefore, easily persuaded the king to permit him to take in some ballast at Shilness. It being half ebb when they ran ashore, they intended to sail as soon as the vessel should be afloat; but when the vessel was almost afloat, she was boarded by three fishing boats belonging to Feversham, containing fifty men, who seized the king and his two companions, under the pretence of their being Papists who wanted to escape from the kingdom. They turned up Feversham water with the tide; but still the king remained unknown. Sir Edward Hales placed privately fifty guineas in the hands of the captain, as an earnest of more should he permit them to escape. He promised, but so far from keeping his word, he took what money they had, under the pretence of keeping it from the seamen; and having possessed himself of their all, left them to their fate. The unfortunate fugitives were at length carried in a coach to Feversham, amidst the insults, clamors, and shouts of the sailors. When the king was brought to the inn, a seaman who had served under him knew him, and melted into tears; and James himself was so much moved at this instance of his affection, that he wept. The other fishermen, who had previously treated him with indignity, when they saw his tears, fell upon their knees. The lower class of inhabitants gathered around him; but the better sort fled from his presence. The seamen, however, formed themselves into a guard, and declared, that "a hair of his head should not be touched." In the meantime, Sir James Oxendon, under pretence of guarding him from the rabble, came with the militia to prevent his escape. The king found a change in his condition when he was taken out of the hands of the sailors. The com-

manders of the militia showed him no respect; and he was even insulted by the common soldiers. A letter which he intended to send to London for clothes, a change of linen, and some money, was stopped by those who pretended to protect his person.

In the meantime the Prince of Orange exercised in his own person all the functions of royalty. He issued a declaration to the disbanded army to re-assemble themselves. He ordered the secretary of war to bring him a list of the king's troops. He commanded the Lord Churchill to collect his troops of horse guards. He sent the Duke of Grafton to take possession in his name of Tilbury Fort. The assembly of peers adjourned to the council-chamber at Whitehall, and, to give the appearance of legality to their meeting, chose the Marquis of Halifax as their president. Whilst this assembly was sitting, on the 13th of December, a poor countryman, who had been engaged by James, brought an open letter from that unfortunate prince to London. It had no subscription; and it was addressed to none. It described in one sentence only, his deplorable condition in the hands of a desperate rabble. This poor messenger of a fallen sovereign waited long at the council door, without being able to attract the notice of any who passed; but when the Earl of Mulgrave became apprised of his business, his lordship had the courage to introduce him to the council. He delivered his open letter, and told the unhappy state of the king. The assembly were much moved, and sent the Earl of Feversham with two hundred of the guards towards Feversham. His instructions were first to rescue James from danger, and afterwards to attend him to the sea coast, should he wish to retire. He chose, however, to return to London; but the Prince of Orange sent a message to him, desiring him to approach no nearer the capital than Rochester. The messenger missed James by the way; and the king sent Feversham with a letter to the Prince of Orange, requesting his presence in London to settle the nation, while he himself proceeded



thither, and safely arrived on the 16th of December.

The Prince of Orange received the news of his return with little satisfaction. His aim from the beginning was to force him by various means to relinquish the throne. The Dutch guards were ordered to take possession of Whitehall, and to displace the English; and the king was soon after commanded by a message, which he received in bed at midnight, to leave his palace next morning, and to depart for Ham, a seat of the Duchess of Lauderdale's. But he desired permission to retire to Rochester, which was readily granted. The harsh measures of the prince had now taken effect, and the king meditated an escape to France. Surrounded by the Dutch guards, he arrived at Rochester on the 19th of December. The restraint put upon his person, and the manner in which he had been forced from London, raised the indignation of many, and excited the compassion of all. The English army, both officers and soldiers, began to murmur, and had it not been for the timidity and precipitation of James himself, the nation would probably have returned to their allegiance. He remained three nights at Rochester, in the midst of a few faithful friends, the Earls of Arran, Dumbarton, Ailesbury, Litchfield, and Middleton, and, amongst other officers of merit, Lord Viscount Dundee. They all argued against his intended flight; and several bishops, some peers, and many officers, entreated his stay in some part of England. They represented that the opinions of men began to change, and that events would daily rise in favor of his authority. Dundee added his native ardor to his advice. "The question, Sir," said he, "is, Whether you shall stay in England or fly to France? Whether you shall trust the returning zeal of your native subjects, or rely on a foreign power? Here you ought to stand. Keep possession of a part, and the whole will submit by degrees. Resume the spirit of a king. Summon your subjects to their alle-

giance. Your army, though disbanded, is not dispersed. Give me your commission. I will gather ten thousand of your troops. I will carry your standard at their head through England, and drive before you the Dutch and their prince." The king replied, that he believed it might be done, but that it would raise a civil war, and he would not do so much mischief to a nation that would soon come to their senses again. Middleton urged his stay, though in the remotest part of the kingdom. "Your majesty," said he, "may throw things into confusion by your departure; but it will be but the anarchy of a month. A new government will soon be settled, and you and your family will be ruined."

These spirited remonstrances had no effect upon James. He resolved to quit the kingdom; and having communicated his design to a few of his friends, he left the house where he had lodged at midnight, accompanied by his son the Duke of Berwick, and went in a boat to a smack which lay waiting for him without the fort at Sheerness. In the morning of Tuesday the 25th December, the king landed at Ambletuse in France, and taking post, soon joined his consort at St. Germain.

James having thus abandoned his dominions, the Prince of Orange remained master of all. By the advice of the House of Lords, the only member of the legislature remaining, he was desired to summon a parliament by circular letters; but the prince, unwilling to act upon so imperfect an authority, convened all the members who had sat in the House of Commons during any parliament of Charles II., to whom were added the mayor, aldermen, and fifty of the common council of London; and being thus supported by an assembly deriving its authority from himself, he wrote circular letters to the counties and corporations of England, directing them to return members to this parliament or convention. When the house met, thanks were voted to the Prince of Orange for the deliverance he had wrought; after which they proceeded to settle the kingdom. A vote soon passed

both houses, that King James II. having endeavored to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between the king and the people, and having by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, had abdicated the government; and that the throne was thereby vacant.

The king being thus deposed, it was easy for William to get himself appointed his successor. Proposals were indeed made by some for electing a regent; and others were for investing the Princess of Orange with regal power, and declaring the young prince suppositious. But to these proposals William opposed the decisive argument, that he had been called over to defend the liberties of the British nation, and that he had happily effected his purpose; that he had heard of several schemes proposed for the establishing of the government; that, if they chose a regent, he thought it incumbent upon him to inform them that he would not be that regent; that he would not accept of the crown under the princess his wife, though he was convinced of her merits; that therefore, if either of these schemes was adopted, he could give them no assistance in the settlement of the nation, but would return home to his own country, satisfied with his aims to secure the freedom of theirs. Upon this, after a long debate in both houses, a new sovereign was preferred to a regent by a very small majority. It was agreed that the Prince and Princess of Orange should reign jointly as king and queen of England; whilst the administration of government should be placed in the hands of the prince only. The Marquis of Halifax, as Speaker of the House of Lords, made a solemn tender of the crown to their highnesses, in the name of the Peers and Commons of England. The prince accepted the offer; and that very day, the 13th of February, 1689, William and Mary were proclaimed king and queen of England.

William began his reign with issuing a proclamation for continuing in office all Pro-

testants who had been in place on the first of the preceding December. On the 17th of the month he formed his privy council, which consisted chiefly of those persons who had been most active in raising him to the throne. To gratify as many as possible of his friends, the several boards, and even the chancery, were put into commission. The benches of the Exchequer and Common Pleas were filled with persons who had distinguished themselves against the measures of the late king. But the Earl of Nottingham, who had violently opposed the elevation of William, and the Earl of Shrewsbury, who had adhered to his views, were made secretaries of state. The Marquis of Halifax, and the Earl of Danby, though rivals in policy, were admitted into the cabinet; the first as lord privy seal, the second as president of the council. William's Dutch friends in the meantime were not forgotten by the king.

Though these instances of gratitude were no doubt necessary to William, the generality of the nation were displeased. The Tories were offended at being excluded from favor, especially as they had departed from their usual principles in order to serve him. The nation in general were much prejudiced against foreigners, and universal discontent ensued upon seeing them preferred. The king, who had been bred a Calvinist, was also strongly inclined to favor that sect; and finding the clergy of the church of England but little inclined to take the oaths to the new government, he began openly to indulge his own prejudices in favor of dissenters. Having come to the House of Lords to pass some bills on the 16th March, he made a speech, urging the necessity of admitting all Protestants indiscriminately into the public service. He informed them, that he was employed in filling up the vacancies in offices of trust; he expressed his hopes that they had become sensible of the necessity of a law to settle the oaths to be taken by such persons as should be admitted into place; and he doubted not, that whilst they provided against Catholics, they would at the same time leave



room for the admission of all Protestants who were able and willing to serve their country. But this proposition was rejected with vehemence. The adherents of the church complained that the ruin which they feared from the Catholics in the preceding reign was now to be dreaded from the Protestant dissenters; and they affirmed, that if the established religion was to be destroyed, it mattered little by whose hands it might fall. A bill brought in by the ministry for abrogating the former oaths of supremacy and allegiance was rejected; and an attempt to dispense with the sacramental test was made without success in another form. The court party proposed that any man, by producing a certificate of his having received the sacrament in any Protestant congregation, should be held sufficiently qualified for office. But this motion was also rejected in the House of Lords by a great majority. William repeated his attempts at a comprehension; but he was ultimately unsuccessful, and in the coronation-oath the church party inserted a clause, that the king should maintain the Protestant religion "as established by law."

For these and other reasons the government of William was for some time in a very tottering condition. The king, either through want of health or inclination, interfered but little in the affairs of the nation; Ireland was strangely neglected; whilst Halifax and Danby, who had in a manner raised the king to the throne, caballed with his enemies. They perceived that the people, with the same levity which had induced them to desert their former sovereign, were beginning to be discontented with their new prince. Everything seemed to tend to a change. Halifax himself declared, that were James to conform with the Protestants, he could not be kept four months from re-ascending his throne; and Danby averred, that, were the late king to give satisfaction for the security of religion, it would be difficult to oppose his restoration. From these apparent discontents of the nation, the friends and emissaries of James assumed more boldness in tampering

with the servants of the crown and inflaming the army. The former they alarmed with the prospect of a sudden change; the latter they roused into indignation by the alleged preference shown by William for his countrymen the Dutch.

Though the kingdom of Scotland did not at first recognize the authority of William, yet the party of James never attained sufficient strength to be of any effectual service to him in that kingdom. Thirty Scottish peers, and near eighty gentlemen, then in London, had waited on the Prince of Orange in the beginning of January, and, without any authority from the regency still subsisting in Edinburgh, formed themselves into a kind of convention. The Prince of Orange in a formal manner asked their advice; and when he withdrew, they adjourned to the council chamber at Whitehall. The Duke of Hamilton being chosen president, explained the distracted state of Scotland, representing that disorders, anarchy and confusion prevailed, and urging the necessity of placing the power somewhere till a convention of estates should be called to form a lasting and solid settlement. When the heads of an address to the Prince of Orange had been settled, and ordered to be engrossed, the Earl of Arran unexpectedly arose and proposed to invite back the king. The meeting, however, adhered to the Prince of Orange, and waited on him in a body, requesting him to take the administration into his own hands. He thanked them for the trust they had reposed in him; and a convention was ordered to meet at Edinburgh on the 14th of March, it being provided that no exception or limitation whatever should be made, except that the members should be Protestants.

This convention, however, was opposed by some of the partisans of James; and the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Earl of Balcaras, and the Viscount Dundee, were authorized by an instrument signed by him, at that time in Ireland, to call a convention of the estates at Stirling. But this measure was disappointed, first by the wavering dis-

position of the Marquis of Atholl, and afterwards by the procrastination and folly of the party. At last Viscount Dundee, pretending alarm on account of a design alleged to have been formed by the Covenanters to assassinate him, left Edinburgh at the head of fifty horse. As he passed under the walls of the castle, the Duke of Gordon, who then held the command of the fortress, and favored the cause of James, called him to a conference. Dundee scrambled up the precipice, and informed the duke of his designs in favor of James, at the same time conjuring him to hold out the castle, under a certainty of being relieved. The novelty of the sight collected a multitude of spectators. The convention took the alarm. The president ordered the doors to be locked, and the keys to be laid upon the table. The drums beat to arms in the town; and a parcel of ill-armed retainers were gathered together in the street by the Earl of Leven. Dundee in the mean time rode off with his party. But as soon as they found themselves secure, the Duke of Hamilton adjourned the convention, which relieved the adherents of James from dreadful apprehensions for their own safety. Fifty members retired from Edinburgh; and that circumstance produced unanimity in all the succeeding resolutions of the convention. Soon after this it was determined in a committee that James had "forefaulted" his right to the crown, by which was meant that he had perpetually excluded himself and his whole race from the throne, which was thereby become vacant. This resolution being approved by the convention, another was drawn up raising William and Mary to the vacant throne; and in consequence they were publicly proclaimed at Edinburgh on the 11th of April, 1689.

The castle of Edinburgh was still kept in the name of James by the Duke of Gordon; but despairing of any relief, and pressed by a siege, his Grace surrendered it on the 13th of June, upon honorable terms. The adherents of James, terrified at this unexpected

misfortune, now turned their eyes to the Viscount Dundee, who having been in vain urged by the convention to return, was at length declared a fugitive, an outlaw, and a rebel. General Mackay had been sent to Scotland by William, with four regiments of foot and one of dragoons. But Dundee, apprised of the general's design to surprise him, retired to the Grampian Mountains with a few horse, and thence marched to Gordon Castle, where he was joined by the Earl of Dunfermline with fifty gentlemen. He next passed through the county of Moray to Inverness, which Macdonald of Keppoch had invested with seven hundred men, after having ravaged the lands of the clan of Mackintosh in his way from his own country. Dundee promised to the magistrates of Inverness to repay, at the king's return, the money extorted from them by Macdonald, and thus induced the latter to join him with all his men. But as he could not prevent the Highlanders from first returning home with their spoil, he accompanied them to Lochaber, and on the 8th of May arrived in Badenock, whence he wrote letters to the chiefs of the different clans, appointing them to meet at a general rendezvous in Lochaber on the 18th of the same month. In the meantime, passing suddenly through Athole, he surprised the town of Perth, and hoping to gain over two troops of Scottish dragoons who lay at Dundee, he marched suddenly to that place; but the fidelity of Captain Balfour, their commander, disappointed his views. Dundee then returned through Athole and Rannoch to hold the diet of rendezvous at Lochaber; and there he was reinforced by several Highland chieftains, so that his little army was increased to about fifteen hundred men. He now turned against Mackay, who had advanced to Inverness, but on the approach of Dundee retreated to Strathbogie, leaving the whole Highlands exposed to the enemy.

But notwithstanding this partial success, Dundee found himself surrounded with many difficulties. The officers of the Scot-



tish dragoons, who maintained a secret correspondence with him, sent him false intelligence, as an excuse for their own fears, informing him that a party of Irish, who had endeavored to land in Scotland under the Duke of Berwick, were driven back, and the duke himself taken prisoner; and that Mackay had been reinforced with a regiment of English horse, and another of foot. Crediting this information, Dundee retreated to Badenoch; the natives of the low country who served in his little army quitted him without leave; the Highlanders plundered the country wherever they went; and he himself at last fell sick, while Mackay hovered on his rear. A slight skirmish occurred, in which the Highlanders had the advantage; but they nevertheless lost their baggage during the action. Dundee at length arrived at Ruthven; but Mackay, reinforced with a body of twelve hundred men, advanced against him, and other regiments had arrived at Perth and Dumblane, on their way to join. The Highlanders now deserted every night by hundreds, and their leader was forced to retire to Lochaber, where only two hundred of his whole force remained with him; whilst, to complete his misfortunes, he at the same time received intelligence of the surrender of the castle of Edinburgh.

Meanwhile, letters having arrived from King James promising immediate succors from Ireland, Dundee ordered the neighboring clans to assemble round his standard. But still he wanted the necessary means for prosecuting the war. The Highlanders were armed only with their own proper weapons, and he had no more than forty pounds weight of powder in his whole army. All difficulties, however, were surmounted by the activity of the general, for whom his army entertained an enthusiastic zeal. Having collected a force of about two thousand five hundred men, including three hundred Irish recruits, he resolved to give battle to Mackay, who, with a force considerably superior in numbers, was advancing against him. The encounter took place on the 17th

of July, 1689, near the head of the Pass of Killikrankie. The Highlanders took post on the face of a hill, a little above the house of Urrard, and to the westward of the great Pass; whilst the king's forces were drawn up on a level piece of ground, in the form of an amphitheatre, bounded on two sides by the heights, and on the third by the river Garry. Dundee delayed his attack until about sunset, when suddenly the Highlanders rushed down like furies, covering themselves from the fire of the king's troops with their targets. "At last," says an eye-witness, "they cast away their muskets, drew their broadswords, advancing furiously on the king's troops, broke them, and obliged them to retreat; some flying to the water, some another way." The charge was like a torrent, fierce, rapid, irresistible; and the rout complete. The 21st or Scotch fusiliers was on the left of General Mackay's front line, Hastings' and Leslie's, now the 13th and 15th regiments, in the centre, and Lord Leven's, now the 25th, on the right; the whole consisting of two regiments of cavalry and nine battalions of infantry. After the right of the line had given way, the regiments on the centre and the left, which were covered by the river Garry and the woody precipice below the house of Urrard, kept their ground, and for a short time withstood the shock of the Highland charge with the broadsword; but at length they gave way on all sides, Hastings' flying through the Pass on the north side, and the fusiliers dashing across the river, followed by the Highlanders. But Dundee having fallen early in the attack, the consternation occasioned by his death prevented an immediate pursuit through the great pass. Had they been closely followed, and had a few men been placed at the southern entrance, not a man of the king's troops would have escaped to tell the story of their defeat. As it was, they lost nearly two thousand men, and the remainder were completely broken and dispersed. But the victory, though gallantly achieved, was productive of nothing but

barren glory; and with the fall of Dundee ended all the hopes of James of Scotland. Colonel Cannon, who succeeded him in the command, possessed neither his popularity nor his abilities. After some insignificant actions, in which the valor of the soldiers was more conspicuous than the conduct of their leader, the Highlanders dispersed in disgust; and the war soon afterwards ended favorably for William, without the trouble of repulsing his enemies.

During the trouble in England, which had terminated in placing William on the throne, the two parties in Ireland were kept in a kind of tranquillity by their mutual fears. The Protestants were terrified at the prospect of another massacre; and the Catholics expected every day to be invaded by the united force of the English and Dutch. Their terrors, however, were ill founded; for although Tyrconnel sent several messages to the prince, stating his readiness to deliver up the kingdom to any force that might make a surrender decent, his offers were always rejected. This is said to have been owing to Halifax, who is alleged to have represented to the king, that if Ireland yielded, no pretence would remain for keeping an army in pay; that without an army to protect his authority, he might be as easily turned out as he had been brought in; that the English nation could never remain long in a state of contentment; and that they had already begun to show symptoms of strong disaffection with the new government.

Tyrconnel, disappointed in his views of surrendering Ireland to the Prince of Orange, affected to adhere to King James. The whole military force of the kingdom at that time amounted only to four thousand men, and of these six hundred were in Dublin; whilst all of them were so much disposed to quit the service, that the lord-deputy was obliged to issue commissions for levying new forces. The effect of this was, that there suddenly appeared in various parts of the kingdom a half-armed rabble, who, having no pay from

the king, subsisted by depredation, and disregarded all discipline. The Protestants in the north armed themselves in their own defence; and the city of Londonderry, relying on its situation, and a slight wall, shut its gates against the newly raised army. Protestant parties also appeared everywhere, declaring their resolution to unite in self-defence, to preserve the Protestant religion, to continue their dependence on England, and to promote the meeting of a free parliament.

In these circumstances William sent General Hamilton, an Irishman and a Roman Catholic, to treat with Tyrconnel; but instead of persuading that lord to yield to William, Hamilton advised him to adhere to James. In the meantime James himself assured the lord-deputy that he was ready to sail from Brest with a powerful armament; upon which Hamilton marched against the northern insurgents, who were routed with considerable slaughter at Drumore, whilst Hillsborough, where they had fixed their head-quarters, was taken without resistance. The city of Londonderry, however, resolved to hold out to the last extremity.

On the 7th of March, 1689, James embarked at Brest. The whole force of his expedition consisted of fourteen ships of war, six frigates, and three fire-ships; whilst twelve hundred of his native subjects in the pay of France, and a hundred French officers, composed his army. He landed at Kinsale without opposition on the 12th of the month; and his first care was to secure, in the fort, the money, arms, and ammunition which he had brought from France, and to put the town in some posture of defence. This done, he advanced to Cork, where Tyrconnel arrived soon after, and brought the intelligence of the rout at Drumore. The king was so much pleased with his attachment and services, that he created him a duke, and than began his advance towards Dublin. But the condition of the rabble who flocked to his standard was not calculated to raise his hopes of success. Their very numbers distressed their sovereign, and



ruined the country; insomuch that James resolved to disband the greater part of them. More than one hundred thousand were already on foot in the different parts of the island. Of these he reserved fourteen regiments of horse and dragoons, and thirty-five regiments of foot; the rest he ordered to their respective homes, and armed those who were retained in the best manner he could.

On reaching Dublin, James immediately proceeded to business. He ordered all Protestants who had abandoned the kingdom to return; he commanded all Papists, except those in his army to lay aside their arms, and put an end to the depredations which they had committed in the excess of their zeal; he raised the value of the currency by proclamation; and he summoned a parliament to meet on the 7th of May, in order to settle the affairs of the kingdom. The Protestant clergy represented their grievances in an address; and the university of Dublin appeared with complaints and congratulations. He assured the first of his absolute protection, and a full redress; and he promised the latter not only to defend, but even to enlarge, their privileges.

On the 8th of April, he left Dublin, resolving to lead his army against the insurgents in person; but as they retired before him, he resolved to lay siege to Londonderry. The place, however, made a vigorous resistance; but being reduced to the last extremity, it would have been obliged to surrender had it not been relieved on the 20th of July, by seven ships laden with provisions, upon which the siege was immediately raised. In the mean time, the distressed situation of James, and his absolute dependence upon France drove him to the adoption of measures equally odious and impolitic. His soldiers had for some time been supported by their officers, or subsisted by depredation. But the funds of the officers were at length exhausted, and the country itself could no longer endure the riot and injustice of the soldiers. Pressed by these difficulties, he resolved, by the advice of his council, to

coin copper pieces, which should be received in lieu of silver. The inconveniences and iniquity of this measure were obvious; but all Ireland possessed not the means of paying the army in current coin till the middle of June. Of the French remittances only 200,000 livres remained; and the king found it absolutely necessary to reserve that sum, in order to forward his measures regarding Britain, and to procure intelligence of the motions of his enemies. The army was satisfied even with this mock semblance of money, and the people received the fictitious coin in hopes of being repaid in a more favorable state of affairs. A tax of £20,000 a month, granted for thirteen months by the parliament, furnished government with an appearance of resources; and in the meantime the king endeavored to support the former revenue by opening a trade with France to supply the want of commerce with England.

To add to the distress of James, Ireland was now invaded by ten thousand men under the command of the Duke of Schomberg. On the 12th of August, 1689, they appeared in ninety transports, on the coast of Donaghadee, in the county of Down; and next day Schomberg landed his army, horses, and train of artillery, without opposition. On the 15th he marched to Belfast, and continued in that place four days to refresh his troops. He then invested Carrickfergus, and threw into it a thousand bombs, which laid the houses in ashes. When the garrison had expended their powder to the last barrel, they marched out with all the honors of war; but Schomberg's soldiers broke the capitulation, disarmed and stripped the inhabitants, without regard to sex or quality, and perpetrated many disgraceful cruelties by way of retaliation on the Catholics. Schomberg was an experienced general, who had passed a life of eighty years almost continually in the field; yet he found himself at a loss how to carry on the war with Ireland. Not considering the dangers which threatened the health of his troops by confining them too long in

one place, he kept them encamped in a low damp situation near Dundalk, almost without fuel; the consequence of which was, that the men were seized with fevers and fluxes, and died in great numbers. Nor were the enemy less afflicted with similar disorders. In both camps sickness prevailed; and as the rainy season was now approaching the hostile armies, after remaining for some time in sight of each other, quitted their camps at the same time, and retired into winter quarters.

The ill success of this campaign, and the miserable situation of the Protestants in Ireland, at length induced William to attempt their relief in person. Accordingly, he left London on the 4th of June, 1690, and arrived on the 14th at Carrickfergus; whence he passed to Lisburn, the head-quarters of the Duke of Schomberg. At Lough-Britland he reviewed his army, which amounted to thirty-six thousand men, consisting of English, Dutch, Germans, Danes, and French; and being supplied with every necessary, as well as in high health and spirits, they seemed certain of victory. The Irish army abandoned Ardee at their approach, and fell back to the south of the Boyne, where they were joined by James, who had marched from Dublin at the head of the French auxiliaries. The banks of the Boyne were precipitous, and on the south side the ground was hilly, and intersected with ditches. The river itself was deep, and it rose to a considerable height in consequence of the tide. These advantages induced James, contrary to the opinion of his officers, to maintain possession of this post. His army was inferior in numbers, in discipline, and in every other quality, to that of his adversary; but convinced that a retreat would dispirit his troops, and tarnish his own reputation, he resolved to put the fate of Ireland on the issue of a battle. William had no sooner arrived on the ground than he rode along the river in sight of both armies, to examine the position of the hostile force, and make proper dispositions for battle; but being observed by the enemy, a cannon was privately brought out and pointed

against the spot where for the moment he stood. The shot killed several of his followers, and he himself was slightly wounded in the shoulder. The report of his being slain was instantly propagated throughout the Irish camp, and even transmitted to Paris; but as soon as the wound was dressed, William rode through the camp, and quickly undeceived his army. The next day, being the 30th of June, the battle began at six o'clock in the morning. William directed the river to be forded in three different places, and the attack to be simultaneously commenced from as many points. Schomberg, with the right wing, consisting of ten thousand men, passed the fords up the river, traversed a bog on the opposite side, and attacked with great impetuosity the left of James, which, after a short resistance, gave way, and retired precipitately to secure the pass of Dunleck, which formed the only line of retreat. The centre next crossed the river, but were gallantly opposed by the French and Irish, with whom they maintained a doubtful contest, till William, passing the river farther down at the head of his cavalry, threatened the enemy's flank, and forced them to fall back on the rest of the army of James, which was retiring in a body around their king. The left met with little or no resistance from the force opposed to them; and, indeed, the whole of James's dispositions seem to have been made for retreat rather than for battle. Hence, with a comparatively small loss, William succeeded in forcing his position at all points; and in establishing his whole army on the opposite bank of this deep and difficult river. Whilst the armies were yet engaged, James, who had so often shown the most heroic courage in battle, rode ingloriously off the field. This dispirited his troops, who fell into irretrievable disorder, and fled in all directions, neglecting his injunction to defend the Pass of Dunleck, and leaving nearly two thousand men killed and wounded on the field. The loss sustained by William's army was, owing to the difficult nature of the ground, considerably greater, though much inferior to what



it would have been if James had skilfully availed himself of the strength of his position, and headed the columns of attack as they debouched from the fords. Among the slain was the brave Duke of Schemberg. He was killed by a discharge from his own troops, who, not knowing that he had been accidentally hurried into the midst of the enemy, fired upon the body of men who surrounded him. When James first deserted his troops, O'Regan, an old Irish captain, was heard to observe, that if the English would exchange generals, the conquered army would fight them over again. James withdrew precipitately to Waterford, where he immediately embarked for France.

But the victory at the Boyne was by no means decisive, and the adherents of James resolved to continue their opposition. Sarsfield, a popular and experienced general, put himself at the head of the army which had been routed at the Boyne, and took measures for defending the banks of the Shannon. But James superseded him in the command, which he conferred on St. Ruth, a proceeding which gave great dissatisfaction to the Irish. On the other hand, General Ginckel, who had been appointed to command the English army in the absence of William, who had gone over to England, advanced towards the Shannon to meet the enemy. The only place where the river was fordable was at Athlone, a strong walled town, situated on both banks of the river, and in the possession of King James's party. The English soon made themselves masters of that part which was on the one side of the river; but the part on the opposite bank being defended with great vigor, it was resolved in a council of war that a forlorn hope should ford the stream in the face of the enemy; and this desperate enterprise being performed with great resolution, the enemy were driven from their works, and the town surrendered at discretion. St. Ruth marched to its relief, but he came too late, and, as he approached, his own guns were turned against him. Upon this he instantly counter-marched, and took

post at Aughrim, ten miles distant, where he determined to wait the English army. Ginckel, though he had only eighteen thousand men, whilst the Irish were above twenty-five thousand strong, did not decline the combat. A fierce contest ensued; but St. Ruth having fallen, his troops gave way on all sides, and retreated in disorder to Limerick, where they determined to make a final stand, after having lost nearly five thousand of their best men.

Ginckel, wishing to put an end to the war at once, suffered as many of the Irish as chose, to retire to Limerick. In this last retreat, however, the Irish forces made a brave defence. The siege commenced on the 25th of August, 1691; and six weeks were spent before the place without any decisive effect. The garrison was well supplied with provisions, and provided with all means of defence. On the other hand, the winter was approaching, and Ginckel had orders to finish the war upon any terms. Accordingly, he offered conditions to the Irish, which, even had they been victors, they could scarcely have refused with prudence. He agreed that all persons in arms should be pardoned; that their estates should be restored, their attainders annulled, and their outlawries reversed; that none should be liable for debts incurred through deeds done in the course of hostilities; that all Roman Catholics should enjoy the same toleration in regard to their religion as in the reign of Charles II.; that the gentry should be permitted to retain their arms; that the inferior class should be allowed to exercise their various callings and professions; that no oath but that of allegiance should be required of any one; and that if the troops, or any number of them, should chose to enter into any foreign service, they should be conveyed to the Continent at the expense of the king. Sarsfield, who had obtained the title of Earl of Lucan from James after his abdication, was permitted to retain a dignity which the laws could not recognize. The lords justices having arrived from Dublin on the 1st of October, signed the articles along with

Ginckel, and thus the Irish Catholics put a period to a war which threatened their party with absolute ruin. In consequence of this treaty, about fourteen thousand of those who had fought for King James passed over to France in transports provided by government for conveying them thither; and in this manner all James's expectations from Ireland were entirely frustrated, and the kingdom submitted quietly to the English government.

In the beginning of the year 1692, an action of unexampled barbarity disgraced the government of William in Scotland. In the August preceding, a proclamation had been issued, offering an indemnity to such insurgents as should take the oaths to the king and queen on or before the last day of December; and the chiefs of such tribes as had been in arms for James soon after took advantage of the proclamation. But Macdonald of Glenco was prevented by accident rather than design from tendering his submission within the limited time. In the end of December he went to Colonel Hill, who commanded the garrison in Fort William, to take the oaths of allegiance to the government; and the latter having furnished him with a letter to Sir Colin Campbell, sheriff of the county of Argyle, directed him to repair immediately to Inverary to make his submission in a legal manner before that magistrate. But the way to Inverary lay through almost impassable mountains, the season was extremely rigorous, and the whole country was covered with a deep snow. So eager, however, was Macdonald to take the oaths before the limited time should expire, that, though the road lay within half a mile of his own house, he stopped not to visit his family, and, after various obstructions, arrived at Inverary. The time had elapsed, and the sheriff hesitated to receive his submission; but Macdonald prevailed by his importunities, and even tears, in inducing that functionary to administer to him the oath of allegiance, and to certify the cause of his delay. At this time Sir John Dalrym-

ple, afterwards Earl of Stair, being in attendance upon William as secretary of state for Scotland, took advantage of Macdonald's neglecting to take the oaths within the time prescribed, and procured from the king a warrant of military execution against that chief and his whole clan. This was done at the instigation of the Earl of Breadalbane, whose lands the Glenco men had plundered, and whose treachery to government in negotiating with the Highland clans Macdonald had himself exposed. The king was accordingly persuaded that Glenco was the main obstacle to the pacification of the Highlands; and the fact of the unfortunate chief's submission having been concealed, the sanguinary orders for proceeding to military execution against his clan were in consequence obtained. The warrant was both signed and countersigned by the king's own hand; and the secretary urged the officers who commanded in the Highlands to execute their orders with the utmost rigor. Campbell of Glenlyon, a captain in Argyll's regiment, and two subalterns, were ordered to repair to Glenco on the first of February with a hundred and twenty men. Campbell, being uncle to young Macdonald's wife, was received by the father with all manner of friendship and hospitality. The men were lodged at free quarters in the houses of his tenants, and received the kindest entertainment. Till the thirteenth of the month the troops lived in the utmost harmony and familiarity with the people; and on the very night of the massacre the officers passed the evening at cards in Macdonald's house. In the night Lieutenant Lindsay, with a party of soldiers, called in a friendly manner at his door, and was instantly admitted. Macdonald, while in the act of rising to receive his guest, was shot dead through the back with two bullets. His wife had already dressed; but she was stripped naked by the soldiers, who tore the rings off her fingers with their teeth. The slaughter now became general, and neither age nor infirmity was spared. Some



women, in defending their children, were killed; boys, imploring mercy were shot dead by officers on whose knees they hung. In one place nine persons, as they sat enjoying themselves at table, were butchered by the soldiers. In Inverriggon, Campbell's own quarters, nine men were first bound by the soldiers, and then shot, at intervals, one by one. Nearly forty persons were massacred by the troops; and several who fled to the mountains perished by famine and the inclemency of the season. Those who escaped owed their lives to a tempestuous night. Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton, who had received the charge of the execution from Dalrymple, was on his march with four hundred men, to guard all the passes from the valley of Glenco; but he was obliged to stop by the severity of the weather, which proved the safety of the unfortunate clan. Next day he entered the valley, laid the houses in ashes, and carried away the cattle and spoil, which were divided among the officers and soldiers.

But the total reduction of Ireland, and the dispersion and extermination of the Highland chieftains who favored his cause, did not entirely put an end to the hopes of James. His chief expectations were founded on a conspiracy among his English adherents, and in the succors promised him by the French king. A plot was first formed in Scotland by Sir James Montgomery, a person who, from being an adherent of William's, now turned against him; but as the project was ill-contrived, so it was as lightly discovered by the instigator. To this succeeded another, which seemed to threaten more serious consequences, as it was managed by the Whig party, the most formidable in the state, a number of whom joined themselves to the Tories, and made advances to the late king. They assembled together; and, in order to lose no time, it was resolved to send over to France two trusty persons, Lord Preston and Mr. Ashton, to consult with the exiled monarch. Both of them, however, were seized by order of Lord Caernar-

then, and condemned. Ashton was executed without making any confession; but Lord Preston wanted equal virtue or resolution, for on an offer of pardon, he discovered a great number of associates, amongst whom were the Duke of Ormond, Lord Dartmouth, and Lord Clarendon.

The French having at last become sensible of their bad policy in not better supporting the cause of James, resolved to attempt a descent upon England in his favor; and, in pursuance of this scheme, James was supplied with an army consisting of a body of French troops, some English and Scottish refugees, and the Irish regiments which had been transported into France from Limerick, and by long discipline and severe duty had become excellent soldiers. This army was assembled between Cherbourg and La Hogue, and commanded by King James in person. More than three hundred transports were provided for landing the expedition on the opposite coast; and Tourville, the French admiral, at the head of sixty-three ships of the line, was appointed to favor the descent; his orders being at all events to attack the enemy in case they should oppose him. Every thing therefore promised a change of fortune to the exiled king, and he might now entertain hopes of recovering his crown. But these preparations on the side of France were soon known at the English court, and measures taken for a vigorous and effective resistance. The secret machinations of the banished king's adherents were discovered to the English ministry by spies; and it was thus found that the Tories were more faithful than even the Whigs, who had placed King William on the throne. The Duke of Marlborough, Lord Godolphin, and even the Princess Anne herself, were violently suspected of disaffection.

Preparations, however, were made with great tranquillity and resolution, to resist the coming storm. Admiral Russell was ordered to put to sea with all possible expedition; and he soon appeared with ninety-nine ships of the line, besides frigates and fire-ships.

At the head of this formidable fleet he set sail for the coast of France; and, near La Hogue, he discovered the enemy under Tourville, who prepared to give him battle. The engagement began between the two flag ships with the greatest fury, and the rest of the ships in succession followed their example. The battle lasted ten hours; but at length victory declared in favor of numbers, and the French fled for Conquet road, having lost four ships in the action. The pursuit continued for the two days following. Three French ships of the line were destroyed on the day succeeding the principal conflict; and eighteen more, which had taken refuge in the bay of La Hogue, were burnt by Sir George Rooke. The ships were drawn up in the shallows, and seemed to be secure against attack; but the British seamen, crowding in barges, under cover of such frigates as could be brought sufficiently near, boarded the enemy's ships, overpowered their crews, and then set them on fire.

The battle of La Hogue, which took place on the 21st of May, 1692, put an end to the hopes of James. No further attempts were made in his favor, except some plots to assassinate King William, which ended only in the destruction of those who had formed them. But it was never thoroughly proved that James countenanced these designs; and it rather appears that he expressed abhorrence of such attempts. In 1697, the Abbé de Polignac, ambassador of France to Poland, wrote to his master that thoughts were entertained of the late king of Britain in the new election which happened on the death of John Sobieski; and that James had already been named by some of the diet as his successor. Louis was eager to seize an opportunity of ridding himself with honor of a prince whose pretensions he could no longer support; and the friends of James were also sanguine as to the project; but he himself refused it. The same year, at an interview between King William and Louis XIV., it was proposed that the Prince of Wales, James's son, should succeed to the

throne of England after the death of William. William with little hesitation agreed to this request, and even engaged to procure the repeal of the act of settlement, and the passing of another declaring the Prince of Wales his successor to the throne. But this proposal was also rejected by James. He told the king of France, that though he could endure with patience the usurpation of his nephew, he would never permit his own son to be guilty of the same injustice; that should his son reign in his father's lifetime, that circumstance would amount to a formal renunciation; and that the Prince of Wales, by succeeding to the Prince of Orange, would thereby yield his sole right, which devolved to him through his father alone.

From this time James lost every hope of being restored to the throne, and resigned himself entirely to religious austerities. His constitution, though vigorous and athletic, had for some time begun to yield, to the infirmities of age, and to that melancholy which superstition, uniting with misfortune, had impressed on his mind. In the beginning of September, 1701, whilst he was at public prayers, according to his daily custom, he fell suddenly into a lethargy; and though he recovered his senses soon after, he languished for some days, and expired on the 6th of September. The French king paid him several visits during his sickness, and exhibited every symptom of compassion, affection, and even respect.

Embarrassed as to how he ought to proceed upon the unexpected death of James, Louis called a council to deliberate whether he should acknowledge the Prince of Wales as king of Great Britain and Ireland. The king himself had hesitated long in this delicate point; but the Dauphin, the Duke of Burgundy, and all the princes of the blood, declared that it would be unbecoming the dignity of the crown of France not to own that the titles of the father had devolved immediately on the son. Louis approved of this view, and determined in person to ac-



quaint the dying king with his resolution. When he arrived at St. Germain, James lay almost insensible from his disorder; but rousing himself, he began to thank his most Christian majesty for all his favors. Louis, however, interrupted him: "Sir," said he, "what I have done is but a small matter; but what I have to say is of the utmost importance." The people then began to retire, but Louis ordered them to remain. "I come to acquaint you, Sir," he added, "that when God shall please to call your majesty from this world, I shall take your family under my protection, and acknowledge your son as king of Great Britain and Ireland."

Though the defeat of the French fleet at La Hogue had put an end to all danger of any further attempt from that quarter, William by no means possessed his throne in any degree of tranquillity. The want of a common enemy produced dissensions amongst the people, and the king began to experience as much trouble from his parliament at home as from any enemy in the field. The uneasiness he felt on account of the refractory disposition of his subjects was not a little heightened by the death of his queen, who was carried off by the small-pox on the 28th of December, 1694. The grief he felt for her loss was deep and sincere; but all private concerns were soon merged in the greatness of his apprehensions for the balance of power and the fluctuating interests of Europe. William's chief motive for accepting the crown had been to engage England more deeply in the concerns of Europe; and as his great object had been to humble the French, so his politics mainly consisted in forming alliances against France. But many of the English had no such animosity against that country; and considering the interests of the nation as sacrificed to foreign connections, they complained that the continental war fell most heavily on them, though they had the least interest in its success. These complaints were at first heard by William with indifference; and he continued to bestow all his attention on the bal-

ance of power and the interests of Europe. But in attending to foreign affairs he overlooked internal polity; and, as he formed alliances abroad, he increased the influence of party at home. In accepting the crown, William had resolved to preserve as much of the prerogative as could decently be retained; and he sometimes exerted a branch of it, the power of refusing his assent to bills which had passed both houses, with equal firmness and decision. Hence perpetual bickerings took place between him and his parliaments. But William at last became fatigued with opposition, and admitted every restraint which they chose to impose on the prerogative in England, upon condition of being properly supplied with the means necessary for humbling France.

The war with France continued during the greater part of this king's reign; but at length the treaty of Ryswick, in 1697, put an end to a contest in which England had engaged without policy, and from which she came off without advantage. In the general pacification her interests seemed entirely neglected; and for all the treasures she had transmitted to the Continent, and all the blood which had been shed there, the only equivalent received was an acknowledgment of William's title by the king of France.

The king being now freed from foreign war, set himself to strengthen his authority at home; and as he could not endure the thoughts of a king without an army, he conceived hopes of keeping up, in time of peace, those forces which had been granted him during the time of danger. The Commons, however, to his great mortification, passed a vote that all the forces in the pay of England, exceeding seven thousand men, should be forthwith disbanded, and that those retained should be natural-born subjects of England. At this vote the king's indignation was kindled to such a degree, that he actually conceived a design of abandoning the government. From this, however, his ministers diverted him, and persuaded him to consent to the passing of the bill.

These altercations continued during the remainder of this reign. William considered the Commons as a body of men desirous of power for themselves, and consequently bent upon obstructing all his projects for securing the liberties of Europe; and he seemed but little attached to any particular party in the house, all of whom he found at times deserted or opposed him. He therefore inclined to Whigs and Tories indiscriminately, as interest or the immediate exigency demanded. He considered England as a place of labor, anxiety, and altercation. If he had any time for amusement or relaxation, he retired to Loo, Holland, where, among a few friends, he indulged in such festivities as he was capable of relishing. Here he planned the succession of the different princes of Europe, and labored to undermine the schemes and the power of Louis, his rival in politics and fame. But however feeble might be William's desire of other amusements, he could scarcely exist without being at variance with France. Peace had hardly been concluded with that nation when he began to think of resources for carrying on a new war, and enlisting his English subjects in a confederacy against France. Several arts were used for inducing the people to second his aims; and the whole nation seemed at last to join in desiring a French war. He had been in Holland concerting with his allies operations for a new campaign; and he had entered into a negotiation with the Prince of Hesse, who assured him that if he would besiege and take Cadiz, the admiral of Castile and several other grandees of Spain would declare for the house of Austria. The Elector of Hanover had concurred in the same measures; the King of the Romans, and Prince Louis of Baden, undertook to invest Landau; and the emperor promised to send a powerful reinforcement into Italy. But death unexpectedly put a period to the projects and ambition of this prince, who, with all his defects, was, in many particulars, a truly great man.

William was naturally of a very feeble

constitution; and by this time it had become almost quite exhausted by a series of continual disquietude and action. He had endeavored to repair his strength, or at least to conceal its decay, by exercise on horseback. But on the 21st of February, 1702, whilst riding to Hampton Court from Kensington, his horse fell under him, and he was thrown with such violence that his collar bone was fractured. His attendants conveyed him to the palace at Hampton Court, where the fracture was reduced; and in the evening he returned to Kensington in his coach. But the jolting of the carriage disunited the fracture; and although the bones were again replaced by Bidloo his physician, this accident proved ultimately fatal. For some time indeed he appeared to be in a fair way of recovery; but falling asleep on his couch, he was seized with a shivering, which terminated in a fever and diarrhoea, that resisted all remedial means employed to abate them. Perceiving his end approaching, he exhibited another example of the ruling passion strong in death. The objects of his former care lay nearest his heart; and the fate of Europe seemed to render him insensible to his own. The Earl of Albemarle arriving from Holland, he conferred with him in private on the posture of affairs abroad; and having received the sacrament from Archbishop Tennison, he expired on Sunday, the 8th day of March, having lived fifty-two years, and reigned thirteen.

William was succeeded by the Princess Anne, who had married George, Prince of Denmark. She ascended the throne in the thirty-eighth year of her age, to the general satisfaction of all parties. William had died on the eve of a war with France; and the present queen, who was generally guided by the advice of her ministry on every important occasion, was now urged by opposite councils, one part of the ministry being inclined for war, and another for peace. At the head of those who opposed a war with France was the Earl of Rochester, lord lieutenant of Ireland, first cousin to the queen,



and the chief of the Tory faction; whilst the opposite party was led by the Earl, afterwards Duke of Marlborough, and subsequently so much and justly renowned for his victories over the French. After both parties had given their opinions, that of Marlborough preponderated. The queen resolved to declare war; and having communicated her intentions to the House of Commons, by whom it was approved, war was proclaimed accordingly. In this declaration Louis was taxed with having taken possession of a great part of the Spanish dominions; with a design to invade the liberties of Europe, and to obstruct the freedom of navigation and commerce; with having offered an unpardonable insult to the queen and her throne, by acknowledging the title of the pretender; and with attempting to unite Spain to his own dominions, by placing his grandson upon the throne of that kingdom, and thus endeavoring to destroy the balance of power that subsisted among the states of Europe. This declaration of war on the part of England was seconded by similar manifestoes by the Dutch and Germans.

Louis XIV., whose power had been greatly circumscribed by William, expected, on the death of the latter, to enter on a field open for new conquests and fame. At the news of the English monarch's death, therefore, he could not suppress his satisfaction; whilst the people of Paris, and indeed throughout the whole kingdom, testified their joy in the most public manner. The French monarch was filled with indignation at seeing such a combination against him; but his resentment fell chiefly on the Dutch, and he declared with great emotion, that as for those gentlemen peddlers, they should one day repent their insolence and presumption in declaring war against him, whose power they had formerly felt and dreaded. By these threats, however, the affairs of the allies were no way influenced. Marlborough was appointed general of the British forces, and by the Dutch he was chosen generalissimo of the allied army; and indeed his

subsequent conduct showed that no person could possibly have been chosen with greater propriety. He had learned the rudiments of war under Turenne, having served as a volunteer in his army; and that celebrated commander had prognosticated his future greatness.

The first attempt which Marlborough made to deviate from the general practice of the army was to advance the subaltern officers, whose merits had hitherto been neglected. Regardless of seniority, wherever he found ability he was sure to promote it; and thus all the upper ranks of command were filled with men rather remarkable for their skill and talents than for their age and experience. In his first campaign, in the beginning of July, 1702, he repaired to the camp at Nimeguen, where he found himself at the head of sixty thousand men, well provided with all necessaries, and long disciplined by the best officers of the age. He was opposed on the part of France by the Duke of Burgundy, a youth of very little experience in the art of war; but the real acting general was Marshal Boufflers, the second in command, an officer of courage and activity. But wherever Marlborough advanced, the French were obliged to retire before him, leaving all Spanish Guelderland at his discretion. The Duke of Burgundy, finding himself obliged to retreat before the allied army, rather than expose himself longer to such a mortifying indignity, returned to Versailles, leaving Boufflers to command alone. The latter then retired to Brabant; and Marlborough ended the campaign by taking the city of Liege, in which he found an immense sum of money and a greater number of prisoners.

This good fortune seemed to console the nation for some unsuccessful expeditions at sea. Sir John Munden having permitted a French squadron of fourteen ships to escape by taking shelter in the harbor of Corunna, was dismissed the service. An attempt was made upon Cadiz by sea and land, Sir George Rooke commanding the navy, and

the Duke of Ormond the land forces ; but this also miscarried. At Vigo, however, the British arms were attended with better success ; and the French fleet which had taken refuge there was burnt in order to prevent its falling into the hands of the English, whilst ten ships of war were taken, together with eleven galleons, and about a million of money in silver. In the West Indies, Admiral Kenbow, who had been stationed with ten ships to distress the enemy's trade, having received information that Du Casse the French admiral was in those seas with a force equal to his own, resolved to attack him ; and having discovered the enemy's squadron near St. Martha steering along the shore, he quickly gave the necessary orders to his captains, and forming the line of battle, began the action. But the rest of the fleet having taken some causeless disgust at his conduct, permitted the admiral to sustain, almost alone, the whole fire of the enemy. Nevertheless, the engagement continued till night, and he determined to renew it next morning ; but he had the mortification to perceive that all the rest of his ships had fallen back except one, who joined him in urging the pursuit of the enemy. During four days this intrepid seaman, assisted by only one ship, pursued and fought the enemy, whilst his dastardly officers remained at a secure distance. In the last day's battle, which was more furious than any of the preceding conflicts, the admiral's leg was shattered by a cannon-ball, and he himself died soon after of his wounds. Two of his associates were shot on their arrival in England ; one died on his passage home ; and the remainder were justly disgraced.

The next parliament, which was convened by the queen, evinced great satisfaction at the success of the British arms on the Continent. The House of Commons, composed chiefly of Tories, voted forty thousand seamen, and the like number of land forces, to act in conjunction with those of the allies. But soon afterwards the queen informed her parliament that she was pressed by the allies

to augment her forces ; and upon this it was resolved that ten thousand more men should be added to the continental army ; on condition, however, that the Dutch should immediately break off all commerce with France and Spain.

In the beginning of April, 1703, the Duke of Marlborough crossed the sea, and assembling the allied army, opened the campaign with the siege of Bonn, the residence of the Elector of Cologne, which held out but a short time. He next retook Huy, the garrison of which, after a vigorous defence, surrendered prisoners of war. Limburg was then besieged, and surrendered in two days ; and the campaign concluded by securing the country of Liege, the electorate of Cologne, on the Lower Rhine, against the designs of the enemy.

In the campaign of 1704, the Duke of Marlborough, having informed the Dutch of his intention to march to the relief of the empire, which had been for some time oppressed by the French forces, the states gave him full powers to act as he thought proper, with assurances of assistance in all his efforts. The French king, finding Boufflers no longer capable of opposing Marlborough, appointed the Marshal de Villeroi to command in his room. But Marlborough, having no great fears from Villeroi, immediately marched to the assistance of the emperor. Taking with him about thirteen thousand British troops, he advanced by rapid marches to the banks of the Danube, defeated a body of French and Bavarians stationed at Donawerth to oppose him, and, passing the river, laid under contribution the electorate of Bavaria, who had taken part with the enemy. Villeroi, who at first had attempted to follow his motions, soon lost sight of him ; nor was the French commander apprised of his route till informed of his successes. But, in the mean time, Marshall Tallard prepared by another line to obstruct Marlborough's retreat, with an army of thirty thousand men ; and being soon after joined by the forces of the Elector of Bavaria, the French army in that part of



the Continent amounted to sixty thousand veterans, commanded by two generals then reputed the best in France. To oppose this powerful force the Duke of Marlborough formed a junction with a body of thirty thousand men under the celebrated Prince Eugene; so that, with this reinforcement, the allied army amounted to about fifty-two thousand combatants. After various marches and countermarches, the two armies met at Blenheim. The French under Tallard, were posted upon the hill near the town of Hochstet, having their right covered by the Danube and the village of Blenheim, their left by the village of Lutzeugen, and their front by a rivulet, the sides of which were steep and the bottom marshy; and in this strong position they seemed to bid defiance to their adversaries. But Marlborough and Eugene, having carefully examined the ground, resolved to attack them, and accordingly advanced upon the plain in front of their position. The battle began by a cannonade on both sides, which lasted from nine in the morning until half an hour after mid-day. At this moment Marlborough, who had completed all his dispositions, crossed the rivulet at the head of the English, and attacked the cavalry of Tallard on the right, while that officer was engaged in reviewing his troops on the left. An hour elapsed, however, before Prince Eugene could bring up his forces to attack the other wing of the enemy commanded by the Elector of Bavaria; but, during this time Marlborough's attack had been completely successful; and when Tallard repaired to the scene of action he found that the French cavalry had been thrice repulsed. He then attempted to lead the charge a large body of troops which he had posted in the village; but these being furiously assailed by a strong detachment of English troops, were scarcely able to maintain their ground, while the French, taken in flank and in reverse, were totally defeated. This success led to a movement which proved completely decisive. Penetrating between the two wings of the

French army, through the space left open by the defeat of the cavalry, the English troops effected a total separation between them, whilst the large force imprudently posted in the village of Blenheim had its communications intercepted by another strong detachment. In this situation Tallard flew to rally some of his squadrons; but, being short-sighted, he mistook a Hessian for a French corps, and was made prisoner. On the left Prince Eugene had encountered a vigorous resistance and been thrice repulsed; but, having received some reinforcements from Marlborough, he at last succeeded in dislodging the enemy opposed to him. The battle was now won. The French fled in the utmost confusion, while the corps of thirteen thousand men which occupied Blenheim were surrounded and made prisoners. About twelve thousand French and Bavarians were killed on the field or drowned in the Danube; whilst one hundred colors, two hundred standards, three thousand tents, all the baggage, and the military chest of the French army, formed the trophies of this glorious day. Of the allies not less than thirteen thousand were killed, wounded, or missing; but the conquerors by the victory gained a territory of a hundred leagues in extent, and inflicted a blow on the power of France from which it did not soon recover. Having finished the campaign the duke repaired to Berlin, where he procured a reinforcement of eight thousand Prussians to serve under Prince Eugene in Italy, and then proceeded to negotiate for succors at the court of Hanover; after which he returned to England, and was received with every possible demonstration of joy. The manor of Woodstock was conferred upon him; and the lord-keeper, in the name of the Peers, honored him with the praises which his talents and conduct had so well merited.

Nor were the arms of Britain less fortunate by sea than by land. The town of Gibraltar was taken by the Prince of Hess and Sir George Rooke; but so little was the value

of the conquest at that time understood, that it was for some time debated whether the admiral should be thanked for making it, and at last it was considered as unworthy of public gratitude. Soon after, the British fleet, to the number of fifty-three ships of the line, came up with that of France, consisting of fifty-two men-of-war, commanded by the Count de Toulouse, off the coast of Malaga. Battle began at ten in the forenoon, and continued with great fury for six hours, when the van of the French began to give way. The British admiral for two days attempted to renew the engagement; but this was cautiously declined by the French, who at last disappeared totally. Both sides claimed the victory, although the result showed that it was in favor of the British. Meanwhile the Spaniards, alarmed at the capture of Gibraltar, sent the Marquis of Villadurias with a large army to retake it. France also dispatched a fleet of thirteen ships of the line; but some of them parted company in a gale, and others were taken by the British. Nor was the land force more successful. The siege continued for four months, during which time the Spaniards repeatedly attempted in vain to scale the rock; and at last, losing all hopes of taking the place, they were contented to draw off their men and abandon the enterprise.

Whilst the British were thus victorious by land and sea, a new scene of contention was open on the side of Spain. Philip V., grandson of Louis XIV., had been raised to the throne of that kingdom, having been nominated as successor to the crown by the late king of Spain's will. But in a former treaty among the powers of Europe, Charles, son of the emperor of Germany, was appointed heir to the crown; and this treaty had been guaranteed by France herself, although she now resolved to recall that consent in favor of a descendant of the house of Bourbon. Charles was still further led to urge his pretensions to the crown of Spain by the invitation of the Catalonians, who declared in his favor, and promised, with the

assistance of the British and Portuguese, to arm in his cause. On his way to his new dominions, he landed in England, where, on his arrival, he was received by the Dukes of Somerset and Marlborough; kindly greeted by the queen; and furnished with two hundred transports, thirty ships of war, and nine thousand men, under the command of the Earl of Peterborough, a man of romantic bravery and high military genius. The first attempt of this general was on the city of Barcelona, at that time defended by a garrison of five thousand men. The fort of Monjuic, situated on a hill which commanded the city, was attacked; and the outworks being taken by storm, as well as the powder-magazine blown up, the fort surrendered, and in a short time afterwards the city capitulated. The conquest of all Valencia succeeded the capture of Barcelona; Charles became master of Aragon, Cathagena, Grenada, and Madrid; and the British general having entered the capital in triumph, there proclaimed Charles king of Spain, without opposition.

These successes, however, were very soon eclipsed by the victories of the Duke of Marlborough, which alone engrossed public attention. In 1706 he opened the campaign with an army of eighty thousand men. The army of Villeroi, in the vicinity of Tirllemont, was of nearly equal strength, and he had orders to attack the allies before the Danish and Prussian contingents could join. But, whilst it was his intention to become the assailant, Villeroi, was himself attacked, in a position which prevented his developing the whole of his force. He had the river Mehaigne or his flank, and his centre occupied the village of Ramillies, while a marsh covered his left. Marlborough skillfully availed himself of the disposition made by his antagonist; and knowing that Villeroi's left was paralysed by reason of the marsh in front, which effectually prevented its acting on the offensive, he directed his principal attack upon the centre, which formed the key of the position. The issue of the conflict was never for a moment



doubtful ; the village was carried in the most gallant style, and both wings being at once separated and turned, a complete rout ensued. About six thousand French were made prisoners, and upwards of eight thousand killed and wounded. The whole of Barbant became the reward of the victors. The French troops were now dispirited ; the city of Paris was in confusion ; and Louis, who had long been flattered with conquest, was humbled to such a degree as almost to excite the compassion even of his enemies. He sued for peace, but in vain ; the allies carried all before them ; and his capital began to dread the approach of the conquerors. But what neither his armies nor his politics could effect, was brought about by the intrigues of a party in England. The dissensions between the Whigs and the Tories saved France, which now seemed tottering on the very brink of ruin.

The councils of the queen had hitherto been governed by a Whig ministry ; for though the Duke of Marlborough began his career in the interest of the opposite party, he soon joined the Whigs, whom he found most sincere in the design of humbling France. The people, however, were now in fact beginning to change their sentiments, and to imbibe the slavish spirit of Toryism. The queen's personal virtues, her successes, her deference for the clergy, and their great veneration for her, all contributed to give her great influence with the nation. Persons of every rank were not ashamed to defend the most servile tenets, when these tended to flatter or increase the power of the sovereign, and to argue in favor of strict hereditary succession, divine right, and non-resistance to the regal power. The Tories, though joining in vigorous measures against France, were never very ardent enemies of that country ; but they secretly hated the Dutch, and longed for an opportunity of breaking with that people. With this view they began to meditate schemes of opposition to the Duke of Marlborough, whom they represented as an interested man, who sacrificed the real interests of the nation, in pro-

tracting a ruinous war, for his own private emolument and glory ; and as the country was oppressed with a load of taxes, which a continuance of the war would inevitably increase, discontent began to spread, and the Tories wanted only a few determined leaders to assist them in removing the present ministry.

In the meanwhile, a succession of losses began to dissipate the conquering mania which had seized the nation, and to incline them to wish for peace. The Earl of Galway, who commanded the English Army in Spain, was completely defeated at Almanza by the Duke of Berwick ; and in consequence of this victory all Spain, except the province of Catalonia, returned to their duty to Philip as their lawful sovereign. An attempt was made upon Toulon by the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene by land, and an English fleet by sea ; but to no purpose. The fleet under Sir Cloudesley Shovel, having set sail for England, was driven by a violent storm on the rocks of Sicilly, where his own ship was lost, and every person on board perished ; while three more ships met with the same fate, and four others were saved with the utmost difficulty. In Germany, Marshal Villars carried all before him, and was upon the point of restoring the Elector of Bavaria. The only hopes of the people lay in the activity and conduct of the Duke of Marlborough, who opened the campaign in 1707, about the middle of May ; but even here they were disappointed. The duke declined an engagement ; and, after a variety of marches and countermarches, both armies retired into winter quarters about the end of October. The French made vigorous preparations for the next campaign ; and the duke returned to England to meet with a reception which he did not at all expect, and which he certainly did not deserve.

The most remarkable transaction of this year, and indeed of this whole reign, was the union between the two kingdoms of Scotland and England. Though governed by one sovereign since the time of James I. of Eng

land, yet each nation had continued to be ruled by its respective parliament, and often professed to pursue interests opposite to those of its neighbor. The union had often been unsuccessfully attempted before, and had indeed been the cause of the bloody wars in the times of Edward I. and Edward III. of England. In all the former proposals on that head, both nations were supposed to remain free and independent; each kingdom having its own parliament, and being subject only to such taxes and other commercial regulations as those parliaments judged expedient for the benefit of their respective states. But after the destruction of the Darien colony in the manner already related, King William had endeavored to allay the national ferment by resuming the affair of a union with as much assiduity as his warlike occupation would allow. The terms proposed were the same with those formerly tendered; namely, federal union, somewhat like that of the states of Holland. With this view the Scots were prevailed on to send twenty commissioners to London, who, with twenty-three on the part of England, assembled at Whitehall in the month of October, 1702. Here they were honored with a visit from the queen, in order to enliven their proceedings and stimulate them to the more speedy dispatch of business; but the treaty was entirely broken off at this time by the Scottish commissioners insisting that the rights and privileges of their countrymen trading to Africa and the Indies should be preserved and maintained. It was, however, resumed in the year 1706, when the commissioners again assembled on the 16th of April, in the council chamber of Whitehall. The Scottish commissioners still proposed a federal union; but the English were determined on an incorporation, which should not afterwards be dissolved by a Scottish parliament. Nothing but this, they said, could settle a perfect and lasting friendship betwixt the two nations. The commissioners from Scotland, however, continued to resist the article which subjected their country to the same customs, excises, and regulations of

trade as England; but the queen being persuaded to pay two visits in person to the commissioners, exerted herself so vigorously, that a majority was at last gained over; and all the rest yielded, though with reluctance, excepting Lockhart of Carnwarth, who could not by any means be persuaded either to sign or seal the treaty.

The articles being fully prepared on the 22d of July, were presented the next day to her majesty by the lord-keeper in the name of the English commissioners; and at the same time a sealed copy of the instrument was delivered by the lord chancellor of Scotland. The articles were most graciously received; and the same day the queen dictated an order of council, threatening with prosecution such as should be concerned in any discourse or libel, or in laying wagers, with regard to the union. But notwithstanding all this harmony the treaty was received with the utmost disapprobation in Scotland. The terms had been carefully concealed, so that nothing transpired till the whole was at once laid before parliament. The ferment then became general; and all ranks of people, however, divided in other respects, united against this detested treaty. The nobility and gentry were exasperated at the annihilation of parliament, and the consequent loss of their influence and credit. The most violent disputes took place in the parliament. Almost every article of the treaty was the subject of a protest and addresses against it were presented to parliament by the convention of royal burghs, the commissioners of the general assembly, and the company trading to Africa and the Indies, as well as from shires, stewartries, burghs, towns, and parishes, without distinction of Whig, Tory, Presbyterian, or Episcopalian. Nor was the resentment of the common people without doors less violent than that of the members within. A coalition was formed between the Presbyterians and Cavaliers; and to such a height did the resentment of the people rise, that they actually chose officers, formed themselves into regiments, provided horses and ammunition,



burnt the articles of the union, justified their conduct by a public declaration, and resolved to take the route to Edinburgh and dissolve the parliament.

In the meantime the privy council issued a proclamation against riots, commanding all persons to retire from the streets whenever the drum was beat; ordering the guards to fire on those who disobeyed this command; and indemnifying them from all prosecution for maiming or slaying the lieges. But even these precautions were insufficient. The Duke of Queensberry, the chief promoter of the union, though guarded by double lines of horse and foot, was obliged to pass through the streets at full gallop, amidst the curses and imprecations of the populace, who pelted his guards, and even wounded some of the persons who attended him in the coach. In opposition to all this fury, the friends of the measure magnified the advantages that would accrue to the kingdom from the union; they abated the resentment of the clergy, by promoting the insertion in the treaty of an act by which the Presbyterian discipline was declared to be the only government of the church of Scotland, unalterable in all succeeding times, and a fundamental article of the union. Emissaries were also employed to disunite the Cameronians and the Cavaliers, by demonstrating the absurdity, sinfulness and danger, of such proceeding. The India Company was flattered with the prospect of an indemnification for the losses they had sustained, and individuals by sharing an equivalent. And the last manoeuvre consisted in bringing over a party of the Scottish parliament, nicknamed the *Squadron Volante*, from their fluctuating between the ministry and the opposition, without attaching themselves to any party till the critical moment, which was either to cement both kingdoms by a firm union, or involve them in the calamities of war. By this unexpected stroke, the ministry obtained a decisive victory, and all opposition was henceforth vain. The articles of the treaty were ratified by parliament, with some trifling variations, on

the 25th of March, 1707; when the Duke of Queensberry finally dissolved that ancient assembly, and Scotland ceased to be a separate independent kingdom.

We must now return to the Duke of Marlborough, who had gone over to Flanders to open the campaign. Peace had been more than once offered, and treaties entered upon, but as often frustrated. After the battle of Ramillies, the king of France had employed the Elector of Bavaria to write letters in his name to the Duke of Marlborough, containing proposals for opening a congress, and offering to renounce either Spain and its dominions, or the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, to Charles of Austria, and to concede a barrier to the Dutch in the Netherlands. But these terms were rejected; and the two armies once more met in nearly equal numbers at Oudenarde, on the Scheldt, where an engagement ensued, in which the French were defeated with immense loss; and Lisle, the strongest town in Flanders, with Ghent, Bruges, and all the other towns in that country, soon after fell into the hands of the victors. In this battle the electoral prince of Hanover, afterwards George II. of Britain, greatly distinguished himself, and had the merit of conducting the first attack. His horse was killed under him, and Colonel Lusehki was slain by his side. The campaign ended with fixing a barrier to the Dutch provinces, and it now only remained to force a way into the provinces of the enemy.

The French king, being now in a manner reduced to despair, again sued for peace; but the demands of the allies were so high, that he was obliged to reject them, and prepare for another campaign in the year 1709. The first attempt of the allies was against the city of Tournay, garrisoned by twelve thousand men, and exceedingly strong both by nature and art. After a terrible siege of twenty-one days, the town capitulated; and a month afterwards the citadel, which was still stronger than the town, surrendered. Next followed the bloody battle of Malpla

quet, where the allied army, consisting of a hundred and ten thousand, strongly posted, and fortified in such a manner behind the woods of La Merte and Tanières, with triple entrenchments, that their position seemed quite impregnable. Nothing, however, could resist the energy of Marlborough and the bravery of his troops. The French were driven from all their positions, and totally defeated. But the victory cost the allies very dear; for twenty thousand of their best troops lay dead or wounded on the field of battle. The consequence of this victory was the surrender of the city of Mons, which ended the campaign.

The last campaign of the Duke of Marlborough, which happened in the year 1711, probably excelled all his former exploits. He was opposed by Marshal Villars, who had commanded the French in the battle of Malplaquet; but he contrived his measures so, that, by marching and countermarching, he, without striking a blow, forced the enemy to quit a strong line of entrenchments, which he afterwards took possession of. This enterprise was followed by the taking of Bouchain, which was the last military achievement of this great general. By a continuation of conduct and success almost unparalleled, he had gained to the allies a prodigious tract of country. But on the duke's return from this campaign, he was accused of having taken a bribe of six thousand pounds a year from a Jew who had contracted to supply the army with bread; and the queen thought proper to dismiss him from all his employments.

On the removal of this great general, the command of the British forces was conferred on the Duke of Ormond. The transactions which followed are by no means creditable to the character of the British nation. The people at large, blinded by a headstrong and furious clergy, wished to revive the ceremonies of the Roman religion, and to unite the English and Gallican churches; the general of the army acted a most insidious part, by giving the enemy intelligence of the designs

of the allies before he had declared that he was not to act in concert with them; and the queen herself commanded him to pursue this shameful course, nay even acted in a similar manner herself. Prince Eugene complained much of the inactivity of the English general, though apparently unacquainted with his treachery; while the whole army loaded him with execrations, calling him a stupid tool, and a general of straw. All this, however, was in vain; the duke continued to prefer the commands of his sovereign to every other consideration, and Ormond lost what Marlborough had gained.

The disgrace of the Duke of Marlborough had been owing to the prevalence of the Tory party, who had now got the Whig ministry turned out; and the consequence was, that notwithstanding all the remonstrances and entreaties of the allies, the British army in Flanders was ordered not to act offensively. Hence the operations languished, a considerable body of the allies was cut off at Denain, and the French retook several towns. A peace, however, was at last concluded in 1713 between France and Britain. In this treaty it was stipulated that Philip, now acknowledged as king of Spain, should renounce all right to the crown of France, the union of two such powerful kingdoms being thought dangerous to the liberties of Europe. It was agreed that the Duke de Berri, Philip's brother, and next after him in succession, should also renounce his right to the crown of Spain in case he became king of France. And it was stipulated that the Duke of Savoy should possess the island of Sicily with the title of king, together with Fenestrelles, and other places on the Continent; and this increase of dominion was in some measure provided out of the spoils of the French monarchy. The Dutch had the barrier granted them which they so much desired; and if the crown of France was deprived of some dominions to enrich the Duke of Savoy, the house of Austria was also taxed to supply the wants of the Hollanders, who were



put in possession of the strongest towns in Flanders. The fortifications of Dunkirk were demolished. Spain gave up Gibraltar and the island of Minorca. France resigned her pretensions to Hudson's Bay, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, but was left in possession of Cape Breton, with the liberty of drying fish upon the shore. Among the articles creditable to the British nation, their setting free the French Protestants confined in the prisons and galleys for their religion was not the least meritorious. In behalf of the emperor, it was stipulated that he should possess the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands; and the King of Prussia was to have Upper Guelderland. A period was fixed for the emperor's acceding to these articles, as he had for some time obstinately refused to assist at the negotiation. This famous treaty was signed at Utrecht on the last day of March, 1713.

The same year was also remarkable for an attempt of the Scottish Peers and Commons to dissolve the union, which, as already stated, had proved exceedingly disagreeable and distressful to the nation. During the debates on this subject the Earl of Peterborough endeavored to prove the impossibility of dissolving the treaty; but the Duke of Argyll, who had originally promoted the union, now declared against it, and said, that unless it were dissolved he did not long expect to have either property in Scotland or liberty in England. This motion was, however, overruled; but the discontent of the people still continued; addresses were prepared throughout the kingdom; and matters were in danger of coming to the worst extremities, when the attempt of the pretender in 1715 so divided the minds of the people as to render it impossible for any unanimous effort afterwards to be made for the repeal of the union.

The history of the latter portion of this reign consists entirely of the intrigues of the Whigs and Tories against each other, which, as they are now of no importance whatever, it is needless to take up time in relating,

further than that the Tory influence continued to prevail.

The violent dissensions between these parties, with their cabals and tumults, made the queen's situation very disagreeable; her health visibly declined. On the 28th of July, 1714, she fell into a lethargic insensibility; and, notwithstanding all the medicines prescribed by the physicians, the distemper gained ground so fast, that next day her life was despaired of. The members of the privy council were now summoned from the different parts of the kingdom, and began to provide for the security of the constitution. A letter was sent to the Elector of Hanover, informing him of the queen's desperate condition, and desiring him to repair to Holland, where a British squadron would attend to convey him to England; and instructions were at the same time dispatched to the Earl of Strafford at the Hague, to require the states-general to be prepared to guarantee the Protestant succession. Precautions were also taken to secure all the sea-ports; and the command of the fleet was bestowed upon the Earl of Berkeley, a professed Whig. These measures answered a double purpose, as they argued the alacrity of the Whigs in the cause of their new sovereign, and seemed to imply that the state was in danger from the disaffection of the opposite party. On the 30th of July the queen seemed somewhat relieved by the medicines which had been administered; and having risen from her bed about eight in the morning, she walked a little; but she was soon afterwards seized with an apoplectic fit; and although she recovered somewhat by the assistance of Dr. Mead, she continued all night in a state of stupefaction, and expired the following morning, at seven, having lived forty-nine years, and reigned upwards of twelve. This princess was remarkable neither for learning nor capacity. Like all the rest of her family, she seemed rather fitted for the duties of private life than those of a public station.

The queen had no sooner resigned her

breath than the privy council met, and three instruments were produced, by which the Elector of Hanover appointed several of his adherents to be added as lords justices to the great officers of the kingdom. Orders were also issued for proclaiming George, son of Ernest Augustus, Elector of Brunswick, and of Sophia, grand-daughter of James I., king of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and the regency appointed the Earl of Dorset to carry to him the intimation of his accession to the crown, and to attend him in his journey to England.

The king landed at Greenwich, and walked to his house in the park, accompanied by a great number of the nobility and other persons of distinction. George I. was fifty-four years of age when he ascended the British throne; and his mature age, his experience and sagacity, his numerous alliances, and the general tranquillity of Europe, all contributed to establish his interests, and promise him a peaceable and happy reign. His virtues, though not shining, were solid; and he was of a very different disposition from the Stuart family whom he succeeded; for, soon after his arrival in England, he was heard to say, "My maxim is, never to abandon my friends, to do justice to all the world, and to fear no man." To these qualities of resolution and perseverance he joined great application to business; but, unfortunately for England, he studied the interests of the territory he had left more than those of the kingdom he came to govern.

The new king early discovered a natural enough inclination to support those who had raised him to the throne, or, in other words, the Whig party. Immediately after his landing, he sent for such of the nobility as had distinguished themselves by their zeal for his succession. He expressed the greatest regard for the Duke of Marlborough, who had just then arrived from the Continent, whither he had been driven by the violence of the Tories; and he professed the same friendship for the other leaders of the Whigs, while the Tories found themselves excluded

from the royal favor. The king did not seem sensible that the monarch of a faction rules but one-half of his subjects; and it was his misfortune to be surrounded by men who, whilst they pretended to secure the crown for the king, used all their arts to conform their own interests, extend their connections, and give laws to their sovereign. In consequence of these partialities, the greatest discontent was excited throughout the whole kingdom. The Tories or Jacobites raised terrible outeries; and had the pretender been a man of judgment or ability, a fair opportunity now offered him of striking a decisive blow. Instead of this, he remained a calm spectator on the Continent, and only sent over his emissaries to disperse ineffectual manifestos and delude the unwary. At this time the Catholic religion was much hated in England; but the principles of the Dissenters were little, if at all, more agreeable to the generality. The Tories affirmed that, under a Whig administration, heresy and impiety were daily gaining ground; whilst the lower orders of the clergy joined in these complaints, and pointed out several tracts published in favor of Arianism and Socinianism. The ministry, however, not only refused to punish the delinquents, but silenced the clergy themselves, and forbade their future disputations on these topics.

The parliament having been dissolved, another was now called by a very extraordinary proclamation, in which the king complained of the evil designs of men disaffected to his succession, and of their misrepresentations of his conduct and principles; expressed his hopes that his subjects would send up to parliament the fittest persons to redress the present disorders; and entreated that they would elect such in particular as had expressed a firm attachment to the Protestant succession. In the election of this important parliament, uncommon vigor was exerted on both sides; but by dint of the monied interest which prevailed in corporations, and the activity of the ministry, a great majority of Whigs was returned both in England and



Scotland. Upon the assembling of the new parliament the most violent measures were resolved on against the late ministry. A committee was appointed to inspect all the papers relative to the recent treaty, and to select such of them as might furnish grounds of accusation against the former ministry; and the Earl of Oxford was impeached of high treason, and sent to the Tower. Nor was the violence of the Commons answered with less vehemence without doors. Tumults became every day more frequent, and each new ebullition served only to increase the severity of the legislature, which at length passed an act, declaring, that if any persons to the number of twelve, unlawfully assembled, should continue together one hour after being required to disperse by a justice of peace or other officer, and after hearing the acts against riots read in public, they should be deemed guilty of felony without benefit of clergy. These proceedings excited the indignation of the people, who perceived that the avenues of royal favor were closed against all but a faction; and a rebellion commenced in the sister kingdom, where to other grievances was added that of the union, which all considered as an oppression. The malcontents of that country had all along maintained a correspondence with their friends in England, and some of the Tory party who were attached to the Protestant religion, and of moderate principles in government, began to associate with the Jacobites, and to wish in earnest for a revolution.

Scotland first showed them the example. The Earl of Mar, assembling three hundred of his vassals in the Highlands, proclaimed the pretender at Castleton, and setting up his standard at Braemar, assumed the title of Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's forces. To second these attempts two vessels arrived from France with arms, ammunition, and a number of officers, together with assurances, that the pretender himself would shortly come over to head his own forces. In consequence of this promise, the earl soon found himself at the head of ten thousand men

well armed and provided; and having secured the pass at Tay of Perth, where his headquarters were established, he made himself master of the province of Fife, and the whole sea-coast on that side of the Frith of Forth. He then marched to Dumblane, as if with the intention of crossing the Forth at Stirling Bridge; but there he was informed that the Duke of Argyll, who had been appointed commander-in-chief of all the forces in North Britain, was advancing against him from Stirling with his own clan, assisted by some troops from Ireland. Upon this he at first judged it proper to retreat; but being soon afterwards joined by reinforcements under the Earl of Seaforth, and General Gordon, an experienced officer, who had signalized himself in the Russian service, he resolved to face the enemy, and directed his march towards the south. The Duke of Argyll, apprised of his intentions, and anxious to prove his attachment to the present government, resolved to give him battle in the neighborhood of Dumblane, though his forces did not amount to half the number of the enemy. Accordingly, in the morning he drew up his army, which did not exceed four thousand men, in order of battle; but he soon found himself greatly outflanked by the insurgents. The duke, therefore, perceiving the earl making attempts to surround him, was forced to alter his dispositions; but, from the scarcity of general officers, this was not done so expeditiously as to be completed before the insurgents began the attack. The left wing of the duke's army received the centre of the enemy, and supporting the first charge without shrinking, seemed for a time victorious. The chief of Clanronald was killed; but Glengarry, who was second in command, waving his bonnet and crying out "Revenge!" animated the rebel troops to such a degree, that they followed him close to the points of the enemy's bayonets, and got within their guard, when a total rout ensued of that wing of the royal army. General Witham, their commander, fled full speed to Stirling, and gave out that the

rebels were completely victorious. But Argyll, who commanded in person on the right, having in the meanwhile attacked the left of the enemy, drove them before him for two miles, notwithstanding they often faced about and attempted to rally; and having entirely broken and driven them over the river Allen, he returned to the field of battle. Here, however, to his great mortification, he found the enemy victorious, and patiently waiting the attack. But instead of renewing the engagement, both armies continued to observe each other, neither caring to recommence the contest; and towards evening each drew off. Both sides of course claimed the victory; but all the advantages of success belonged to Argyll. He had arrested the progress of the enemy; and, in their circumstances, delay was defeat. In fact, the Earl of Mar soon found his losses and disappointments increase. The Castle of Inverness, of which he had obtained possession, was delivered up by Lord Lovat, who had hitherto professed to act in the interest of the pretender; the Marquis of Tullibardine also forsook the earl, in order to defend his own part of the country; and many of the clans, seeing no likelihood of coming to a second engagement, returned quietly home.

Nor was the rebellion more successfully prosecuted in England. From the time the pretender had undertaken this wild project at Paris, in which the Duke of Ormond and Lord Bolingbroke were engaged, Lord Stair, the English Ambassador there, had penetrated all his designs, and sent faithful accounts of all his measures and of all his adherents to the ministry at home. Upon the first rumor of an insurrection, therefore, several lords and gentlemen of whom they had suspicions were imprisoned; and although these precautions were insufficient to stop the insurrection in the western counties, where it had already begun, all the preparations of the insurgents were weak and ill conducted, while every measure was betrayed to government as soon as projected, and many revolts were repressed in the very outset.

But the insurrection in the northern counties attained to greater maturity. In the month of October, 1715, the Earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forster took the field with a body of horse, and, being joined by some gentlemen from the borders of Scotland, proclaimed the pretender. Their first attempt was to seize upon Newcastle, in which they had many friends; but finding the gates shut against them, they retired to Hexham. To oppose them General Carpenter was detached by the government with a body of nine hundred men; and an engagement was hourly expected. The rebels had two courses, by pursuing which they might have conducted themselves with prudence and safety. The one was, to march directly into the western parts of Scotland, and there joined General Gordon, who commanded a strong body of Highlanders; and the other was, to cross the Tweed and boldly attack General Carpenter, whose forces did not exceed their own. But, from the infatuation attendant on the measures of the Jacobite party, neither of these courses was pursued. They took the route to Jedburgh, by which they hoped to elude Carpenter, and penetrate into England by the western border. But this was the most effective means of cutting themselves off from either assistance or retreat. A party of Highlanders, who had by this time joined, at first refused to accompany them in so desperate an incursion, and one-half of their number in consequence returned to their own country. At Brampton Mr. Forster opened his commission of general, which had been sent him by the Earl of Mar, and there proclaimed the pretender. The insurgents then continued their march to Penrith, where a body of the militia, assembled to oppose them, fled at their approach. From Penrith they proceeded by the way of Kendal and Lancaster to Preston, of which they took possession without any kind of resistance. But this was the last stage of their ill-fated advance; for General Wills, at the head of seven thousand men, came up to attack them, and from his activity their was no



escaping. They now, therefore, raised barricades about the town, put the place in a posture of defence, and repulsed with success the first attacks of the enemy's force. But next day Wills, reinforced by Carpenter, invested the town on all sides. In this deplorable situation Forster proposed to capitulate with the general; and accordingly sent Colonel Oxburgh, who had been taken prisoner, with a trumpeter, to propose terms. Wills, however, refused to listen to such a proposition, alleging that he could not treat with rebels, and that the only favor they had to expect was to be spared from immediate slaughter. This was a hard condition; but as no better could be obtained, they laid down their arms, and were put under a strong guard. All the noblemen and leaders were secured, and a few of their officers were tried for deserting from the king's army, and shot by order of a court-martial. The common men were imprisoned at Chester and Liverpool; whilst the noblemen and considerable officers were sent to London, and led through the streets pinioned and bound together, in order to intimidate their party in the metropolis.

But, however ill the schemes of the pretender may appear to have been conducted in Britain, they were still more so in France. Bolingbroke had been appointed his secretary at Paris, and Ormond his prime minister. But these statesmen quickly found that nothing could be done in favor of his cause. The King of France, who had ever warmly espoused the interest of the exiled family, was just dead; and the Duke of Orleans, who succeeded to the government of the kingdom, was averse to lend the pretender any assistance. His party, however, which was composed of the lowest and most ignorant exiles from the British dominions, affected the utmost confidence, and boasted of a certainty of success. The deepest secrets of his cabinet, and all his intended measures, were bandied about in coffee-houses by persons of the lowest rank both in fortune and abilities; whilst subaltern officers aspired to be generals, and

even prostitutes were intrusted with the management of his negotiations. From such instruments and such councils nothing could be augured but folly and disaster.

The pretender, in fact, might easily have seen that his affairs were desperate; yet, with his usual infatuation, he resolved to hazard his person among his friends in Scotland, at a time when such a measure was too late to serve any rational purpose. Accordingly, traveling through France in disguise, and embarking in a small vessel at Dunkirk, he arrived, after a short voyage, on the coast of Scotland, with only six gentlemen in his train. He passed unknown through Aberdeen to Fetteresso, where he was met by the Earl of Mar, with about thirty noblemen and gentlemen of the first quality, and solemnly proclaimed; and his declaration, dated at Comerey, was printed and dispersed. He then proceeded to Dundee, where he made a public entry; and in two days more he arrived at Scone, where he intended to have the ceremony of his coronation performed. He ordered thanksgivings to be offered for his safe arrival; he enjoined the ministers to pray for him in their churches; and, without the smallest share of power, he enacted all the ceremonial of royalty, which served to throw an air of ridicule upon his pretensions. Having thus spent valuable time in useless parade, he next abandoned the enterprise with the same levity with which it was undertaken. He made a speech to his grand council, in which he informed them of his want of the money, arms, and ammunition necessary for undertaking a campaign; and deploring the necessity he was under of leaving them, he once more embarked on board a small French ship that lay in the harbor of Montrose, accompanied with several lords, his adherents, and in five days arrived at Gravelines.

The rebellion being thus ended, the law was put in force in all its rigor; and the prisons of London were crowded with deluded persons, whom the ministry seemed resolved not to pardon. The Commons, in their address to the crown, declared they would

prosecute, in the most rigorous manner, the authors of the late rebellion; and their measures were as vindictive as their resolutions were speedy. The Earls of Derwentwater, Nithsdale, Carnwath, and Wintoun, the Lords Widrinton, Kenmuir, and Nairne, were impeached; and, upon pleading guilty, all except Lord Wintoun received sentence of death. No entreaties could prevail on the ministry to spare these unhappy men. The House of Lords even presented an address to the throne for mercy, but without effect; the king only answered, that on this, as on all other occasions, he would act in the manner which he thought most consistent with the dignity of the crown and the safety of the people. Orders were accordingly issued for the execution of the Lords Derwentwater, Nithsdale, and Kenmuir, immediately; the rest were respited. Nithsdale, however, had the good fortune to escape in woman's clothes, which were brought him by his mother on the eve of the day fixed for his execution. Derwentwater and Kenmuir were brought at the time appointed to the scaffold on Tower Hill, were both underwent the sentence of the law with calm intrepidity, and apparently less moved than those who witnessed their execution.

An act of parliament was next passed for trying the private persons in London, and not in Lancashire, where they had been taken in arms. This was considered, by some of the best lawyers, as an alteration of the ancient constitution of the kingdom, according to which it used to be held, that every prisoner should be tried in the place where the offence charged against him had been committed. In the beginning of April, commissioners for trying the rebels met in the Court of Common Pleas, when true bills were found against Forster, Brigadier Mackintosh, and twenty of their associates. Forster escaped from Newgate, and reached the Continent in safety; the rest pleaded not guilty to the charge. Pitts, the keeper of Newgate, having been suspected of conniving at Forster's escape, was tried for his life,

but acquitted. Mackintosh and several other prisoners subsequently broke from Newgate, having mastered the keeper and turnkey, and disarmed the sentinel. The court then proceeded to the trial of the remainder, and four or five were hanged, drawn, and quartered, at Tyburn. The judges appointed to try the rebels at Liverpool found a considerable number of them guilty of high treason; twenty-two were executed at Manchester and Preston; while about a thousand experienced the king's mercy, and were transported to the plantations.

The rebellion being thus extinguished, the danger of the state was made a pretence for continuing the parliament beyond the term fixed for its dissolution. An act was therefore passed, repealing that which provided for the triennial dissolution of parliaments, and the term of their duration was extended to seven years.

Domestic concerns being thus adjusted, the king resolved upon a voyage to the Continent. He foresaw a storm gathering from Sweden. Charles XII., highly provoked at his having entered into a confederacy with the Russians and Danes during his absence at Bender, and purchased from the King of Denmark the towns of Bremen and Verden, which constituted part of his dominions, maintained a close correspondence with the dissatisfied subjects of Great Britain; and a scheme was formed for landing a considerable body of Swedish forces, with the king at their head, in some part of the island, where it was expected they would be joined by all the malcontents in the kingdom. Count Gyllenborg, the Swedish minister in London, was peculiarly active in the affair; but having been seized, with all his papers, by order of the king, the confederacy was for the time broken up. A bill was, however, passed by the Commons, prohibiting all commerce with Sweden, although the trade with that country was at the time of the utmost consequence to the English merchants. George having passed through Holland to Hanover, in order to secure his German dominions,



entered into a new treaty with the Dutch and the Regent of France, by which they agreed mutually to assist each other in a case of invasion; and, for his further security, the Commons granted him £250,000. But the death of the Swedish monarch, who was soon afterwards killed at the siege of Fredericthal in Norway, put an end to all disquietude from that quarter.

Among the many treaties for which this reign was remarkable, one had been concluded, called the Quadruple Alliance, in which it was agreed between the emperor, France, Holland, and Britain, that the emperor should renounce all pretensions to the crown of Spain, and exchange Sardinia for Sicily with the Duke of Savoy; and that the succession to the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, should be settled on the queen of Spain's eldest son, in case the present possessors should die without male issue. This treaty, however, was by no means agreeable to the King of Spain; and it became prejudicial to the English, as it had the effect of interrupting the commerce with that kingdom. A war soon afterwards commenced between Spain and the emperor, who was considered as the principal contriver of the treaty; and a numerous body of Spanish forces were sent into Italy to support Philip's pretensions in that quarter. The Regent of France attempted in vain to dissuade him, and the King of Britain offered his mediation with as little success, their interposition being considered as partial and unjust. A Spanish war was then resolved on, and a squadron of twenty-two ships equipped with all expedition. The command was given to Sir George Byng, who had orders to sail for Naples, which was at that time threatened by a Spanish army. He was received with the greatest joy by the Neapolitans, who informed him that the Spaniards, to the amount of thirty thousand, had then actually landed in Sicily. In this exigency, and whilst no assistance could be afforded by land, he resolved to proceed thither by sea, fully determined to pursue

the Spanish fleet, on board of which the army was embarked. Upon coming round Cape Faro, he perceived two small Spanish vessels, and pursuing them closely, came upon their main fleet, which, before noon he discovered in line of battle, amounting in all to twenty-seven sail. The Spaniards, however, notwithstanding their superiority of number, attempted to sheer off; but finding it impossible to escape, they kept up a running fight, the commanders behaving with great courage and activity, notwithstanding which they were all taken except three, which were saved by the conduct of their vice-admiral, a native of Ireland.

The rupture with Spain was thought favorable to the interest of the pretender; and it was hoped that, by the assistance of Cardinal Alberoni, a new insurrection might be excited in England. The Duke of Ormond was the person fixed upon to conduct this expedition; and he obtained from the Spanish court a fleet of ten ships of war and transports, having on board six thousand regular troops, with arms for twelve thousand more. But fortune was still as unfavorable as ever to the cause of legitimacy. Having set sail, and proceeded as far as Cape Finisterre, he encountered a violent storm, which disabled his fleet, and frustrated the expedition. This misfortune, together with the bad success of the Spanish arms in Sicily and other parts of Europe, induced Philip to agree to a cessation of arms; and at last he consented to sign the quadruple alliance, by which means peace was again restored to Europe.

Tranquillity being thus established, the ministry proceeded to take measures for securing the dependence of the Irish parliament upon that of England. One Maurice Annesley having appealed to the House of Peers of England from a judgment of the Irish Peers, the decree of the latter was reversed, and the British Peers ordered the Barons of Exchequer in Ireland to put Mr Annesley in possession of the lands which he had lost by the decree of the Lords in that

kingdom. The Barons obeyed this order; but the Irish Peers passed a vote against them, as having attempted to diminish the just privileges of the parliament of Ireland, and at the same time ordered the barons to be taken into custody by the usher of the black rod. On the other hand, the House of Lords in England resolved that the Barons of Exchequer in Ireland had acted with courage and fidelity; and addressed the king to signify his approbation of their conduct by some marks of his favor; while, to complete their object, a bill was prepared by which the Irish House of Lords was deprived of all right of final jurisdiction. This bill was opposed in both houses, but particularly in the Commons, where it was asserted by Mr. Pitt that it would only serve to increase the power of the English Peers, who were already but too formidable. Mr. Hungerford also demonstrated that the Irish Lords had always exercised the power of finally deciding causes; but, in spite of all opposition, it was carried by a great majority, and soon afterwards received the royal assent.

This blow was severely felt by the Irish, but it was by no means so great as that which the English about this time received from the South Sea Scheme, which commenced in the year 1721. To understand the genesis of this delusion, it is necessary to observe, that ever since the Revolution, owing either to the insufficiency of the supplies granted by parliament, or to the time required for collecting those which were actually granted, the government was obliged to borrow money from several different companies of merchants; and among the rest from that which traded to the South Seas. In the year 1716, the government was indebted to this company upwards of nine millions sterling, for which interest at the rate of six per cent. was agreed to be paid. But as this company was not the only creditor of the government, Sir Robert Walpole formed a design of lessening the national debt, by giving the several associations which had advanced funds for the public service an

alternative of either accepting a lower rate of interest, namely five per cent., or of being paid the principal. In point of fact, the different companies chose rather to accept of the reduced rate of interest than to be paid the principal; and the South Sea Company in particular, having advanced loans to the extent of ten millions, were contented to take £500,000 annually as interest, instead of £600,000, which they previously received. And in the same manner, the governors and company of the Bank, and other associations, consented to receive a diminished interest for their respective loans, which of course lessened considerably the burdens of the nation.

In this situation of things, one Blount, a scrivener, proposed to the ministry, in the name of the South Sea Company, to buy up all the debts of the different associations, in order that the South Sea Company might become the sole creditors of the state. The terms he offered to government were extremely advantageous. The South Sea Company was to redeem the debts of the nation out of the hands of the private individuals who were creditors to the government, upon such terms as could be agreed on; and for the interest of the money thus redeemed and taken into their own hands, they were to be allowed by government five per cent., for six years; after which the interest was to be reduced to four per cent. and to be at any time redeemable by parliament. For these purposes, accordingly, a bill passed both houses of parliament. But now came the part of the scheme which was big with fraud and ruin. As the directors of the South Sea Company could not of themselves be supposed to possess money sufficient to buy up the debts of the nation, they were empowered to raise it by opening a subscription to an imaginary scheme for trading in the South Seas; and as immense advantages were promised from this suppositious commerce, and still greater expected by the rapacious credulity of the people, all the creditors of government were invited to come in and ex



change their securities for that of the South Sea Company. The directors' books were accordingly no sooner opened for the first subscription, than crowds came to effect the exchange of government for South Sea stock; and the delusion was artfully propagated and continued. In a few days subscriptions or shares sold for double the price at which they had been purchased; the scheme succeeded beyond even the projector's hopes; and the whole nation was infected with a spirit of avaricious enterprise. The infatuation, in fact, became epidemic, and the stock rose to a surprising degree, even to a thousand per cent. premium on the original value or price of the shares. But after a few months the people awaked from their dream of riches, and found that all the advantages which they expected were purely visionary, whilst thousand of families were involved in utter ruin. Many of the directors, by whose arts the people had been taught to expect such benefits from a traffic to the South Seas, had indeed amassed enormous fortunes in consequence of the credulity of the public; but it was some consolation to the people, to find that the parliament, sharing in the general indignation, had resolved to strip these plunderers of their ill-gotten wealth. Accordingly, orders were first given to remove all the directors of the South Sea Company from their seats in parliament, and the places they held under government; and the principal delinquents were punished by a forfeiture of all such possessions and estates as they had acquired during the continuance of the popular frenzy. The next care of parliament was to afford some relief to the sufferers. Several just and proper resolutions were in consequence adopted, and a bill was speedily prepared for alleviating the sufferings of the people as far as the power of the legislature in such a case could possibly extend. Out of the profits arising from the South Sea scheme, the sum of seven millions was restored to the original proprietors; several additions were also made to their dividends out of what was possessed by the Company

in their own right; and the remaining capital stock was also divided among the former proprietors at the rate of thirty-three per cent. Petitions from all parts of the kingdom were in the meanwhile presented to the house, demanding justice; and the whole nation seemed exasperated to the highest degree. Public credit sustained a terrible shock. Some leading members of the administration were deeply implicated in these fraudulent transactions. A run was made upon the bank; and nothing was heard but the ravings of disappointment and the cries of despair.

By degrees, however, the effects of this terrible calamity wore off, and matters returned to their former condition. A new war with Spain, however, commenced in 1726. Admiral Hosier was sent to South America, to intercept the Spanish galleons; but the Spaniards, apprised of his design, relanded their treasure, and thus defeated the object of the expedition. Meanwhile the greater part of the British fleet sent on this service was rendered entirely unfit for service. The seamen were cut off in vast numbers by the malignity of the climate and the length of the voyage, whilst the admiral himself died, it is said, of a broken heart. By way of retaliation the Spaniards undertook the siege of Gibraltar; but they soon found that this attempt was hopeless; and France offering her mediation, a temporary peace ensued, although both sides only watched an opportunity for renewing hostilities with the prospect of success.

Soon after the dissolution of parliament in the year 1727, the king, resolving to visit his electoral dominions of Hanover, appointed a regency to govern in his absence, and embarking for Halland, landed at a little town called Voet. Next day he proceeded on his journey; and in two days more, betwixt ten and eleven at night, he arrived at Delden, to all appearance in perfect health. He supped there very heartily, and continued his journey early the next morning; but betwixt eight and nine he ordered his coach to stop;

and it being perceived that one of his hands lay motionless, Fabrice, who had formerly been servant to the king of Sweden, and now attended King George in the same capacity, attempted to quicken the circulation by chafing the king's hand between his own. As this had no effect, however, the surgeon who followed on horseback, was called, and rubbed it with spirits. But the friction was unavailing; the king's tongue began to swell, and he had just strength enough to bid them hasten to Osnaburgh; after which he fell insensible into Fabrice's arms. He never recovered; but expired about eleven o'clock the next morning, in the sixty-eighth year of his age and thirteenth of his reign. His body was conveyed to Hanover, and interred among his electoral ancestors.

On the accession of George II. who succeeded to his father in the forty-fourth year of his age, the two great parties into which the nation had been so long divided again changed their names, and were now called the Court and Country Parties. Throughout the greatest part of this reign there seem to have been two objects of controversy, which rose up in debate every session, and tried the strength of the opponents; namely, the national debt, and the number of forces to be kept in pay. The government, on the present king's accession, owed more than thirty millions of money; and although there was a long continuance of profound peace, yet this sum went on constantly increasing. How this could happen was much wondered at by the country party, and it was as constantly the business of the court to give plausible reasons for the increase. Hence demands for new supplies were made every session of parliament, for the purpose of securing friends upon the Continent, of guarding the kingdom from internal conspiracies, or of enabling the ministry to act vigorously in conjunction with the powers in alliance abroad. It was vainly alleged that these expenses were incurred without foresight or necessity; and that the increase of the national debt, by multiplying and in-

creasing taxes, would at last become an intolerable burden to the poor. These arguments were offered, canvassed, rejected; the court party was constantly victorious, and every demand was granted with equal cheerfulness and profusion.

The next thing worthy of notice in the reign of George II. is the Charitable Corporation. A society of men had united themselves into a company under this name, with the professed intention of lending money at legal interest to the poor upon small pledges, and to persons of higher rank upon proper security. Their capital was at first limited to thirty thousand pounds; but they afterwards increased it to six hundred thousand. This money was supplied by subscription, and the care of conducting the capital was intrusted to a proper number of directors. This company having continued in existence for more than twenty years, the cashier, George Robinson, member for Marlow, and the warehouse keeper, John Thomson, disappeared in one day; and five hundred thousand pounds of capital were found to be sunk or embezzled by means which the proprietors could not discover. In a petition to the House, therefore, they represented the manner in which they had been defrauded, and the distress to which many of them had in consequence been reduced; and a secret committee having been appointed to examine into this grievance, a most iniquitous scene of fraud was discovered, which had been carried on by Thomson and Robinson, in concert with some of the directors, for embezzling the capital and cheating the proprietors. Many persons of rank and quality were concerned in this infamous confederacy; and even some of the first characters in the nation did not escape censure. No less than six members of parliament were expelled for the most sordid acts of knavery.

In 1739, a new war commenced with Spain. Ever since the treaty with Utrecht, the Spaniards in America had insulted and distressed the commerce of Great Britain; whilst the British merchants, on the other



hand, had endeavored to carry on an illicit trade with their dominions. As a right of cutting logwood in the Bay of Campeachy, claimed by the British, gave them frequent opportunities of introducing contraband commodities into the continent, the Spaniards resolved to put a stop to the evil by refusing liberty to cut logwood in that place. The guarda-costas exercised great severities, and many British subjects were sent to the mines of Potosi. One remonstrance followed another to the court of Madrid; but the only answers given were promises of inquiry, which produced no reformation. Accordingly, in 1739, war was declared with all proper solemnity; and soon after Admiral Vernon, with only six ships, destroyed all the fortifications of Puerto Bello, and came away victorious, with scarcely the loss of a man.

As the war was thus successfully begun supplies were cheerfully granted to prosecute it with all imaginable vigor. Commodore Anson was sent with a squadron of ships to distress the enemy in the South Seas, and to co-operate occasionally with Admiral Vernon across the Isthmus of Darien. This squadron was designed to act a part subordinate to a formidable armament which was to be sent against Mexico or New Spain; but through the mismanagement of the ministry both these schemes were frustrated. Anson was detained till too late in the season, when he set out with five ships of the line, a frigate, two store-ships, and about fourteen hundred men. But having entered the South Sea at the most unfavorable period of the year, he encountered terrible storms; his fleet was dispersed, and his crew deplorably afflicted with scurvy, so that with the utmost difficulty, he reached the island of Juan Fernandez. Here, however, he was joined by one ship and a frigate of seventeen guns, and sailing from thence along the coast of Chili, he plundered and burnt the town of Paita. He next traversed the Pacific, in hopes of meeting with one of the rich galleons which traded from the Philippine Islands to Mexico.

Having refreshed his men at the island of Tinian, he set sail for China; and returning by the same route, he at last discovered the galleon, which he engaged and took; and with this prize, valued at upwards of three hundred thousand pounds, together with other captures to the value of about as much more, he returned home, after a voyage of three years. By this expedition the public sustained the loss of a fine squadron of ships, but a few individuals became possessed of immense fortunes.

Another expedition which was fitted out ended still more unfortunately. The armament consisted of twenty-nine sail of the line, and an almost equal number of frigates, furnished with all kinds of warlike stores, near fifteen thousand seamen, and as many land forces. The most sanguine hopes of success were entertained; but the ministry detained the fleet without any visible reason till the season for action in America was nearly past. At last, however, the squadron arrived before Carthagena, and soon captured the strong forts which defended the harbor. But though by this means they were enabled to approach nearer the town, they still found great difficulties before them. From an erroneous belief that the ships could not get near enough to batter the town, and that therefore the remaining forts must be attempted by escalade, this dangerous experiment was tried; but the guides were slain by the enemy's fire, and the forces, mistaking their way, instead of attempting the weakest part of the fort, attacked the strongest, where they were exposed to the fire of the whole town. Their scaling ladders were also too short; and at last, after sustaining a dreadful fire with great resolution for some hours, they retreated, leaving six hundred men dead on the spot. The ravages of the climate now began to prove more dreadful than the casualties of war; and the rainy season commenced with such violence, that it was found impossible for the troops to continue in their encampment. And, as if to aggravate these calamities, dissension

arose between the commanders of the sea and land forces, who blamed each other, and at last could only be brought to agree in one mortifying measure, namely, the re-embarkation of the troops.

The miscarriage of this enterprise produced the greatest discontents, more especially as other causes of complaint occurred at the same time. Sir John Norris had twice sailed to the coast of Spain at the head of a powerful squadron, without effecting any thing of consequence. The commerce of Britain was greatly annoyed by the Spanish privateers, who had taken upwards of four hundred ships since the commencement of the war; whilst the British fleets remained quite inactive, and suffered one loss after another, without endeavoring in the least to make proper reprisals. These discontents burst out all at once against Sir Robert Walpole; a majority was formed in the House of Commons in opposition to the ministry of which he was the head; he was created Earl of Orford; and the parliament having adjourned for a few days on purpose, he resigned all his employments.

The removal of this minister gave universal satisfaction. His antagonists entertained great hopes of seeing him punished; but he had laid his schemes too well to be under any apprehensions on that account; and, in fact, the new ministry had no sooner got into office than they trode in the footsteps of those whom they had so much exclaimed against. The nation had now become disgusted with naval operations. The people desired a renewal of their victories in Flanders, and the king ardently joined in the same wish. An army of sixteen thousand men was therefore shipped and sent to Flanders, to take part in the quarrels that were then beginning to break out on the Continent. Immense triumphs were expected from this undertaking; but it was somehow forgotten that the army was not now commanded by John Duke of Marlborough.

In order to give some notion of the origin

of these continental disputes, it is necessary to go back for several years. After the Duke of Orleans, regent of France, died, Cardinal Fleury undertook to settle the confusion in which the kingdom was then involved; and under him France repaired her losses, and enriched herself by means of commerce. During the long interval of peace which this minister's counsels had procured for Europe, two powers, hitherto disregarded, began to attract the notice and the jealousy of the neighboring nations. These were Russia and Prussia, both of which had been gradually rising into power and consequence. The other states were but little prepared to renew the war. The empire remained under the government of Charles VI., who had been placed on the throne by the treaty of Utrecht; Sweden continued to languish, from the destructive projects of Charles XII.; Denmark was powerful enough, but inclined to peace; and part of Italy still remained subject to those princes who had been imposed upon it in consequence of foreign treaties. All these states, however, continued to enjoy profound peace, until the death of Augustus, king of Poland; an event by which a general flame was once more kindled in Europe. The emperor, assisted by the arms of Russia, declared for the elector of Saxony, the son of the deceased king; whilst France, on the other hand, espoused the cause of Stanislaus, who had long ago been nominated king of the Poles by Charles of Sweden, and whose daughter the king of France had since married. Stanislaus was gladly received at Dantzic, and acknowledged as king of Poland; but having been besieged there by ten thousand Russians, the city was taken, and he himself with difficulty made his escape. France, however, still resolved to assist him, as the most effectual method of distressing the house of Austria; and her views were seconded by Spain and Sardinia, both of which hoped to be enriched by the spoils of Austria. A French army, therefore, overran the empire, under the conduct of the old Marshal Villars; whilst the Duke of Montemar, the



Spanish general, was equally victorious in the kingdom of Naples. The emperor was soon obliged to sue for peace, which was granted; but Stanislaus was neglected in the treaty, it having been stipulated that he should renounce all claim to the kingdom of Poland; while the emperor gratified France with the duchy of Lorraine, and other valuable territories, as an indemnification.

The emperor dying in the year 1740, the French thought the opportunity favorable for their ambition, and regardless of treaties, particularly that called the Pragmatic Sanction, by which the late emperor's dominions were settled upon his daughter, caused the Elector of Bavaria to be crowned emperor. Thus the queen of Hungary, daughter of Charles VI., was at once stripped of her inheritance, and left for a whole year without any hopes of succor; and at the same time she lost the province of Silesia by an irruption of the young king of Prussia, who took the opportunity of her defenceless condition to renew his pretensions to that province. France, Saxony, and Bavaria, attacked the rest of her dominions; and Britain was the only ally who seemed willing to assist her; but Sardinia, Holland, and Russia, soon after concurred in the same views. It must be owned that the only reason which Britain had for interfering in these disputes was, that the security of the electorate depended upon nicely balancing the different interests of the empire; but the ministry were nevertheless willing to gratify the king by engaging the country in a war. His majesty informed the parliament that he had sent a body of British forces into the Netherlands, which he had augmented by sixteen thousand Hanoverians, to operate a diversion on the side of France, in favor of the queen of Hungary. But when the supplies by which this additional number of Hanoverian troops was to receive pay from Britain for defending their own cause came to be considered, violent parliamentary debates ensued; and although the ministry carried their point by the strength of numbers, they had little reason to boast of their victory.

Yet, however prejudicial these continental measures might be to the true interests of Great Britain, they effectually retrieved the Queen of Hungary's affairs, and soon turned the scale of victory in her favor. The French were driven out of Bohemia; while her general, Prince Charles of Lorraine, at the head of a large army, invaded the dominions of Bavaria. Her rival, the nominal emperor, was obliged to fly before her; and, abandoned by his allies, as well as stripped of his hereditary dominion, he retired to Frankfort, where he lived in obscurity. Meanwhile the British and Hanoverian army advanced in order to effect a junction with that under Prince Charles, by which they would have outnumbered their enemies; and to prevent this the French opposed an army of sixty thousand men, upon the Maine, under the command of Marshal de Noailles, who posted his troops on the eastern side of that river. The British army was commanded by the Earl of Stair, who, although he had learned the art of war under Eugene and Marlborough, suffered himself to be enclosed by the enemy on every side, near a village called Dettingen; and in this situation the whole army, with the king himself, who had by this time arrived in the camp, must have been taken prisoners, had the French behaved with ordinary prudence. But their impetuosity saved the combined force from destruction. They passed a defile which they ought to have contented themselves with guarding, and, under the conduct of the Duke de Grammont, their horse charged the British foot with great fury; but they were received with unshaken firmness, and at last obliged to repass the Maine with precipitation, and the loss of about five thousand men. The British monarch, who was present in the battle, displayed equal courage and judicious conduct, and in some measure atoned for an error which otherwise might have proved fatal.

But though the British were victorious in this engagement, the French were very little disconcerted by it. They opposed Prince Charles, and interrupted his attempts to pass

the Rhine; and in Italy they also gained some advantages; but their chief hopes were placed on an intended invasion of England. From the violence of parliamentary disputes in England, France had been persuaded that the country was ripe for revolution, and only wanted the presence of the pretender to bring about a change. An invasion was therefore projected; the troops destined for the expedition amounted to fifteen thousand; and preparations were made for embarking them at Dunkirk and some of the ports nearest to England, under the eye of the young pretender. The Duke de Roqueseuille, with twenty ships of the line, was to see them safely landed on the opposite shore; and the famous Count Saxe was to command them when disembarked. But the whole project was disconcerted by the appearance of Sir John Norris, with a superior fleet, which obliged the French squadron to put back; while a severe gale of wind damaged their transports, and thus entirely frustrated the scheme of a sudden descent. But the national joy for Sir John Norris's success was soon damped by the miscarriage of Admirals Mathews and Lestock, who, through a misunderstanding, suffered a French fleet of thirty-four sail to escape them near Toulon.

In the Netherlands the British arms were also attended with ill success. The French had there assembled an army of a hundred and twenty thousand men, commanded by Count Saxe, natural son of the late king of Poland, and an officer of great experience. The English were under the Duke of Cumberland, whose army was much inferior in number to that of the enemy, whilst in point of knowledge of war the disparity between him and the French general was still greater. Count Saxe, therefore, carried all before him. In the year 1743, he besieged Fribourg, and in the beginning of the campaign of 1744, he invested the strong city of Tournay. To save the place, if possible, the allies resolved to hazard an engagement; and this brought on the memorable battle of Fontenoy. The French were posted behind the

town of that name, on some eminences which completely commanded the defile which formed the only approach to the position. At two in the morning the assailants quitted their camp, and about nine the British infantry, formed in a kind of grand square, attacked the centre of the enemy's line, which was drawn up in a sort of avenue to receive them. But from the confined nature of the ground, the obstinacy of the resistance in front, and the flanking fire kept up from some woody heights which dominated over the defile, this fine body of troops was never able to develop its attack, nor to clear the defile; yet, in spite of every effort of the enemy, it maintained its ground till three in the afternoon, preserving its formation unbroken, notwithstanding the plunging fire of the French artillery, and the concentrated musketry of their infantry, to which it was without intermission exposed; and at last it retired in perfect order, facing round at intervals, and checking the pursuit of the enemy. The loss of the allies amounted to twelve thousand men, and that of the French was even greater; but the victory nevertheless gave them the superiority during the rest of the campaign, as well as during the remainder of the war. The capture of Tournay was the first fruit of this dear-bought success; and though the Elector of Bavaria, whom they had proclaimed emperor, was now dead, the French were too much elated by success to relax in their operations against the allies.

To balance the defeat of Fontenoy, however, Admirals Rowley and Warren retrieved the honor of the British flag, and made several rich captures at sea. The fortress of Louisbourg, a place of great consequence to the British commerce, surrendered to General Pepperel; and a short time afterwards two French East India ships, and a Spanish ship from Peru laden with treasure, put into the harbor, supposing it still their own, and were taken.

During this gleam of returning success, Charles Edward, the son of the old pretender to the British crown, resolved to make an



attempt to recover what he called his right. Being furnished with some money from France, he embarked for Scotland on board of a small frigate, accompanied by the Marquis of Tullibardine, Sir Thomas Sheridan, and some others; and for the conquest of the whole British empire, he only brought with him seven officers, and arms for two thousand men. Fortune, however, seemed nowise more favorable to this attempt than to others similar to it. His convoy, a ship of sixty guns, was so disabled in an engagement with an English man of war, that it was obliged to return to Brest, whilst he continued his course to the western parts of Scotland. On the 27th of July, 1745, he landed on the coast of Lochaber, and was in a little time joined by the Highlanders to the number of fifteen hundred men. The ministry at first could scarcely be induced to credit the story of his arrival; but when it could no longer be doubted, they sent Sir John Cope with a small body of forces to oppose his progress. A favorable opportunity offered for striking a blow at Corryarrick; but Cope, who seems to have been equally devoid of conduct and of energy, withdrew to Inverness, thus uncovering the road to the low country.

The young adventurer, availing himself of this blunder, immediately marched to the south, and arrived at Perth, where he performed the ceremony of proclaiming his father king of Great Britain. He then proceeded towards Edinburgh, and, his forces continually increasing, entered the capital without opposition; but he was unable, from want of cannon, to reduce the castle. Here he again proclaimed his father; and promised to dissolve the union, which was still considered as one of the national grievances. In the meantime, Sir John Cope, having arrived from Inverness, and been reinforced by two regiments of dragoons, resolved to give battle to the enemy. The insurgents, however, attacked him at Gladsmuir, near Prestonpans, and in a few minutes put him and his troops to flight, with the loss of five hundred men. This victory gave the insurgents

great hopes, from the impression it produced; and had the pretender marched directly to England, the result might perhaps have been fatal to the house of Hanover. But he was amused by the promise of succors which in fact never arrived, and thus induced to remain in Edinburgh till the season for action was lost. He was joined, however, by the Earl of Kilmarnock, Lord Balmerino, Lord Cromarty, Elcho, Ogilvy, Pittligo, and the eldest son of Lord Lovat, who with their vassals considerably increased his army; and Lord Lovat himself, so remarkable for his treachery, was favorably disposed towards the pretender, although unwilling to act openly for fear of the government. But whilst Charles was thus trifling away his time at Edinburgh, the British ministry were taking more effectual methods to oppose him. Six thousand Dutch troops, which had come over to assist the government, were dispatched northward under the command of General Wade; but this force was then in some measure incapable of acting, being prisoners of France upon parole, and under engagements not to oppose that power for a year. Be this as it may, however, the Duke of Cumberland arrived soon afterwards from Flanders, and was followed by a detachment of dragoons and infantry, well disciplined and inured to action; whilst volunteers offered their services in every part of the kingdom.

At last Charles resolved upon an irruption into England. He entered that country by the western border, and took the town of Carlisle; after which he continued his march southwards, having received assurances that a considerable body of forces would be landed on the southern coast to create a diversion in his favor. He established his headquarters at Manchester, where he was joined by between two and three hundred English formed into a regiment under the command of Colonel Townley; and thence he pursued his march to Derby, intending to go by the way of Chester into Wales, where he hoped to be joined by a great number of malcon-

tents; but in this he was prevented by the factions among his followers.

Having now advanced within a hundred miles of London, that capital was thrown into the utmost consternation; and had he proceeded with the same expedition which he had hitherto used, he might perhaps have made himself master of it. But he was prevented from pursuing this or any other rational plan by the discontents which began to prevail in his army. The young pretender was in fact but the nominal leader of his forces; and his generals, the Highland chiefs, were equally averse to subordination and ignorant of command. They now, however, became unanimous in their resolution to return to their own country; and Charles was forced to comply. Accordingly they retreated to Carlisle without sustaining any loss; and thence crossing the Eden and Solway, entered Scotland. They next marched to Glasgow, which was laid under severe contributions; and thence proceeding to Stirling, they were joined by Lord Lewis Gordon at the head of some forces which had been assembled in his absence. Other clans likewise came in; while some supplies of money received from Spain, and some skirmishes with the royalists, in which he was victorious, caused the pretender's affairs to assume a much more promising aspect. Being joined by Lord Drummond, he invested the castle of Stirling, in the siege of which much valuable time was consumed to no purpose. General Hawley, who commanded a considerable body of forces near Edinburgh, undertook to raise the siege, and with this view advanced as far as Falkirk, in order to give battle to the Highland army. After some time spent in mutual observation, an engagement ensued on the 17th of January, 1746, in which the king's troops were entirely defeated. The Highlanders advanced to the attack with their usual impetuosity, threw in a volley or two, and then drawing their claymores, rushed forward, sword in hand, to close with the enemy. The onset proved irresistible; infantry and cavalry were inter-

mingled in one common rout; and the whole artillery and tents of the royal army fell into the hands of the conquerors.

But the victory of Falkirk was the last of the triumphs of the rebel army. The Duke of Cumberland having arrived, put himself at the head of the troops at Edinburgh, amounting to about fourteen thousand men and with these he marched to Aberdeen, where he was joined by several of the nobility attached to the house of Hanover, the enemy in the meantime retreating before him. He next advanced to the banks of the Spey, a deep and rapid river, where the Highlanders might have successfully disputed his passage; but their mutual contentions had now risen to such a height that they could scarce agree in any thing. At last, however, they resolved to make a stand, and for this purpose selected Drummoissie Muir, near Culloden, nine miles distant from Inverness; the only ground in the whole country where cavalry and artillery, the two arms which they had most reason to dread, could act with effect against them. Their numbers amounted to about eight thousand; and after an abortive attempt to surprise the royal army at Nairn, they returned to their position and drew out to receive the attack. At one in the afternoon of the 15th of April, 1746, the cannonading commenced; and whilst the artillery of the rebels, from being miserably served, did little or no execution, that of the royal army, at every discharge, made frightful gaps in the Highland ranks. During the continuance of the cannonade Cumberland observing that the right of the Highlanders was covered by a wall, ordered a body of men to advance and to pull it down. The Campbells to whom this service was committed, promptly obeyed the order; and the right wing of the Highlanders being thus uncovered, they became exposed to a flanking fire as well as to that in front, which was now kept up with the greatest vivacity. In this trying situation a body, chiefly Athole men, about nineteen hundred strong, unable any longer to sustain the galling fire



which was poured in on their ranks, and conscious that their real strength lay in close combat, advanced to the attack sword in hand; broke through Burrell's and Monro's regiments in an instant; and pressed on, with diminished numbers but dauntless resolution, against the second line of the royal army, amidst a concentrated and terrible fire from every gun that could be brought to bear upon them. The second line steadily awaited the onset of this forlorn hope, reserving their fire till it came quite close, when a destructive volley was thrown in, while Wolfe's regiment, opened at the same instant a flanking fire. The force of the charge was thus completely broken; a few and but a few of the assailants escaped; and the bravest, who did not fall by the murderous fire, perished in a desperate conflict with the English bayonets. Unfortunately the Highland regiments on the left did not advance to close combat, or support the gallant attack which has just been described: had they done so, the issue might have been very different. After exchanging a volley or two with the right wing of the duke's army, and answering the fire of some dragoons who hovered near, they retreated, and separating into small parties, were cut up in detail, losing more men in proportion than the brave band who had made so gallant and vigorous an effort to retrieve the fortune of the day. In less than thirty minutes the battle was lost, and with it a final period was put to all the hopes of the young adventurer. The conquerors behaved with the greatest cruelty, refusing quarter to the wounded, the unarmed, and the defenceless; and some were slain who had only been spectators of the combat; whilst soldiers were seen to anticipate the base employment of the executioner. The duke, immediately after the action, ordered thirty-six deserters to be executed; the conquerors spread terror wherever they went; and in a short time the whole country around became one dreadful scene of plunder, slaughter, and desolation.

Immediately after the battle, the preten-

der fled with a captain of Fitzjames's cavalry; and when their horses were fatigued, they both alighted, and separately sought for safety. There is a striking resemblance between the adventures of Charles II., after the battle of Worcester, and those of the pretender after the battle of Culloden. For six months the unfortunate Charles continued to wander in the mountains of Glengarry, often hemmed round by his pursuers, but still rescued, by some providential accident, from the impending danger. At length a privateer of St. Maloes, hired by his adherents, having arrived in Lochranach, he embarked on board that vessel for France. Accompanied by Sullivan and Sheridan, two Irish adherents, who had shared all his calamities, together with Cameron of Lochiel, his brother, and a few other exiles, he set sail for France, and, after having been chased by two English men-of-war, arrived in safety at a place called Roseau, near Morlaix, in Bretagne.

While the pretender was thus pursued, the scaffolds and gibbets were preparing for his brave adherents. Seventeen officers were hanged, drawn, and quartered, at Kennington Common, in the neighborhood of London; nine were executed in the same manner at Carlisle, and eleven at York. A few obtained pardons, and a considerable number of the common men were transported to America. The Earls of Kilmarnock and Cromarty, and Lord Balmerino, were tried and found guilty of high treason. Cromarty was pardoned, but Kilmarnock and Balmerino were executed; as was also Mr. Radcliffe, brother to the Earl of Derwentwater, who received sentence upon a former conviction. Lord Lovat was tried, and suffered some time afterwards.

Immediately after the suppression of the rebellion, the legislature undertook to establish regulations in Scotland, conducive to the happiness of the people and the tranquillity of the united kingdoms. The Highlanders had till that time continued to wear the military dress of their ancestors, and never went

without arms; in consequence of which they considered themselves as a body of people distinct from the rest of the nation, and were ready upon the shortest notice to second the projects of their chiefs. Their habits were now reformed by an act of legislature, and they were compelled to wear clothes of the common fashion. But what contributed still more to destroy the spirit of clanship was the abolition of the hereditary jurisdictions which their chieftains exercised over them. The power of the chiefs was totally destroyed, and every subject in that part of the kingdom was liberated from the state of vassalage in which they had formerly lived.

Soon after the battle of Culloden the Duke of Cumberland proceeded to Flanders, where he resumed the command of the army, to which he was by no means equal. The French carried every thing before them, and reduced under their dominion all the strong places which had been taken by the Duke of Marlborough, and formed a barrier to the united provinces. They gained a considerable victory near Rocoux, though at a great sacrifice of men, which, however, they could easily spare, as they were much more numerous than their adversaries; and another victory which they obtained at Lafeldt served to depress still further the spirit of the allied army. But the taking of Bergen-op-Zoom, the strongest fortification of Brabant, was the event which naturally reduced the Dutch to the greatest alarm and distress.

These victories and successes in Flanders, however, were counterbalanced by almost equal disappointments. In Italy, the brother of Marshal Belleisle, attempting to penetrate into Piedmont at the head of thirty-four thousand men, was defeated and killed. A fleet had been fitted out for the recovery of Cape Breton, but without success; and two others were equipped, the one to make a descent upon the British colonies in America, and the other to carry on the operations in the East Indies; but these were attacked by Anson and Warren, and nine of their ships taken. Soon after this, Commodore Fox,

with six ships of war, took about forty French ships richly laden from St. Domingo; and about the same time the French fleet was defeated by Admiral Hawke, who took seven ships of the line and several frigates.

For a long time Louis had been desirous of peace, and this desire he even expressed to Sir John Ligonier, who had been taken prisoner at the battle of Lafeldt. But now the bad success of his admirals at sea, and his armies in Italy, the frequent bankruptcies of his merchants at home, and the election of a stadtholder in Holland, who gave spirit to the opposition;—all these contributed to make him weary of the war, and to propose terms of accommodation. This was what the allies had long wished for, but had been ashamed to demand. A congress was therefore held at Aix-la-Chapelle, and a treaty concluded, by which it was provided that all prisoners on each side should be mutually given up, and all conquests restored; that the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, should be ceded to Don Philip, heir-apparent to the Spanish crown, and after him returned to the house of Austria; that the fortifications of Dunkirk towards the sea should be demolished; that the British ship annually sent with slaves to the coast of New Spain should have this privilege continued for four years; that the king of Prussia should be confirmed in the possession of Silesia; and that the queen of Hungary should be secured in the possession of her patrimonial dominions. But the most mortifying clause was, that the king of Great Britain should immediately after the ratification of this treaty, send two persons of rank to France as hostages, until restitution should be made of Cape Breton and all other British conquests during the war. No mention whatever was made of the searching of British vessels in the American seas, though this was the original cause of the quarrel; the limits of their respective possessions in North America were not ascertained; nor did they receive any equivalent for those



forts which they had restored to the enemy.

In the year 1751, Frederick, Prince of Wales died of a pleurisy, which was not thought at first to be in any way dangerous. He was much regretted, for his good nature had rendered him popular, and those who opposed the present administration had grounded their hopes of redress upon his accession to the throne.

Some time before this, in the year 1749, a scheme had been entered upon, from which the nation in general anticipated great advantages; namely, encouraging those who had been discharged from the army or navy to become settlers in Nova Scotia, a country cold, barren, and almost incapable of cultivation. Nevertheless, on account of this barren spot, the English and French actually renewed the war. The possession of this country was reckoned necessary for the defence of the English colonies to the north, and for preserving their superiority in the fisheries in that part of the world. The French, however, who had been long settled in the back parts, resolved to use every method to dispossess the new comers, and spirited up the Indians to begin hostilities. Another source of dispute also sprung up in the same part of the world. The French, pretending to have first discovered the mouth of the river Mississippi, claimed the whole adjacent country towards New Mexico on the east, and to the Apalachian Mountains on the west; and, in order to assert their claims, as they found several English who had settled beyond these mountains, they dispossessed them of their new settlements, and built such forts as were calculated to command the whole country round about. Negotiations and mutual accusations were followed by hostilities; and in 1756, four operations were undertaken by the British in America at once. Colonel Monkton had orders to drive the French from the province of Nova Scotia; General Johnson was sent against Crown Point; General Shirley against Niagara, to secure the forts on the

river; and General Braddock against Fort du Quesne. In these expeditions Monkton was successful; Johnson was also victorious, though he failed in taking the fort against which he was sent; Shirley was thought to have lost the season of operation by delay; and Braddock was defeated and killed.

But, in return for this failure of success, the British made reprisals at sea; and here they were so successful that the French navy was unable to recover itself during the continuance of the war. The first measure of the French was to threaten an invasion. Several bodies of their troops were sent down to the coasts opposite Britain, and these were instructed in the manner of embarking and re-landing from flat-bottomed boats, which were made in great numbers for the purpose. The number of men amounted to fifty thousand but all discovered the utmost reluctance to the undertaking. The ministry were greatly alarmed, and applied to the Dutch for six thousand men, which they were by treaty obliged to furnish in case of invasion. But this supply was refused, the Dutch alleging that their treaty was to send the troops in case of an actual, and not of a threatened, invasion. The king, therefore, finding he could not reckon upon the Dutch forces till their assistance would be too late desisted entirely from his demand; and the Dutch with great cordiality returned him thanks for withdrawing his request. Upon this ten thousand Hessians and Hanoverians were brought over; a proceeding which occasioned great discontent. The ministry were reviled for such disgraceful conduct, as if the nation was unable to defend itself; whereas the people only demanded a vigorous exertion of their own internal strength, and then feared no force that could be led to invade them.

The threatened invasion, however, never took place. But a French army landed in Minorea, and invested the citadel of St. Philips, which was reckoned the strongest in Europe, but the garrison was nevertheless weak, and nowise fitted to stand a vigorous siege. To raise this siege, Admiral Byng

was dispatched with a squadron of ten men-of-war, with orders to relieve Minorca, or at any rate to throw a body of troops into the garrison. But this last he reckoned too hazardous an undertaking, nor did he even attempt it; and soon afterwards a French fleet appeared nearly equal in force to his own, when he resolved to act only on the defensive. The French advanced, and a slight engagement ensued with part of the English fleet; after which the enemy slowly withdrew, and no other opportunity occurred of coming to a close engagement. Upon this it was resolved in a council of war to return to Gibraltar to refit, and agreed that the relief of Minorca was impracticable. For such pusillanimous, if not treacherous conduct, Byng was brought home under arrest, tried, condemned to death and shot. He suffered with the greatest resolution, after delivering a paper filled with protestations of his innocence as to any treacherous intention.

After the conquest of Minorca, the French declared that they would revenge all injuries which they might sustain in their colonies on the King of Britain's dominions in Germany. Upon this the court of London, eager to preserve Hanover, entered into a treaty with the court of Russia, by which it was stipulated that a body of fifty thousand Russians should be ready to act in the British service, in case Hanover should be invaded by the French; for which the Czarina was to receive £100,000 annually, to be paid in advance. But the treaty was opposed by the King of Prussia, who had long considered himself as guardian of the interests of Germany, and was therefore alarmed at a treaty which threatened to deluge the empire with an army of barbarians. Besides, he was already apprised of an agreement between the Austrians and Russians, by which the latter were to enter the empire and strip him of his late conquest of Silesia. He therefore declared that he would not suffer any foreign forces to enter the empire, either as auxiliaries or principals; so that the King of Britain found himself obliged to drop his Russian

connection, and conclude a treaty with the King of Prussia. As both monarchs wished only to prevent the invasion of Germany, they soon came to an agreement to assist each other mutually; and from this alliance a new combination took place among the European powers, quite opposite to the former one. Britain opposed France in America, Asia, and on the ocean. France attacked Hanover, which the King of Prussia undertook to protect; whilst Britain promised him troops and money to assist his operations. Austria having aims on the dominions of Prussia, drew the Elector of Saxony into the same designs; and in these views the Austrians were seconded by France, Sweden and Russia, who had hopes of acquiring a settlement in the west of Europe.

Thus the King of Prussia launched into the tumult of war, having only the King of Britain for his ally; whilst the most powerful states of Europe were his antagonists. He now performed a series of exploits which, taken as a whole, are not surpassed in the annals of modern times, and of which a particular account has been given in the article PRUSSIA. The British ministry, in order to create a diversion in his favor, planned an enterprise against the coast of France; but the destination of the fleet equipped for this purpose was kept a profound secret. At last however, it appeared before Rochefort where the commanders, having trifled away their time in deliberating how to proceed, took the little island of Aix, an easy and useless conquest, and soon afterwards returned home without attempting any thing else. By this miscarriage the ministry were so discouraged that they had thoughts of abandoning the King of Prussia to his fate; and the king was actually meditating a negotiation of this nature, when he was prevented by the expostulations of his distressed ally. From motives of generosity, therefore, more than of interest, it was resolved to continue to assist him; and success, which had long fled from the British arms, once more began to return with double splendor.



It was in the East Indies where this return of good fortune first manifested itself; but the British conquests in the western part of the world speedily eclipsed those in the eastern. These successes must, in part at least, be ascribed to the vigorous administration of Mr. William Pitt, who about this time came into power. An expedition was set on foot against Cape Breton, under General Amherst and Admiral Boscawen; another under General Abercrombie, against Crown Point and Ticonderoga; and a third under Brigadier-General Forbes, against Fort du Quesne. The fortress of Louisbourg, which defended the Island of Cape Breton, was strong both by nature and art; the garrison was numerous, the commander vigilant, and every precaution had been taken to prevent a landing; but the activity of the British surmounted every obstacle; and the place having been surrendered by capitulation, its fortifications were demolished. The expedition against Fort du Quesne was equally successful; but that against Crown Point once more miscarried. General Abercrombie attacked the French in their entrenchments, but was repulsed with great slaughter, and obliged to retire to his camp at Lake George. But though in this respect the British arms were unsuccessful, yet, upon the whole the campaign of 1758 ended greatly in their favor. The taking of Fort du Quesne served to remove from their colonies the terror of the incursions of the Indians, whilst it interrupted the communication along a chain of forts with which the French had environed the British settlements in America; and the succeeding campaign promised still greater success.

In 1759, it was resolved to attack the French in several parts of their territory at once. General Amherst, with a body of twelve thousand men, was commanded to attack Crown Point; General Wolfe was to undertake the siege of Quebec; whilst General Prideaux and Sir William Johnson were to attempt a French fort near the cataracts of Niagara. The last expedition was the

first that succeeded. The siege was begun with vigor, and promised an easy conquest; but General Prideaux being killed in the trenches by the bursting of a mortar, the command devolved on General Johnson. A body of French troops, sensible of the importance of the place, attempted to relieve it, but were utterly defeated and dispersed; and soon afterwards the garrison surrendered prisoners of war. On his arrival at the forts of Crown Point and Ticonderoga, General Amherst found them deserted and destroyed. There now remained, therefore, but one decisive blow to be struck in order to reduce the whole of North America under the British dominion; namely, by the capture of Quebec, the capital of Canada. This expedition was commanded by Admiral Saunders and General Wolfe. The enterprise was attended with difficulties which appeared insurmountable; but all these were overcome by the admirable conduct of the general, and the great bravery of his men. He engaged and put to flight the French under Montcalm; but, to the great regret of the British, he was killed in the action nearly at the same instant that his adversary also fell. The surrender of Quebec was the consequence of this victory, and it soon followed by the cession of all Canada. The next season, indeed, the French made a vigorous effort to recover the city; but by the resolution of Governor Murray, and the appearance of a British fleet under the command of Lord Colville, they were obliged to abandon the enterprise. The whole province was soon after reduced by the prudence and activity of General Amherst, who obliged the French army to capitulate; and it has ever since remained as a dependency of the British empire. About the same time also the Island of Guadaloupe was reduced by a force under Commodore More and General Hopson.

At the beginning of the war the British affairs in Germany had worn a very unfavorable aspect. The Hanoverians were commanded by the Duke of Cumberland, who greatly outnumbered by the enemy, was ob-

liged to retire beyond the Weser. The passage of this river by the enemy might have been disputed with success; but the French were suffered to effect it unmolested. The Hanoverians were then driven from one part of the country to another, till at length they made a stand near a village called Hastenbach, where it was hoped the numbers of the enemy would not avail them in a general engagement. The Hanoverians, however, left the field of battle to the French after a feeble resistance. The latter pursued, and the duke retired towards Stade; by which means he marched into a country where he could neither procure provisions nor attack the enemy with any prospect of success. And here, being unable either to escape or advance, he was compelled to sign a capitulation, by which the whole army laid down their arms, and were afterwards dispersed into different cantonments. By this disgraceful surrender, which was called the capitulation of Closter Seven, Hanover was obliged to submit quietly to the French, and the latter were thus left at full liberty to turn their arms against the King of Prussia.

Soon after this capitulation, both sides began to complain that the treaty had not been strictly observed. The Hanoverians exclaimed against the rapacity of the French general and the brutality of his soldiers. The French retorted the charge, accusing the Hanoverians of insolence and insurrection; and being sensible of their own superiority, resolved to bind them strictly to their terms of agreement. The Hanoverians, however, only wished for a pretence to take arms, and for a general to head them; and neither was long wanting. The oppressions of the tax-gatherers whom the French had appointed were considered as so severe, that the army rose to vindicate the freedom of their country; and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick put himself at its head. As soon as this became known in Britain, large supplies were granted, both for the service of the King of Prussia, and for enabling the Hanoverian army to act vigorously in conjunc-

tion with him. A small body of British forces was sent over to join Prince Ferdinand under the Duke of Marlborough; but after some inconsiderable successes at Crevelt, the Duke of Marlborough died, and the command of the British forces devolved on Lord George Sackville. A misunderstanding, however, arose between him and Prince Ferdinand, the effects of which appeared at the battle of Minden, that was fought shortly after. Lord George, who commanded the British cavalry, pretended that he could not understand the orders sent him by the prince, and of consequence did not obey them. The allies gained the victory but it would have been more decisive had the British commander obeyed his orders. He was soon after recalled, tried by a court-martial, found guilty of disobedience, and declared incapable of serving in any military command for the future. After this victory it was generally imagined that one reinforcement more of British troops would terminate the war in favor of the allies; and that reinforcement was accordingly sent. The British army in Germany was augmented to upwards of thirty thousand men, and sanguine hopes of conquest were generally entertained. But these hopes proved to be ill founded. The allies were defeated at Corbach but retrieved the honor of their arms at Exdorf. A victory at Warbourg followed shortly after, and this was succeeded by another at Zierenberg. But they suffered a reverse at Compen; after which both sides retired into winter quarters.

On the 25th of October, 1760, died George II. He had risen at his usual hour, and observed to his attendants, that as the weather was fine, he would take a walk into the garden of Kensington, where he then resided. But in a few minutes after his return, being left alone, he was heard to fall heavily on the floor; and the noise bringing his attendants into the room, they lifted him into bed, when he desired in a faint voice that the Princess Amelia might be sent for; but before she could reach the apartment his majesty expired, in the seventy-seventh year of his age and



thirty-third of his reign. An attempt was made to bleed him, but without effect; and afterwards the surgeons, upon opening him discovered that the right ventricle of the heart had been ruptured, and a great quantity of blood discharged through the aperture.

King George III. ascended the throne amidst the greatest successes both by sea and land. When his majesty had met his parliament, which was on the 18th of November, 1760, he confirmed the hopes of his allies, and gave assurances of his intention to prosecute the war with vigor. By this time, however, the people were weary of conquests, especially those in Germany; and the general current of popular opinion seemed adverse to the German war. But for some time no change took place in the method of carrying it on. In 1761, however, proposals of peace were interchanged among the belligerent powers of Europe; but the French, designing to draw Spain into a confederacy with them, were not sincere in their intentions; and in this way the treaty came to nothing. An enterprise was projected against Belleisle, on the coast of France, which was conducted by Commodore Keppel and General Hodgson, and terminated in the capture of the island, with the loss of eighteen hundred men killed and wounded on the part of the British; and however unimportant such a conquest might be, the rejoicings on account of it were great. In Germany, however, the campaign was unsuccessful on the part of the allies. At first, indeed, they drove the French out of the territory of Hesse, and laid siege to the city of Cassel; but being defeated at Stangerod, they were forced to raise the siege, retire behind the Dymel, and again abandon Hesse to the enemy, after which they were followed and attacked by the French; and though the latter were defeated, they could with difficulty be prevented from making themselves masters of Munster and Brunswick.

During all this time appearances of negotiation were kept up; but at length M. Bussy, on the part of France, delivered to Mr. Pitt a private memorial, signifying, that, in order

to establish a peace on a lasting foundation the king of Spain might be induced to guarantee the treaty; and to prevent the differences which then subsisted between Britain and Spain from producing a fresh war in Europe, it was proposed, that in this negotiation the three points which had been disputed between the crown of England and Spain might be finally settled. These were, first, the restitution of some captures made upon the Spanish flag; secondly, a recognition of the privilege of the Spanish nation to fish upon the banks of Newfoundland; and, thirdly, the demolition of the English settlements in the Bay of Honduras. But this memorial was returned as wholly inadmissible. Mr. Pitt declared that it would be looked upon as an affront to the dignity of his master, and incompatible with the sincerity of the negotiation, to make any further mention of such a circumstance. Being now convinced of the sinister designs of Spain, this minister also proposed immediately to declare war against that country. But the proposal being rejected, he resigned his employment of secretary of state; upon which he was created Earl of Chatham, and had a pension of £3,000 per annum settled upon him for three lives.

The new administration, however, soon found that Mr. Pitt was in the right; and war was accordingly declared against Spain. As Portugal was the ally of Britain, the French and Spaniards resolved to attack that kingdom, which was then in no condition to defend itself. The Portuguese monarch was haughtily commanded to accede to the confederacy against Britain, and threatened with the vengeance of France and Spain in the event of refusal. It was in vain that he promised to observe a strict neutrality, and urged the obligations he was under to the king of Britain. This moderate and reasonable representation only led to more haughty and insulting demands. His Portuguese majesty, however, continued to reject their proposals in the most resolute manner; and concluded his last declaration by stating, that it would

affect him less to be reduced to the last extremity, than to sacrifice the honor of his crown, and all that Portugal held most dear, by submitting to become an unheard-of example to all pacific powers, which would no longer be able to enjoy the benefit of neutrality, whenever a war should be kindled between other powers with which the former was connected by defensive treaties. This declaration was issued on the 27th of April, 1762; and soon afterwards France and Spain jointly declared war against Portugal.

As the design of the courts of France and Spain in making war with Portugal was professedly to deprive Great Britain of the military and commercial use of the harbors of that kingdom, their principal endeavors were directed against the two great ports of Oporto and Lisbon. With this view, three inroads were to be made; one to the north; another more to the south; and the third in the intermediate provinces, in order to sustain the other two bodies, and preserve a communication between them. The first body of troops was commanded by the Marquis of Savria, and entering by the north-east of Portugal, marched towards Miranda, which he entered on the 9th of May, through the breaches made by the accidental explosion of a powder magazine. From Miranda the invaders marched to Braganza, which speedily surrendered; and Moncorvo was in like manner taken. They became masters of nearly the whole of the extensive province of Tras os Montes; and every thing being clear before them to the banks of the Douro, Oporto was given up for lost, and the admiralty prepared transports to carry off the effects of the British merchants. But on the Douro the career of this body was stopped by the peasants, who, animated and guided by some British officers, seized a difficult pass, and drove the enemy back to Moncorvo. The second body of Spaniards entered the province of Beira, and being joined by strong detachments, immediately laid siege to Almeida, which surrendered on the 25th of August. The Spaniards then pushed for-

ward to Castello Branco, and marching to the southward, approached the banks of the Tagus. During the whole of their progress, and indeed throughout the whole campaign, Great Britain and Portugal had nothing that deserved the name of an army in the field; and all that could be done was by the defence of passes, by skirmishes, and by surprises. The third Spanish army had assembled on the frontiers of Estremadura, with the design of invading the province of Alentejo; and if this body of troops had been joined to the others, they would probably, in spite of all opposition, have forced their way to Lisbon itself; whilst by acting separately, it might have so distracted the defenders of the country as to enable the other invading forces to penetrate to that city. The Count of La Lippe Buckeburg, therefore, having arrived in Portugal, resolved if possible to prevent their entrance into that kingdom; and with this view he dispatched Brigadier-general Burgoyne to attack an advanced body of Spaniards which lay on the frontier in the town of Valentia de Alcantara. On the 27th of August the town was surprised, and the general who was to have commanded the invading force taken, together with one colonel, two captains, and seventeen subaltern officers, whilst one of the best regiments in the Spanish service was also entirely destroyed, and the enemy thus prevented from entering Alentejo. That part of the Spanish army which acted in the neighborhood of Castello Branco having made themselves masters of several important passes, the combined army of British and Portuguese pretended to retire before them, in order to draw them into the mountainous tracts. They attacked the rear of the allies, but were repulsed with loss; yet they still continued masters of the country, and nothing remained but the passage of the Tagus to enable them to take up their quarters in the province of Alentejo. But this the count designed to prevent; and accordingly he employed General Burgoyne, who having formed a design of surprising them, committed the execution of it to Colonel Lee.



In the night of the 6th of October, this officer fell upon their rear, dispersed the whole body with considerable slaughter, destroyed their magazines, and returned with scarcely any loss. The season was now far advanced; immense quantities of rain fell; the roads were destroyed; and the Spaniards having obtained possession of no advanced post where they could maintain themselves, and being unprovided with magazines, fell back to the frontiers of their own country.

Nor were the British arms less successful in America and the East Indies. From the French were taken the islands of Martinico, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Grenada; from the Spanish the strong fortress called Havana, in the island of Cuba. The conquest of the latter cost a number of brave men, more of whom were destroyed by the climate than by the enemy. To this success in the western world may be added the capture of the Spanish register-ship called the *Hermione*, by the *Active* and *Favourite* king's ships. This happened on the 21st of May, 1762, just as the *Hermione* was entering one of the ports of Old Spain; and the prize was valued at little short of a million sterling. In the East Indies an expedition, undertaken against the Philippine Islands, was committed to Colonel Draper, who arrived on this service at Madras in the latter end of June, 1762. The seventy-ninth regiment was the only regular corps that could be spared for the expedition; but every thing was conducted with the greatest celerity and judgment. The British forces landed at Manilla on the 24th of September; on the 6th of October, the governor was obliged to surrender at discretion; and soon after, the galleon bound from Manilla to Acapulco, laden with rich merchandise to the value of more than half a million, was taken by the frigates *Argo* and *Panther*. By the conquest of Manilla there fell into the hands of the British fourteen considerable islands, which, from their extent, fertility, and convenience for commerce, were of the greatest importance. By this acquisition, joined to the successes in the western hemisphere,

Britain secured every avenue of the Spanish trade, and interrupted all communication between the different parts of the vast but unconnected empire of Spain.

During this time the war in Germany had continued with the utmost violence; but although the allies under Prince Ferdinand had given the highest proof of valor, no decisive advantage had been gained over the French. It was, however, no longer the interest of Britain to continue a destructive contest. A peace was at length concluded at Paris on the 10th of February, 1763. The terms granted were, in substance, that the French king should relinquish all claims to Nova Scotia; that he should likewise give up the whole country of Canada; and that for the future the boundary betwixt the British and French dominions in America should be fixed by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi from its source to the river Ibberville, and thence by a line along the middle of this river, and the lakes *Maurapas* and *Pontchartrain* to the sea. The islands of St. Pierre, Miquelon, Martinico, Guadeloupe, Marigalante, Desirade, St. Lucia, and Belleisle, were restored to France; whilst Minorca, Grenada, and the Grenadines, St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago, were ceded to Great Britain. In Africa, the island of Goree was restored to France; and the river Senegal, with all its forts and dependencies, ceded to Great Britain. In the East Indies, all the forts and factories taken from the French were restored. In Europe, the fortifications of Dunkirk were to be destroyed; and all the countries, fortresses, and posts, belonging to the Electorate of Hanover, the Duke of Brunswick, and the Count of La Lippe Buckeburg, restored. In regard to Spain, the British fortifications on the Bay of Honduras were to be demolished; and the Spaniards were to desist from their claim of right to fish on the Newfoundland bank. The Havana was restored, in consequence of which Florida, St. Augustine, and the Bay of Pensacola, were ceded to Britain. The Spaniards were to make peace with Por-

tugal; and all other countries not particularly mentioned were to be restored to their respective owners at the beginning of the war.

The conclusion of the war did not by any means tend to heal those divisions which had arisen on the resignation of Mr. Pitt; on the contrary, it furnished abundant matter of complaint for the discontented party, whose views at that time seem to have been the embarrassment and disturbance of an administration which they were unable to subvert.

Virulent libels, the audacity of which far exceeded any thing known in former times, now made their appearance; and such was the general intemperance in this respect, that it would be difficult to determine which side paid least regard to any kind of decency or decorum. The peace, the Scots, and the administration supposed to be directed by Scottish influence, afforded such subjects of abuse to the pretended patriots, that ministry resolved at last to make an example of one of them by way of deterring the rest from such licentiousness. For this purpose they made choice of the paper called the *North Briton*, which, in language somewhat superior to most other political productions of the time, had abused the king, the ministry, and the Scots, in an extravagant manner. One particular paper (No. xlv.) was deemed by those in power to be actionable; and John Wilkes, member for Aylesbury, was supposed to be the author of it. A warrant was therefore granted for apprehending the author, printer and publishers, of this performance, but without mentioning Wilkes's name; nevertheless three messengers entered the house of that person on the night between the 29th and 30th of April, 1763, with an intention to seize him. He objected, however, to the legality of the warrant, because his name was not mentioned in it, and likewise to the lateness of the hour; and on being threatened with violence, the messengers thought proper to retire for the night. Next morning he was apprehended without making any resistance, though some violence was necessary to get him into a hackney-

coach, which carried him before the secretaries of state for examination. On the first intimation of Wilkes's being in custody, application was made for a *habeas corpus*; but as this could not be sued out till four in the afternoon, several of his friends desired admittance to him, which was, however, refused on pretence of an order from the secretaries of state. But the order, though repeatedly demanded, could not be produced, or at least was not so; and on this account the gentlemen, conceiving that they were not obliged to pay any regard to messengers acting only by a verbal commission, entered the place where he was without further hesitation.

This illegal step was followed by several others in rapid succession. Wilkes's house was searched, and his papers seized in his absence; and though it was certain that a *habeas corpus* had now been obtained, he was nevertheless committed to the Tower. On the third of May he was brought before the Court of Common Pleas, where he made a speech, setting forth the great love he had for his majesty, the bad conduct of ministry, and especially his own grievances, alleging that he had been treated worse than a Scotch rebel. His case having been argued by several eminent lawyers, he was remanded to the Tower for three days; after which he was ordered to be brought up, that the affair might be finally settled. The judges decided that the warrant of a secretary of state was in no respect superior to that of a common justice of peace; that Wilkes's commitment was illegal; that his privilege as a member of parliament had been infringed; that this could not be forfeited except by treason, felony, or breach of the peace, none of which was imputed to him; and that a libel, even though it had been proved, had only a tendency to disturb the peace, without amounting to any actual breach of it. It was therefore resolved to discharge him; and the prisoner was accordingly set at liberty.

Wilkes, now determined to make the best use of the victory he had gained, commenced a prosecution in the Court of Commo-



Pleas against the under secretary of state, for seizing his papers; and the cause being determined in his favor, the defendant was subjected in L.1000 damages, with full costs of suit. The prosecution with which Wilkes had been threatened was now carried on with great vigor; but in the mean time, having grossly affronted Mr. Martin, member for Camelford, by his abusive language in the *North Briton*, he was challenged by that gentleman, and dangerously wounded in the belly. Whilst he lay ill of his wound, the House of Commons put off his trial from time to time; but beginning at last to suspect that there was some collusion betwixt him and his physician, they ordered Doctor Heberden, and Mr. Hawkins, an eminent surgeon, to attend him, and report. Wilkes, however, did not think proper to admit these gentlemen; and soon afterwards took a journey to France. The Commons being informed that he had refused to admit the physician and surgeon sent by them, now lost all patience; and proceeding against him in absence, he was expelled the house. A prosecution was also commenced against him before the House of Lords, on account of an obscene and blasphemous attack on a spiritual peer; and failing to appear and answer the charges against him, he was outlawed. But the severity shown to Wilkes did not at all extinguish the spirit of the party. A general infatuation in favor of licentious and abusive writings seemed to have taken place. At the very time that Wilkes was found guilty of publishing the infamous pamphlet above mentioned, the common council of London presented their thanks to the city representatives for their zealous and spirited endeavors to assert the rights and liberties of the subject; and in gratitude to Lord Chief Justice Pratt for his decision in Wilkes's affair, they presented him with the freedom of the city, and desired him to sit for his picture, which was to be placed in Guildhall.

But by far the most momentous affair which, at this time, occupied the attention

of government, was the consideration of a project for raising a revenue from the American colonies. The result of the passing of the Stamp Act, and all the action of the English government, touching the Revolution in America, will be found at length in the history of the United States. In other respects, the ministry took such steps as they judged necessary for supporting the honor and dignity of the nation. Some encroachments having been made by the French and Spaniards, remonstrances were made to their respective courts, and satisfaction obtained; and though every trifle was sufficient to set on the popular party, they were as yet unable to find any just cause of complaint. Nevertheless, the disposition to tumult and insurrection seems to have become general.

In this state of affairs, the administration was once more disturbed by the appearance of John Wilkes, who had returned from exile, and, on the dissolution of parliament in 1768, whilst his outlawry was still unreversed, stood candidate for the city of London. Failing, however, in his design of representing the city of London, he instantly declared himself a candidate for Middlesex. Innumerable tumults and riots immediately took place; and so great was the animosity betwixt the two parties, that a civil war seemed to be threatened. Any particular detail of these transactions would, however, be superfluous. It is sufficient to state, that, on a trial the outlawry of Wilkes was reversed, and he was condemned for his offences to pay a fine of L.1000 and to be imprisoned for twelve months. Idolized by the people, however, and powerfully supported by merchants and persons of property, he was repeatedly chosen member for Middlesex, and as often rejected by the House of Commons. Tumults frequently occurred; and the interposition of the military was construed by the patriots as indicative of a design to establish ministerial authority by the most barbarous methods.

These dissensions did not pass unnoticed by the other European powers, particularly

the French and Spaniards. Both had applied themselves with assiduity to the increase of their marine; and many began to prognosticate an attack from one or other or both of these nations. The Spaniards first showed an inclination to come to a rupture with Britain. The subject in dispute was a settlement formed on the Falkland Islands, near the southern extremity of the American continent. A scheme of this kind had been thought of as early as the reign of Charles II., but it was not till after Lord Anson's voyage that any serious attention had been paid to it. In the printed account of this expedition, his lordship pointed out the danger incurred by our navigators through the treachery of the Portuguese in Brazil, as well as the importance of discovering some place more to the southward where ships might be supplied with necessaries for their voyage round Cape Horn; and, with this view, he indicated the Falkland Islands as an eligible rendezvous for vessels in these high southern latitudes. His lordship also, when at the head of the admiralty, forwarded the scheme, and some preparations were made for putting it in execution; but as it met with opposition at home, and gave offence to the court of Madrid, it was laid aside till the year 1764, when it was revived by Lord Egmont. Commodore Byron being then sent out with proper necessaries, took possession of these islands in the name of his majesty, and represented them in a favorable light; but his successor, Captain Macbride, affirmed that the soil was utterly incapable of cultivation, and the climate intolerable. Be this as it may, however, the islands in question had also attracted the notice of the French; but as that nation had been greatly reduced by the late war, no project of the kind could yet be put in execution at the public expense. M. Bougainville, therefore, undertook, with the assistance of his friends, to form a settlement on the Falkland Islands at their own risk; and the scheme was put in execution in the beginning of the year 1764, and a settlement

formed on the eastern part of the same island in which Commodore Byron had established an English colony on the western side. But the French adventurers soon became weary of their new colony; and M. Bougainville, having been reimbursed for his expenses, the French gave up every claim of discovery or right of possession; while the Spaniards, landing some troops in 1766, took possession of the fort built by the French, and changed the name of the harbor to Port Solidad. In 1769, Captain Hunt of the Tamar frigate happening to be on a cruise off the Falkland Islands, fell in with a Spanish schooner which had been at Port Solidad, and charged the commander to depart from that coast, which he declared to be the property of his Britannic majesty. The schooner, however, soon returned, bringing an officer from the governor of Buenos Ayres, who gave a similar warning to Captain Hunt; and the latter, not choosing to push matters to extremities, set sail for England, where he arrived in June, 1770. On the departure of Captain Hunt, two frigates were left at the Falkland Islands; but one of these was lost a short time afterwards. On the 4th of June, 1770, a Spanish frigate arrived at the English settlement named Port Egmont, with a number of guns and other warlike implements for carrying on a regular siege; and in three days four other frigates arrived laden in the same manner; so that the English commander, finding all resistance vain, was obliged to capitulate. The English were ordered to depart within a limited time, carrying with them what stores they could; and the Spanish commander declared himself answerable for whatever they might leave on the island.

So audacious an insult to the British flag seemed to render war inevitable, if suitable reparation should be refused. It was accordingly mentioned in the speech from the throne in November, 1770, when an immediate demand of satisfaction for the injury was promised; and it was further intimated that the necessary preparations for war,



which had been begun, should not be discontinued. The affairs of America were also noticed; and, where grounds of complaint still existed, an assurance of redress was given. But these promises, especially in regard to the Falkland Islands, were far from giving satisfaction; and a motion was now made in both houses for an inquiry into the conduct of the Spaniards, as well as for the production of all papers and letters relative thereto. But the demand was opposed by the ministry, upon the grounds that the interest of the public service precluded the idea of exposing letters or papers transmitted in confidence while the negotiation was depending, and that the King of Spain had disavowed the conduct of his officer, and promised satisfaction.

The outbreak of the war of Independence in America, now engrossed the attention of Parliament to the exclusion of almost every other subject, and the foreign complications to which it gave rise now threatened to involve Great Britain in another continental war. The European states in general had long cherished a feeling of resentment towards England. The news of the disaster at Saratoga was therefore received by them with the same undisguised exultation as the intelligence of the defeat of Charles the XII., at Pultowa was by the powers whom he had so long overawed. Of these the French, for obvious reasons, were the most active in supporting the insurgent Americans. Numbers of the young nobility were eager to signalize themselves in the American cause; and among the rest the Marquis de la Fayette, a young nobleman of high rank and fortune, occupied a conspicuous place. Impelled by an enthusiastic ardor in favor of the American cause, he purchased a vessel, loaded her with military stores, and sailed with several of his friends to America, where he offered his services to Congress; and meeting with a most gracious reception, he was invested with a command, in which he lost no opportunity of distinguishing himself. Besides this nobleman, several other

officers from France and Germany actually entered the American service, and by their military talents greatly contributed to the exertions which the colonies were afterwards enabled to make. This assistance, however, would have been but trifling, had not the French court also interested itself in their behalf; and about the time when the news of General Burgoyne's disaster arrived in Britain, a treaty was on foot between the French court and the United States of America. Even before this time France had shown such a partiality towards the Americans, as might plainly have indicated a design of ultimately assisting them in their national capacity. The encouragement given to the American privateers in all the ports of France had produced strong remonstrances on the part of Britain; an order was at length demanded that all these privateers with their prizes should depart the kingdom. With this the French court found it necessary at that time to comply, lest reprisals should be made by capturing their whole Newfoundland fleet then engaged in the fishery. But so many delays were occasioned on various pretences, that not a single vessel was dismissed from any of their ports; and so far were the French court from entertaining any design of this kind, that in the month of July, 1770, the whole body of merchants throughout the kingdom were assured by government that they might depend on protection for their trade with America. Meanwhile the greatest preparations for war were made throughout the whole kingdom of France; and, in fact, the most judicious politicians were of opinion that a rupture with that power would have immediately followed the commencement of hostilities with America. But, whatever might have been the motives of the British ministry, it is certain, that in defiance alike of probability, and of the acrimonious censures of opposition, they continued to pretend ignorance of any hostile intentions upon the part of France, until that country of its own accord thought proper to announce them. This was done by a







GROUP OF THE LADIES OF STANTON

formal notification to the court of Britain in the month of March, 1778, couched in the most insolent terms. In this declaration it was announced, not only that a treaty of friendship and commerce had been concluded betwixt France and America, but Britain was insulted by being told that America was actually in possession of independence, as if the former had already exerted her utmost efforts without being able to reduce them. A merit was also made of having entered into no commercial stipulations in favor of France exclusive of Britain. Nothing, therefore, could be more offensive than this notification; and though it could not decently be said, on the part of the French monarch, that he wished for war, yet his pacific intentions were conveyed in such haughty terms, that the whole could only be considered as a declaration of that hostility which he pretended a desire to avoid.

The operations of the French in America, with the various success of the war, will be fully related under the head of UNITED STATES.

An invasion of England being afterward time threatened by the French, an address was moved for recalling the fleets and armies from America, and stationing them in a place where they might more effectually contribute to the defence of the kingdom. This measure was vigorously opposed by the administration, and by some members of the opposition. Lord Chatham, whose infirmities had lately prevented him from attending in his place in parliament, evinced his decided disapprobation of it: he had entered the house in a rich suit of black velvet, a full wig, and wrapped in flannel to the knees; and was supported to his seat by his son and son-in-law, Mr. William Pitt and Viscount Mahon. It is said that he looked weak and enaciated; and, resting his hands on his crutches, he at first spoke with difficulty, but as he grew warm his voice rose, and became, as usual, oratorical and affecting. "My lords," said he, "I rejoice that the grave has not closed upon me, that I am still

alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy." He was replied to with great respect by the Duke of Richmond, when on attempting to rise again he fell back before uttering a word, in a convulsive fit, from which he never recovered, and died a few days after, in the 70th year of his age, May 11, 1778. His merits were transcendent, and his death was lamented as a national loss. Apart from the aberrations originating in an ardent love of power, his course was splendid and magnanimous; and it was truly said of him by Lord Chesterfield, that his private life was stained by no vices, and sullied by no meanness. Contemporary praise and posthumous honors were showered down upon the man of whom the nation was justly proud. His remains were interred, with solemnity, in Westminster Abbey; and the city of London erected a flattering tribute to his memory in Guildhall.

A French squadron was sent from Toulon to the assistance of America, under the command of Count d'Estaing, who reduced the island of Grenada, while a body of his forces made themselves masters of St. Vincent. In other parts of the West Indian seas the British arms were ably supported by the bravery and vigilance of the admirals Hyde Parker and Rowley. On the 27th of July, an indecisive action was fought off Brest, between the French fleet, under M. d'Orville, and a British squadron, under Admiral Keppel. Sir Hugh Palliser, the second in command, accused the admiral of not having done his duty; he was accordingly tried by a court martial, and honorably acquitted; in fact, it appeared that he had been so badly supported by Palliser, that he was unable to make any use of the slight advantage he obtained.

Sir Charles Hardy, a brave and experienced officer, whose services had been rewarded with the governorship of Greenwich Hospital, was appointed to succeed Keppel in the command of the channel fleet. In the meantime, the Spanish court was pre-



vailed on by the French to take up arms in defence of America, and to accede to the general confederacy against Great Britain. As the danger to which the nation was now exposed was become truly alarming, it was thought advisable to raise volunteer companies in addition to the militia; and in this the spirit and magnanimity of the people reflected great credit on the national character. Strengthened by the alliance of Spain, the French began to extend their ideas of conquest; and thinking that a blow near at hand was more likely than operations carried on at a distance to alarm the fears of the English, they made attempts on the Islands of Guernsey and Jersey, but in each they were completely frustrated.

The emissaries of America and the other enemies of Great Britain are said to have been active in fomenting these discords, which at this period rose to a height unknown for a century past. But the ministry continued firm, and, previous to taking any of the petitions into consideration, insisted on going through the business of the supplies.

The last victory of the administration confirmed the unfavorable opinion which the people had conceived of the majority of their representatives; and in the height of the ill humor which the conduct of the parliament had created in the multitude, those discontents broke out which were so near involving the kingdom in a species of civil war. The hardships under which individuals of the Roman Catholic persuasion labored in this country had lately engaged the consideration of enlightened and liberal-minded men; whilst the inutility as well as absurdity of persecuting people from whom no danger was to be apprehended, and who were not suspected of disaffection to the civil constitution of the country, had induced several persons of rank and influence to undertake to procure them relief from the disabilities under which they labored. Meanwhile the calamities of the times had afforded the Catholics a proper occasion for manifesting

their attachment to the government; and accordingly they presented a loyal and dutiful address to the king, containing the strongest assurances of affection and fidelity to his person and civil government. They declared that their exclusion from many of the benefits of that constitution had not diminished their reverence for it; and that, though they did not presume to point out the particular means by which they might be allowed to testify their zeal and their wishes to serve the country, they would be perfectly ready, on every occasion, to give such proofs of their fidelity, and of the purity of their intentions, as his majesty's wisdom and the sense of the nation should at any time deem expedient. This address was presented to the king on the 1st of May, 1778, and was signed by the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Surrey and Shrewsbury, the Lords Stourton, Petre, Arundel, Dormer, Teynham, Clifford, and Linton; and by a hundred and sixty three commoners of rank and fortune.

The only obstacle which stood in the way was the difficulty of overcoming the prejudices of the lower classes, who were disposed to disapprove of and condemn any indulgence shown to those of a persuasion which they had been taught to regard with horror and detestation. But notwithstanding the prepossessions of the vulgar, it was resolved by several individuals of generous and liberal sentiments, to espouse their cause as far as it could be done consistently with the principles of the constitution and the general temper of the times. Accordingly, about the middle of May, Sir George Saville made a motion for the repeal of some of the disqualifications under which the Catholics labored. He grounded his motion on the necessity of vindicating the honor and asserting the true principles of the Protestant religion, of which the peculiar merit consisted in an abhorrence of persecution. He represented the address above quoted as a convincing proof of the loyal disposition of the Roman Catholics, and as an unfeigned testimony of the soundness of their political

principles; and, to silence the objections of those who might suspect the Catholics of duplicity, a test was proposed of so binding and solemn a nature, that no authority could annul its efficacy.

The pains and penalties of the statutes to be repealed were laid before the house by Mr. Dunning. By these statutes it was made felony in a foreign clergyman of the Catholic communion, and high treason in one who was a native of this kingdom, to teach the doctrines, or perform divine service according to the rites, of that church; the estates of persons educated abroad in the Catholic persuasion were forfeited to the next Protestant heir; a son, or any other nearest relation, being a Protestant, was empowered to take possession of his own father's, or nearest kinsman's estate, during their lives; and a Roman Catholic was disabled from acquiring any legal property by purchase. The mildness of the British government did not indeed countenance the enforcement of the severities enacted by these statutes; but still the prospect of gain subjected every man of the Roman Catholic persuasion to the ill usage of informers; and on the evidence of such miscreants the magistrates were bound, however unwilling, to put these cruel laws in execution.

In consequence of such representations, the motion made in favor of the Roman Catholics was received without a dissentient voice; and a bill conformable thereto was brought into and passed through both houses. The test or oath to be taken by the Catholics was conceived in the strongest terms. They were to swear allegiance to the king's person and family, and to abjure especially the pretensions to the crown assumed by the person called Charles III. They were to declare their disbelief and detestation of the doctrines, that it is lawful to put individuals to death on pretence of their being heretics; that no faith is to be kept with heretics; that princes excommunicated by the pope and council, or by the see of Rome, or any other authority, may be deposed or murder-

ed by their subjects or by any others; and that the pope of Rome, or any other foreign prelate or sovereign, is entitled to any temporal or civil jurisdiction or pre-eminence, either directly or indirectly, in this kingdom.

The favor shown to the Roman Catholics in England encouraged those of the same persuasion in Scotland to hope for a similar relief; and several Scottish gentlemen of high rank and character, who had seats in the house, not only expressed their warmest wishes for the extension of the indulgence to their own country, but declared their intention to bring in a bill for the purpose the ensuing session. The design was approved of by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; and a petition on behalf of the Roman Catholics in Scotland was in consequence prepared. But these favorable prospects were for a time obscured by a dense cloud of religious fanaticism, looming large and high in the political horizon. The opposition was at first chiefly conducted by persons at Edinburgh, who assumed the title of The Committee for the Protestant Interest, and under that denomination carried on a correspondence with all those who coincided in their opinions, being in fact a very large proportion of the common people in Scotland. This committee, from its residence in the capital of the kingdom, was naturally supposed to consist of persons of weight and influence; and hence it in a manner directed the motions of all the others. They exerted themselves so effectually, indeed, that the principal gentlemen of the Catholic persuasion thought it requisite to convey to the ministry an intimation of their desire to desist for the present from applying for an indulgence similar to that which had been extended to their fellow-subjects of the same communion in England. But matters had now gone too far to be conciliated by any concessions.

On the 2d of February, 1779, the populace met according to appointment, in order to carry into execution the various projects which they had in contemplation. They



began by an attack upon the house inhabited by the Roman Catholic bishop, and others of his persuasion, which they committed to the flames, together with the place of worship adjoining to it; and having in the same manner destroyed another house, which also contained a chapel, they proceeded to vent their resentment on several individuals of the same persuasion by burning their effects. The next objects of their vengeance were those who had patronized the Roman Catholics. They beset the houses of Dr. Robertson and Mr. Crosby; but the friends of these eminent persons, on hearing of the intentions of the rioters, came to their assistance in such numbers, and so well prepared to repel force by force, that the populace did not dare to commit the violence they had premeditated. This spirited conduct, which was followed by the adoption of the necessary precautions against their malevolent designs, put an end to the attempts of a mob at Edinburgh. But the spirit of dissatisfaction on account of the intended indulgence remained in full force; and the ministry being held out as harboring a secret determination to undermine the Protestant religion, and to introduce popery, were in consequence loaded with the most outrageous invectives.

Matters, however, did not stop here. The same ungovernable spirit was soon communicated to a part of the English nation; the cry against popery became daily louder among the inferior classes; and that inveteracy which time appeared to have mitigated began to revive in as powerful a degree as if the nation were actually under the impending horrors of persecution.

Hence a society was formed in London, under the designation of the Protestant Association, and Lord George Gordon, who had rendered himself conspicuous in Scotland by his opposition to the repeal, was elected its president; and this body now prepared to act in a decisive manner against the resolutions of the legislature.

On the 29th of May, 1780, the members of the association held a meeting in order to

settle as to the manner in which they should present a petition to the House of Commons against the repeal of the penal statutes; and on this occasion a long speech was delivered by the president, who represented the Roman persuasion as gaining ground rapidly in the country, and affirmed that the only method of stopping its progress, was to go up with a spirited remonstrance to their representatives and to tell them in plain and resolute terms that they were determined to maintain their religious freedom against all enemies, and at whatever sacrifice. This harangue being received with the loudest applause, Lord George next moved that the whole body of the association should meet on the second day of June, in St. George's Fields, at ten in the morning, to accompany him to the House of Commons for the presentation of the petition; which was also assented to unanimously. Lord George then informed the meeting, that if he found himself attended by fewer than twenty thousand persons he would not present the petition. Three days previous to the presentation of the petition, he gave notice of it in the ordinary form to the house, and stated the manner in which it was to be presented; but this was received with as much indifference and unconcern as all his former intimations.

On the second day of June, according to appointment, about fifty or sixty thousand persons assembled in St. George's Fields; and drawing up in four divisions, as had been arranged, proceeded to the parliament house with Lord George Gordon at their head. An immense roll of parchment was carried before them, containing the names of those who had signed the petition. On their way to the house they behaved with propriety and decency; but immediately on their arrival disturbances commenced. The rioters began by compelling all the members of both houses whom they met to put blue cockades in their hats, and call out "No Popery;" they forced some to take an oath that they would vote for the repeal of the popery act as they styled it; and they treated others with great indig-

nity, posting themselves in all the avenues to both houses, the doors of which they twice endeavored to break open. But their rage was chiefly directed against the members of the House of Lords, several of whom narrowly escaped being murdered.

During these disturbances Lord George Gordon moved for leave to bring up the petition, which was readily granted; but when he moved that it should be taken into immediate consideration, his proposal was strenuously opposed by almost the whole house. Enraged at this opposition, he came out several times to the people during the debate, acquainting them how averse the house appeared to grant the petition, and naming particularly those who had spoken against it. Several members of the house expostulated with him in the warmest terms on the unjustifiableness of his conduct; and one of his relations, Colonel Gordon, threatened to run him through the moment any of the rioters should force their entrance into the house. It was some hours before the house could carry on its deliberations with any regularity, which was not done till the members were relieved by the arrival of a party of the guards. As soon as order had been restored, the business of the petition was resumed, when Lord George Gordon told the house that it had been signed by nearly a hundred and twenty thousand British Protestant subjects, and he therefore insisted that the petition should be considered without delay. But notwithstanding the dangers with which they were menaced, and the proof which the mover of the petition had given that no means would be left unemployed to compel them to grant it, the Commons continued immovable in their determination, and of two hundred members then present in the house, six only voted for taking the petition into immediate consideration.

In the mean time the mob had dispersed itself into various parts of the metropolis, where they demolished two Roman Catholic chapels belonging to foreign ministers, and openly vented the most terrible menaces

against all persons of that persuasion. On the 4th of June, they assembled in great numbers in the eastern parts of London, and attacked the chapels and houses of the Roman Catholics in that quarter, stripping them of their contents, which they drew into the street, and committed to the flames. They renewed their outrages on the following day, destroying several Romish chapels, and demolished the house of Sir George Saville, in resentment of his having brought into parliament the bill in favor of the Roman Catholics. On the 6th both houses met as usual; but finding that no business could be done, they adjourned to the 19th.

During this and the following days the rioters were absolute masters of the metropolis and its environs. Some of those who had been concerned in the demolition of the chapels belonging to foreign ministers having been seized and sent to Newgate, the mob collected before that prison, and demanded their immediate release; and this being refused, they proceeded to throw into the keeper's house firebrands and all manner of combustibles, which communicating fire to that and other parts of the building, the whole of the immense pile was soon in flames. Amidst this scene of confusion, the prisoners, amounting to about three hundred, were all released, including several who were under sentence of death. In the same manner they set fire to the King's Bench and Fleet prisons, and to a number of houses belonging to Roman Catholics. The terror occasioned by these incendiaries was such that most people hung out of their windows pieces of blue silk, which was the color assumed by the rioters, and chalked on their doors and shutters the words "No Popery," by way of signifying they were friendly to their cause.

The night of the 7th of June concluded these horrors. Not less than thirty-six different conflagrations were counted at the same time. The Bank had been threatened, and was twice assailed; but being well guarded, both attempts failed. In the evening large bodies of troops arrived from all parts,



happily in time to put a stop to the progress of the rioters, and falling upon them wherever they appeared, multitudes were killed and wounded, whilst numbers perished through intoxication. It was not until the afternoon of the 8th, however, that people began to recover from their consternation. During the greater part of the day, the disorders of the preceding night had created so terrible an alarm, that the shops were almost universally shut in every part of London. Nor were the melancholy effects of misguided zeal confined solely to the capital. The outrageous disposition of the populace was preparing to enact the like horrid scenes in other parts of England, and the mob actually rose in Hull, in Bristol and in Bath; but through the timely interposition of the magistracy these places were saved from their fury.

On the subsiding of this violent and unexpected commotion, Lord George Gordon was arrested, and committed close prisoner to the Tower after having undergone a long examination before the principal lords of the council.

Nothing could have happened more opportunely for the ministry than the Protestant riots; for such were the alarm and terror occasioned by them, that the ardor which had been manifested in favor of popular meetings and associations, as they were called, for opposing the measures of government, was in a great degree suppressed. The county meetings were also represented as having a tendency, like the Protestant association, to bring on insurrections and rebellions; many began to consider all popular meetings as extremely dangerous; and among the commercial and moneyed classes, some were so panic-struck by the late riots, that all attention to the principles of the constitution was overruled by their anxiety about the preservation of their property. Had it not been for these events, it is probable that the spirit of opposition which then prevailed in the different counties would have compelled the administration to make some concessions to the people.

We now proceed to notice the operations of the war, which, notwithstanding the powerful confederacy against Great Britain, were rather in her favor than otherwise. The Spaniards had commenced their military operations with the siege of Gibraltar, but with very little success; and the close of the year 1779, and beginning of 1780, were productive of considerable naval advantages to Great Britain. On the 18th of December, 1779, the fleet under the command of Sir Hyde Parker in the West Indies captured nine sail of French merchant ships under the convoy of some ships of war; and two days afterwards he detached Rear-Admiral Rowley in pursuit of three large French ships, which were supposed to form part of M. la Motte-Piquet's squadron returning from Grenada. About the same time several other vessels were taken by the same squadron commanded by Sir Hyde Parker. On the 8th of January, 1780, Sir George Brydges Rodney, who had been intrusted with the command of a fleet, one object of the destination of which was the relief of Gibraltar, fell in with twenty-two sail of Spanish ships, and in a few hours captured the whole fleet. In little more than a week afterwards the same fortunate admiral met with still more signal success. On the 16th of the month he engaged, near Cape St. Vincent, a Spanish fleet, consisting of eleven sail of the line and two frigates, under the command of Don Juan de Langara. The Spaniards made a gallant defence; but four of their largest ships were taken, and carried into Gibraltar. Two other seventy gun ships were also taken; but one of them was driven on shore among the breakers and lost, and the other was likewise driven on shore, but afterwards recovered. Four ships of the line and the two frigates escaped; but two of the former were much damaged in the action, during which one ship, the San Domingo, of seventy guns and six hundred men, was blown up.

When Admiral Rodney had supplied the garrison of Gibraltar with provisions, ammunition, and money, he proceeded on his

voyage to the West Indies; having sent home part of his fleet, with the Spanish prizes, under the command of Rear-Admiral Digby. On the twentieth of March an action was fought in the West Indies, between some French and English men of war, the former under the command of M. de la Motet-Piquet, and the latter, forming part of Sir Peter Parker's squadron, under that of Commodore Cornwallis. The contest was maintained on both sides with great spirit; but the French were at length forced to sheer off, and make the best of their way for Cape François.

Soon after Admiral Rodney had arrived in the West Indies, and assumed the command of his majesty's ships at the Leeward Islands, an action took place between the fleet under his orders and that of the French under the command of Count de Guichen. This occurred on the 17th of April. The action began a little before one, and continued till about a quarter after four in the afternoon. Admiral Rodney was on board the *Sandwich*, a ninety gun ship, which beat three of the French ships out of their line of battle, and entirely broke it. But the *Sandwich* and several other ships were so much crippled that an immediate pursuit was impossible, without compromising the safety of the disabled ships. The victory was accordingly claimed by both sides, but no ship was taken on either, and the French retired to Guadaloupe. On the 15th of May another action took place between the same commanders. But as it did not commence till near seven in the evening, and only a few ships were engaged, nothing decisive took place. The fleets met again on the 19th of the same month, when a third action ensued; but this, like the former, terminated without any material advantage to either side. On this occasion the British lost upwards of two hundred men killed and wounded; while, according to the French accounts, the total loss sustained by the enemy in the three actions, amounted to nearly a thousand killed and wounded.

In the month of June, Admiral Geary, who commanded the grand fleet, took twelve valuable merchant ships bound from Port au-Prince to Bourdeaux and other ports of France; but in the month of July a very unexpected and important capture was made by the Spaniards, which excited considerable alarm in Great Britain. On the 8th of August, Captain Moutray, who had under his command the *Ramillies*, of seventy-four guns, and two frigates, with a fleet of merchantmen bound for the East and West Indies under convoy, had the misfortune to fall in with the combined fleets of France and Spain, which had sailed from Cadiz the preceding day. The *Ramillies* and the two frigates escaped; but the rest were so completely surrounded, that five East Indiamen, and fifty merchant ships bound for the West Indies, were taken. This was one of the most complete naval captures ever made, and proved a heavy stroke to the commerce of Great Britain. The prize, however, great as it was, scarcely compensated the Spaniards for the capture of Fort Omoa, where upwards of three millions of dollars were secured by the victors, and other valuable commodities, including twenty-five quintals of quicksilver, for extracting the precious metals from their ores, and the loss of which consequently rendered the mines useless.

But whilst the British were making the most vigorous efforts, and upon the whole gaining advantages over the powers who opposed them in the field, enemies were raised up throughout all Europe, who, by reason of their acting indirectly, could neither be opposed nor resisted. The power which most decidedly manifested its hostile intentions was Holland; but besides this, a most formidable confederacy, under the title of the Armed Neutrality, was formed, evidently with the design of crushing the power of Great Britain. Of this powerful confederacy the Empress of Russia avowed herself the head; and her resolution was intimated on the 26th of February, 1780, in a declaration addressed to the courts of London, Versailles,



and Madrid. In this paper it was alleged, that her imperial majesty's subjects had often been molested in their navigation, and retarded in their operations, by the ships and privateers of the belligerent powers; but that before adopting any serious measures, and to prevent all new misunderstandings, she thought it just and equitable to expose to the eyes of all Europe the principles which she had adopted as the guides of her conduct.

And these were contained in the following propositions: First, that neutral ships should enjoy a free navigation, even from port to port, and on the coasts of the belligerent powers; secondly, that all effects belonging to the subjects of the belligerent powers should be looked upon as free on board such neutral ships, excepting only such goods as were stipulated contraband; thirdly, that the principles recognized, and the articles enumerated as contraband, in the treaties between Great Britain and Russia in 1734 and 1766, should still be adhered to. Her imperial majesty further proposed, fourthly, that in order to determine what characterizes a port blocked up, that denomination should not be granted, except to places before which there were actually a number of enemy's ships stationed near enough to render its entry dangerous; and, lastly, that these principles should serve as rules in judicial proceedings and in sentences as to the legality of prizes. Her imperial majesty declared, that she was firmly resolved to maintain these principles; that, in order to protect the honor of her flag and the security of the commerce and navigation of her subjects, she had given an order to fit out a considerable naval force; that this measure, however, would have no influence on the strict and rigorous neutrality which she was resolved to observe, as long as she should not be forced to depart from her principles of moderation and impartiality; and that it was only in such an extremity that her fleet would be ordered to act, wherever honor, interest, or necessity, should require. This declaration was also

communicated to the States-General by Prince Galitzin, envoy extraordinary of Russia, who invited them to make common cause with the empress for the protection of commerce and navigation; and similar communications and invitations were made to the courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Lisbon, in order, as was alleged, that the navigation of all the neutral trading nations might be established and legalized, and a system adopted founded upon justice, and calculated to serve as a sort of maritime code for future ages.

The memorial of the Empress of Russia, though proceeding upon principles unfavorable to the views of Great Britain, and incompatible with her maritime superiority, received a civil answer from that court; but other powers, as might have been expected, received it with far greater cordiality. In the answer of France it was observed, that what her imperial majesty claimed from the belligerent powers was nothing more than the rules prescribed to the French navy; the execution of which was maintained with an exactness known and applauded by all Europe. Strong approbation was expressed of the principles and views of her imperial majesty; and it was declared, that from the measures now adopted by Russia, solid advantages would undoubtedly result, not only to her subjects, but also to those of all nations. Sweden and Denmark likewise acceded formally to the armed neutrality proposed by Russia; and the States-General, after an interval of some months, followed their example. It was further resolved by the parties to this armed league, to make common cause at sea against any of the belligerent powers who should violate, with respect to neutral nations, the principles which had been laid down in the memorial of Russia.

But though the British ministry could not openly engage in war with all the other powers of Europe, they singled out the smallest of these, the Dutch, on whom to take vengeance for the rest. Ever since the commencement of hostilities with the Americans,

the Dutch had shown a decided inclination in their favor. Frequent memorials and remonstrances had in consequence passed between the two nations, and the breach gradually grew wider and wider, until at last matters came to extremities, by a discovery that the town of Amsterdam was about to enter into a commercial treaty with America. This came to light in the beginning of September, 1780, by the capture of Mr. Laurens, lately president of the American congress, and who had been empowered by that body to conclude a treaty with Holland. Mr. Laurens himself was instantly committed prisoner to the Tower, and a spirited remonstrance was addressed to the States of Holland, requiring a formal disavowal of the transaction. The States, however, answered evasively, that they would take the matter into consideration according to the forms and usages of the country, and that a reply would be given as soon as the nature of their government would admit.

The British government could not possibly mistake this answer; and accordingly the most vigorous measures were instantly resolved on. On the 25th of January, 1781, it was announced to the House of Commons that his majesty had directed letters of marque and reprisal to be issued against the States-General and their subjects. For the causes and motives of his majesty's conduct in this respect, the house were referred to a public manifesto against that republic, which had been ordered to be laid before Parliament.

But before this resolution could have been communicated officially to the naval commanders in the West Indies, the Dutch were actually attacked. The island of St. Eustatius was, on the 3d of February, 1781, summoned by Admiral Rodney and General Vaughan to surrender to the arms of Great Britain, and only one hour was given for consideration. Submission was inevitable. The island accordingly surrendered; the property found on it was confiscated, and a sale instituted, with circumstances of rapaci-

ty which afterwards became the subject of a discussion in parliament, and drew upon the nation the ill will of all Europe.

By August, 1781, the Dutch had equipped a considerable squadron, the command of which was given to Rear-admiral Zoutman; and on the 5th of that month this squadron fell in with the British fleet commanded by Admiral Hyde Parker. No gun was fired on either side till the fleets were within half musket-shot distance. The action began about eight in the morning, and continued with the utmost fury for three hours and forty minutes. Both sides fought with equal ardor, and little advantage was gained by either. When the action ceased both squadrons lay like logs on the water; but after a time the Dutch ships of war, with their convoy, bore away for the Texel, whilst the English were too much disabled to follow them.

The impossibility of crushing the power of Great Britain by any force they could bring was now beginning to be evident even to her enemies. In Europe, the utmost efforts of France and Spain were able to effect nothing more than the annual parade of a mighty fleet in the Channel; and this called forth the apparition of a British fleet, so formidable that the enemy never durst attack it. The States of Holland had sent out their force; and this too was opposed by one which, if insufficient to conquer, was at least able to prevent their effecting anything detrimental to her possessions. In the East Indies the united powers of the French and Indians had been conquered, and the Dutch settlements had suffered severely.

In the year 1781, however, the British naval power in the West Indies seemed to sink, and some events took place which threatened serious results. This was owing to the great superiority of the combined fleets of France and Spain, by which that of Britain was now so far outnumbered, that it could not achieve anything of consequence. An ineffectual attempt was made by Admiral Rodney on the island of St. Vincent, and an indecisive engagement took place on the 28th of April,



1781, between Admiral Hood and the Count de Grasse. But the damage done to the British ships having obliged them to retire to Barbadoes to refit, the French availed themselves of the opportunity to effect a descent on the island of Tobago; and although the governor made a gallant resistance, he was at last obliged to surrender. Admiral Rodney had sent Rear-admiral Drake with six sail of the line, three frigates, and some troops, to the assistance of the island; but they were dispatched too late, as the island had capitulated before the intended relief could have reached it.

The ill success of Britain in America has already been taken notice of. The disaster of Cornwallis had produced a sincere desire of peace with America; but this could not be accomplished without making peace with France also; and that power was still haughty and elated with success. Minorca had now fallen into the hands of the Spaniards, and they now projected the most important conquests. Nothing less than the entire reduction of the British West India islands was contemplated by the allies; and indeed there was too much reason to suppose that this object was within their reach. In the beginning of the year 1782, the islands of Nevis and St. Christopher were obliged to surrender to Count de Grasse; the French admiral, and the Marquis de Bouillé, who had already signalized himself by several exploits; and Jamaica was marked out as the next victim. But the end of all these aspiring hopes was fast approaching. The advantages hitherto gained by the French in their naval engagements with the British fleet had proceeded entirely from their keeping at a great distance during the time of action, and from their good fortune and dexterity in gaining the wind. At last the French admiral, De Grasse, prompted by his natural courage, or induced by circumstances, determined, after an indecisive action on the 9th of April, 1782, to risk a close engagement with his formidable antagonist, Admiral Rodney. The action was brought

on by the Count shortening sail to prevent the loss of a disabled ship, by parting with which he might have avoided the disaster that followed. This memorable engagement took place off the island of Dominica, three days after the former. The British fleet consisted of thirty-seven ships of the line, and the French of thirty-four. The engagement commenced at seven o'clock in the morning, and continued with unremitting fury till half-past six in the evening. It is said that no other signal was made by the admiral but the general one for action, and that for close combat. Sir George Rodney was on board the *Formidable*, a ship of ninety guns; and the Count de Grasse was on board the *Ville de Paris*, a ship of a hundred and ten guns, which had been presented to the French king by the city of Paris. In the course of the action, the *Formidable* fired nearly eighty broadsides; and for three hours the admiral's ship was involved in so thick a cloud of smoke that it was almost invisible to the officers and men of the rest of the fleet. The van division of the British fleet was commanded by Sir Samuel Hood, and the rear division by Rear-admiral Drake; and both these officers greatly distinguished themselves in the course of the action. But the decisive turn on this memorable day was given by a bold manœuvre of the *Formidable*, which, taking advantage of a favorable shift in the wind, passed through the French line, and threw them into irretrievable confusion. The first French ship that struck was the *Cæsar*, of seventy-four guns, the captain of which fought nobly, and fell in the action. When she struck she had scarcely a foot of canvass without a shot hole. Unfortunately, soon after she was taken possession of, she took fire by accident, and blew up, when about two hundred Frenchmen perished in her, together with an English lieutenant and ten English seamen. The *Glorieux* and the *Hector*, both seventy-four gun ships, were also taken by the British fleet; together with the *Ardent* of sixty-four guns; and a French seventy-four gun ship was also sunk in the

engagement. It was almost dark when the *Ville de Paris*, on board of which the Count de Grasse had fought gallantly, struck her colors. Five thousand five hundred troops were on board the French fleet, and the havoc among them was very great, as well as among the French seamen. The British lost in killed and wounded about a thousand men. It was universally allowed that in this engagement the French, notwithstanding their defeat, behaved with the greatest valor. De Grasse himself did not surrender till four hundred of his people were killed, and only the admiral and two others remained without a wound.

Though the designs of the French against Jamaica were now effectually frustrated, the victory was not followed by those beneficial results which many had expected from it, and none of the British islands which had been taken by the French in the West Indies were afterwards recaptured.

In the beginning of May an expedition was undertaken to the remote and inhospitable regions of Hudson's Bay; and though no force existed there capable of making any resistance, a seventy-four gun ship and two thirty-six gun frigates were employed in the service. All the people in that part of the world either fled or surrendered at the first summons. The loss of the Hudson's Bay Company, on this occasion, amounted to £500,000; but the humanity of the French commander was conspicuous, in leaving a sufficient quantity of provisions and stores of all kinds for the use of the British who had fled at his approach. Another expedition was undertaken by the Spaniards to the Bahama Islands, where an equally easy conquest was obtained. The island of Providence, defended only by three hundred and sixty men, could make no resistance when attacked by five thousand. An honorable capitulation was granted by the victors, who likewise treated the garrison with kindness. Some settlements on the Mosquito shore were also taken by the Spaniards; but the Baymen, assisted by their negroes, bravely re-

took some of them; and having formed a little army of the Indians in those parts, headed by Colonel Despard, they attacked and carried the posts on the Black River, making prisoners of about eight hundred Spanish troops. The greatest disaster which befell this power, however, was their failure before Gibraltar, which happened in the month of September, 1782, and was accompanied with such circumstances of horror and destruction as evinced the absurdity of persisting in the enterprise. Thus all parties felt that it was high time to put an end to the contest. The affair of Cornwallis had shown that it was impossible for Britain to conquer America; the defeat of De Grasse had rendered the reduction of the British possessions in the West Indies impracticable by the French; the final repulse before Gibraltar, and its relief afterwards by the British fleet, put an end to that favorite enterprise, in which almost the whole strength of Spain had been employed; and the engagement of the Dutch with Admiral Parker showed them that nothing could be gained by a naval war with Britain.

Negotiations for a general peace commenced at Paris, under the auspices of Austria and Russia; and the basis of it being arranged, it was speedily ratified. Great Britain restored the island of St. Lucia to France; also the settlements on the Senegal, and the city of Pondicherry, in the East Indies; while France gave up all her West India conquests, with the exception of Tobago. Spain retained Minorca and West Florida, East Florida being also ceded in exchange for the Bahamas. And between England and Holland a suspension of hostilities was agreed to in the first place; but in the sequel it was stipulated that there should be a general restitution of all places taken during the war, excepting the town of Negapatam, with its dependencies, which should be ceded to Great Britain.

In the treaty with America, the King of Great Britain acknowledged the thirteen United States to be "free, sovereign, and in



dependent," relinquishing for himself, his heirs, and successors, all right and claim to the same. To prevent all disputes in future on the subject of boundaries between these states and the adjoining provinces, lines were minutely drawn; the right of navigation on the Mississippi was declared common to the two powers; and no confiscations or persecutions of the loyalists were to take place.

A new administration was now formed, in which Mr. Pitt was appointed first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. It being, however, impossible to carry on public business while the coalition party had a majority in the House of Commons, a dissolution of parliament became unavoidable. The elections turned out favorably for the new ministers, and when the parliament assembled, his majesty met the representatives of the people with evident satisfaction. He directed their attention to the affairs of the East India Company, advising them at the same time to reject all such measures as might affect the constitution at home. Mr. Pitt had strenuously opposed Mr. Fox's India bill; and now finding himself ably supported, framed a new one for the government of India, which transferred to the crown the influence which Mr. Fox had designed to intrust to parliamentary commissioners, but leaving the whole management of commercial affairs with the Court of Directors.

The year 1785 furnishes little matter for the historian, except the contentions between the rival politicians. A very important effort at legislation was made by Mr. Pitt, which consisted of an attempt to establish a system of commercial union between Great Britain and Ireland. It passed both houses; but, in the meantime, a great part of the Irish parliament became dissatisfied with its details; the consequence of which was, that the administration did not press its adoption.

On the 2nd of August, 1786, as the king was alighting from his carriage, a woman approached him under pretence of offering a petition, and attempted to stab him with a knife she had concealed. His majesty avoid-

ed the blow by drawing back, when she made another thrust at him, but was prevented from effecting her purpose by a yeoman of the guards who seized her at the instant. On being examined before the privy council, it appeared that she was a lunatic; her name Margaret Nicholson.

Nothing at this period excited equal interest to the trial of Mr. Hastings, the governor of Bengal, who had returned to England possessed, as it was asserted, of inordinate wealth obtained by unfair means. The trial was conducted by Mr. Burke, who exhibited twenty-two articles of impeachment against him. On the part of the prosecution Mr. Sheridan appeared vindictively eloquent. He said, "the administration of Mr. Hastings formed a medley of meanness and outrage, of duplicity and depredation, of prodigality and oppression, of the most callous cruelty, contrasted with the hollow affectation of liberality and good faith." Mr. Hastings, in his defence, declared, "that he had the satisfaction to see all his measures terminate in their designed objects; that his political conduct was invariably regulated by truth, justice, and good faith; and that he resigned his charge in a state of established peace and security; with all the sources of its abundance unimpaired, and even improved." The trial lasted seven years, and ended in the acquittal of Mr. Hastings, at least of all intentional error; but his fortune and his health were ruined by this protracted prosecution.

The debts of the Prince of Wales engrossed much of the public attention at this period. His expensive habits and munificent disposition had brought his affairs into a very embarrassed state; and the subject having undergone parliamentary discussion, an addition of £10,000 was made to his former income of £50,000, and the sum of £181,000 was granted by parliament for the payment of his debts.

An event occurred about this time in Holland which threatened the tranquillity of Europe. Ever since the acknowl-

edgement of the independence of the United Provinces, two powerful parties had been continually struggling for the superiority; one was the house of Orange, which had been raised to power by their great services to the state, both against the tyranny of Spain and the efforts of France; the other was the aristocratical party, which consisted of the most wealthy individuals in the country. This party was secretly favored by France, and was denominated the "party of the states" or "the republican party." The Prince of Orange being at length compelled to leave the Hague, he applied for protection to England and Prussia, who lent their aid, and the stadtholder was reinstated.

It was during this session that the attention of parliament was first engaged in attempting the abolition of the slave trade. This inhuman traffic, so abhorrent in its nature to all principles of humanity, seems to have been carried out by Great Britain and other nations for a length of time without having attracted the notice of the public. It was first pointed out by the quakers in the independent provinces of South America, who in many instances had emancipated their slaves. A number of pamphlets were published on the subject; several eminent divines of the established church recommended it in their discourses and writings; the two universities, and after them, the whole nation, presented petitions praying for the interference of parliament to forward the humane design of African emancipation. Mr. Wilberforce brought the subject before parliament; but as many circumstances arose to retard the consideration of it, a resolution was carried to defer it to a future opportunity.

Towards the close of the year the nation was thrown into great dismay by the fact that the king was suffering so severely under a mental malady, that on the 4th of November it was necessary to consult the most eminent physicians, and to assemble the principal officers of state. His majesty's disorder not abating, but the contrary appearing from

the examination of the physicians before the privy-council, the house twice adjourned; but hearing on their reassembling the second time that there was a great prospect of his majesty's recovery, though the time was uncertain, both houses turned their thoughts to the establishment of a regent during his majesty's incapacity. The right of the Prince of Wales to this office was asserted by Mr. Fox, and denied by Mr. Pitt, who affirmed, that for any man to assert such a right in the Prince of Wales was little less than treason to the constitution. After violent altercations, a modified regency was carried in favor of the prince; the queen to have the custody of the royal person, and the appointment to places in the household. For the present, however, these arrangements were not needed, for the health of the king was rapidly improving; and on the 10th of March his majesty sent a message to Parliament, to acquaint them of his recovery, and of his ability to attend to the public business of the kingdom.

Passing over the parliamentary debates, and a few events of minor interest, we come to the momentous epoch of the French revolution, when scenes of unparalleled interest were about to be exhibited in Europe. When, by an abuse of that policy which had once produced a vigilant attention to the balance of power, Russia and Austria had formed the project of extending their dominions, and when Prussia, probably nothing loth, found it expedient to concur in their policy, it became evident that the situation of Europe must speedily undergo great changes; whilst the French revolution, which had reduced that once powerful monarchy to a state of complete debility, seemed to afford an opportunity for the extension of the system of spoliation, by enabling the great powers to regard its ample territories as a further subject of partition. In another point of view, however, this revolution had now begun to be an object of no small alarm. The distinguished place which France had held among the nations of Europe rendered



the late change of the government an object of universal attention ; and there was a danger that it might come to be regarded as an object of imitation. The public discussions which took place in her national assemblies, and in printed publications, were conveyed, through the medium of a language universally understood, to the most obscure corners of Europe ; and kings, nobles, and priests, became apprehensive that the contagion of innovation might not be confined to the country in which it had originated. Hence a general wish prevailed among the ruling classes that an effort should be made, before it was too late, to overwhelm the country from which so much danger to established governments was anticipated. Nor was this alarm altogether groundless. Men had almost everywhere outgrown their institutions ; and whilst the former had been rapidly advancing, the latter remained stationary. The diffusion of wealth and of knowledge had created new interests, and led to the formation of new opinions ; whilst a new class, formerly considered by rulers as of little or no importance whatever, except as subjects of taxation or instruments of ambition, was gradually and steadily rising into importance. The power of the nobility was rapidly passing away. The establishment of standing armies rendered them of little importance in war ; and their wealth, as the great landholders of Europe, was daily more and more eclipsed by the opulence of the industrious classes ; while, though titles of honor still remained, the estimation in which they were held was from various causes much diminished. But prodigious abuses remained. The privileges of the nobles and of the clergy rendered taxation unequal ; and commerce was embarrassed by restrictive laws and the privileges of old incorporations. There was therefore much to be reformed among the continental states of Europe, and the desire to obtain this reform was daily increasing.

In France, though the house of Bourbon had supported the Roman Catholic religion, yet, upon the whole, they were of a much more

liberal spirit than any other royal family in Europe, and had given greater encouragement to letters, and to every kind of improvement. It is not wonderful, therefore, that the desire of improving the condition of mankind, and simplifying the arrangements of society, which had been so successfully pursued in other countries, should have become extremely prevalent in France. Unfortunately, however, though the character of the reigning monarch, led him to encourage such projects, yet his undecided and inactive spirit, together with the embarrassed state of the finances, prevented him from taking the lead in these changes, or from repressing them when inordinately pursued by others. Meanwhile the example of prosperity enjoyed under the free constitution of Great Britain, and the pride of having recently contributed to the establishment of a republican government in North America, fixed the character of any changes of a political nature, which at this period originated in France, whether among men of letters, the army, or the people at large. But in forming a political constitution, the vanity of the French, which induced them to avoid the appearance of servile imitation, had unhappily led them to differ in one most essential point from the British constitution. Their legislature consisted only of a king and a single house of representatives ; whereas in Britain, by means of an intermediate estate, that of the peerage, naturally jealous of popular innovation, laws injurious to the royal prerogative were prevented from being enacted without the king being involved in dispute with the Commons. But in France the king himself was under the necessity, in such cases, of preventing the passing of the law, by personally interposing a negative ; that is, he was placed in the unpopular and absurd situation of opposing his single judgment to the united will of a nation, and that too in perilous and critical times, when he could not fail to be suspected of disliking a constitution by which his power was taken away. Still, however, the representative government

of Britain had been the model on which the French proceeded; and there is no doubt that they expected, during any contest in which they might be involved with the powers of the Continent, that they would enjoy, if not the support, at least the neutrality and favorable countenance of the British nation. But, on the other hand, the passion for innovation which seized the French nation, had in many instances proceeded to extravagant lengths; and there was reason to anticipate, on the part of the court of London, some alarm lest this passion might communicate itself in an inconvenient degree to Britain, where, though political abuses were less flagrant, and the passion would consequently find less food for its exertion, enough might yet exist to kindle disturbances and produce anxiety.

The eyes of all Europe were now turned towards France; and the combination which the continental monarchs were known to have formed against that country was expected speedily to issue in action. The King of Sweden, who was fond of war, having now settled all disputes with Russia, offered to lead in person the armies of the combined powers, to destroy in France those new institutions and opinions which threatened to subvert the whole ancient system of public order in Europe. But continuing at variance with his nobility, he was assassinated at a masquerade on the 16th of March, by an enthusiast of the name of Ankerström, who boasted, on being seized, that he had liberated his country from a tyrant. In the meanwhile Leopold, Emperor of Germany, had also died, and been succeeded by his son Francis II. Leopold had chosen to temporize with France; but his successor thought it unnecessary to observe any measures of caution with that country. On some remonstrances being made by the French government against his permitting troops to assemble on the frontiers, he avowed the concert of princes against the constitution of France, and stated it to be one of the conditions necessary to the preservation of peace, that the neighboring powers

should have no reason for the apprehensions which arose from the present weakness of the internal government of France. This acknowledged intention produced a proposal on the part of the French king to the national assembly, which was readily acceded to, for declaring war against the King of Hungary and Bohemia; and in a short time war was in like manner declared against Prussia and Sardinia.

The details of these early campaigns having already been given in the History of France, we here confine ourselves to the part which England took in the war.

After the French king had been dethroned, Earl Gower, the British ambassador, was recalled; but the French ambassador, M. Chauvelin, still continued to reside in London. On the 15th of December, Mr. Fox moved that a minister should be sent to Paris to treat with the provisional executive government of France; declaring, that by this motion he meant not to approve of the conduct of the French government, but simply to record it as his opinion, that it was the true policy of every nation to treat with the existing government of every other nation with which it had relative interests, without regarding how that government was constituted. This motion gave rise to a very animated debate, in which the opposition were accused of desiring to encourage discontent and sedition, and were defended by Mr. Taylor, Mr. Grey, and Colonel Tarleton. But Mr. Fox's motion was last.

On the 19th of December Lord Grenville introduced into the House of Lords what has been called the Alien Bill, authorizing government to dismiss from the kingdom such foreigners as they might think fit, and which passed after some opposition from the Earl of Lauderdale and the Marquis of Lansdown.

Affairs were now fast hastening to an open rupture with France. On the 17th of December M. Chauvelin transmitted a note to Lord Grenville, one of the secretaries of state, in which, in the name of the executive council of the French Republic, he demanded to



know whether his Britannic majesty was to be considered as a neutral or hostile power.

Lord Grenville's answer to this note, which bears date 31st December, 1792, disclaimed considering M. Chauvelin in any other public character than that of minister from his most Christian majesty. It affirmed that the neutrality of Holland had already been violated; and that the unimportance of the Scheldt would only render the opening of its navigation a clearer proof of the existence of an intention to insult the allies of England by violating their rights, which were guarded by the faith of treaties.

An official note from the executive power of France was transmitted through M. Chauvelin in reply to Lord Grenville's answer, in which another effort was made to explain the obnoxious decree of the 19th of November. In this document all intention of effecting a conquest of the Netherlands was disclaimed; and it was added, that if the Belgians, from any motive whatever, consented to deprive themselves of the navigation of the Scheldt, France would not oppose it. In an answer to this note by Lord Grenville, these explanations were declared to be unsatisfactory. On the 17th of January, M. Chauvelin sent to Lord Grenville his credentials as ambassador from the French Republic; but on the 20th of the same month Lord Grenville sent him a letter refusing to receive his credentials, or to consider him in any other character than as one of the mass of foreigners resident in England; and on the 24th his lordship sent M. Chauvelin a passport for himself and his suit, declaring that, after the fatal death of his most Christian majesty, he could no longer be considered as holding any public character in Britain.

In consequence of this correspondence the French convention declared war against England and Holland on the first of February. And thus Britan became a party in the most sanguinary and eventful war that ever desolated Europe or afflicted humanity. In the month of April the French government made another attempt to enter into negotiations;

and the minister, Le Brun, transmitted to England by a private gentleman letters to Lord Grenville, in which he requested passports for M. Maret to repair to Britain in order to negotiate peace; but no public notice whatever was taken of the application.

To promote the success of the war, a convention had been concluded in the spring between the English court and that of St. Petersburg, stipulating for the prosecution of hostilities till the French relinquished all their conquests. A treaty was soon afterwards entered into with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, for a subsidiary body of eight thousand men, which, by a subsequent agreement, was extended to twelve thousand; and the King of Sardinia engaged, for £200,000 per annum, to keep up an army of fifty thousand men, to be employed in the particular defence of his dominions, and in general service against the enemy. Compacts of alliance were also adjusted with Spain, Naples, Prussia, Austria, and Portugal; and besides the stipulation of vigorous hostilities, it was agreed that the conduct of other powers should be watched with extraordinary circumspection, lest they should abuse their professed neutrality by protecting the commerce or property of the French.

On the part of Britain the general plan of the war does not seem to have been well contrived or properly carried into effect. A great part of the western coast of France was in full possession of the royalists, whilst the British navy at the same time commanded the ocean. It would therefore have been comparatively an easy enterprise to land an army on the French coast for the assistance of the royalists, and to advance through an open country, destitute of fortified towns, to the capital, and against a convention whose authority was scarcely acknowledged by a third part of the nation. Instead of this, the combined armies were directed against the French Netherlands, where they wasted the summer, as well as their own strength, in the siege of a few of the fortresses which defended that frontier; and thus the attack upon

France was made upon its strongest side, at a distance from the centre of its power, and where the means of protracted resistance were greatest; whilst leisure was afforded to the convention to establish its authority, to call out immense levies for the defence of the country, and before the close of the year to turn the tide of success in its favor. Toulon which had been surrendered by the royalists was taken under the masterly direction of Bonaparte, who then first appeared on the revolutionary stage; and the Spaniards were beaten in the south; whilst, on the northern frontier, the British army was repulsed before Dunkirk, and the commander-in-chief of the allies, the Prince of Cobourg, before Maubeuge. The Duke of Brunswick and General Wurmser were also driven across the Upper Rhine near Metz, in the last two weeks of the year, after a succession of sanguinary conflicts, in which the French, by daily bringing forward fresh troops, at last succeeded with their raw levies in wearing down the strength and courage of their veteran enemies.

During the war of which we are now treating, Mr. Pitt's administration derived incredible strength from these two sources of terror; the fear of invasion, and the dread of conspiracy by disaffected persons. Nor did he want skill to profit by them. At the commencement of the war it had been believed by most persons, and perhaps by government, that it would be of short duration, the state of anarchy which succeeded the overthrow of the monarchy in France seeming to render that country an easy prey to the powerful armies by which it was invaded; and when any doubt of success was expressed, it was answered, that after making trial of the war for a year, we might desist in case we were unsuccessful. But although the original state of affairs had been considerably altered by the successes of the French, yet the British government still resolved to persist in the war, which, however, was now daily becoming less popular. On the other hand, the French leaders were greatly irritated by the persevering hostilities of the

British ministry, and in the pride of victory menaced England with invasion. It is evident that they had still too much business upon their hands on the Continent to be able to make the slightest attempt to carry their threats into execution; but the British administration, taking advantage of the threat, expressed their fears that it might be successful; and proposed the arming of associations of volunteers, both cavalry and infantry, throughout the island, for the defence of the nation against foreign invasion, and the efforts of disaffected persons at home. They also encouraged the raising of subscriptions to defray the expenses of these armed associations; and although the measure was disapproved by the minority in parliament, as an unconstitutional mode of raising money, it was supported by the majority. An act was passed authorizing the embodying and training of volunteers, and the measure was carried to a considerable extent throughout the country. In like manner, though the political ferment occasioned by the French revolution had now considerably subsided, the administration, aware of the strength derived from keeping the country in a state of anxiety upon political subjects, announced to parliament, by a royal message, that seditious practices had been carried on by certain societies of London, with a view to overturn the constitution, and introduce the system of anarchy which prevailed in France; and that their papers had been seized, and were submitted to the consideration of the house.

In the early part of his administration, Mr. Pitt had endeavored to rest his reputation, in a considerable degree, upon the improvement of the finances, and the hope which he held out paying off the national debt. He now deserted all such views; and taking advantage of the uncontrolled power he possessed at home, and the pitability of parliament, he engaged in a career of unexampled expenditure, in corrupting successive parties in France, or in the management of the war.

From its first rise to eminence as a European power, Prussia considered France as its



protector against the ambition of Austria. During the present year, notwithstanding the resistance of a party in Poland, headed by the brave Kosciusko, that country was partitioned, and Prussia obtained an ample share of its territory. But the partition of France was an object from which Prussia had every thing to fear, as it would destroy the only power by which Austria, the inveterate enemy of Prussia, had at all times been kept in awe. When the Prussian monarch found it necessary, in conjunction with his allies, to invade France in 1792, he retired upon the first appearance of a tolerably firm opposition, and gave the republic a respite of another winter, during which to arrange its strength, and call into action its resources. In the year 1793, the Prussians remained extremely inactive till towards the close of the campaign, when at last, in consequence of repeated remonstrances from the allies, they advanced against Alsace; but being there repulsed, and the republic beginning to exhibit on all sides a firm military front, the King of Prussia declared that the expenses of the war were more than his finances could sustain, and required the other German states to supply him with money, threatening in case of refusal to abandon the common cause; and on their declining to comply with his demands, he actually began to withdraw his troops. But by this time the British ministry had engaged in the war with a degree of eagerness which induced them to make every sacrifice to obtain success; and therefore, to avoid losing the assistance of Prussia, they offered a subsidy, which was finally adjusted, upon the condition that his Prussian majesty was to furnish sixty-two thousand troops, or thirty thousand beyond his contingent; for which his Britannic majesty was to pay him £50,000 a month, £100,000 a month for forage, £400,000 to put the army in motion, and £100,000 on their return, and in all, for the remaining nine months of the year, £1,350,000.

All Europe looked forward with great anxiety to the approaching campaign as decisive of the contest; in which its whole

powers, excepting Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, were actively engaged. At sea, where her strength could be more effectually exerted, Great Britain was eminently successful. An expedition under Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis was sent to the West Indies, where Martinique, St. Lucie, and other islands, were taken. In the Mediterranean the French were driven from the island of Corsica, and the inhabitants acknowledged the king of Great Britain as their sovereign. But the most signal victory was that gained by Lord Howe over the French fleet on the first of June, near Brest. During the first year of the revolution France had suffered much distress from a scarcity of grain; and such was the inveteracy with which the present war was conducted, that the British government had formed a plan of subduing that nation by famine, by preventing their obtaining supplies of provisions from any foreign country. In their distress the French rulers had applied for assistance to the United States of America, which still owed a considerable debt to France, contracted during the war by which their own revolution had been accomplished; and they now offered to accept payment of this debt in corn, a commodity abounding in America. The Americans, accordingly, delivered the grain in their own ports, and a hundred and sixty sail of vessels laden with grain set out for France. As soon as this became known, Lord Howe was dispatched, in order, if possible, to intercept this valuable convoy; while the French Admiral, Villaret-Joyeuse, sailed from Brest to hazard an engagement with the British fleet, for the sake of preserving the convoy. The force of the hostile fleets was nearly equal, the British having twenty-six, and the French twenty-five sail of the line; but the French line was broken, and, after an obstinate engagement, six of their ships were taken, and two sunk. Before the battle, however, the French admiral had detached a considerable force for the protection of the convoy, which was thus enabled with safety to reach its destined port.

This victory produced very great exultation in Britain; and the fear of invasion which had been previously excited was abated by so decided a proof of naval superiority.

On the part of the French, however, these colonial and naval losses were greatly overbalanced by the general result of the campaign. The allies still concentrated their principal force against the Netherlands, and with that view, at the commencement of the campaign besieged and took Landrecies; but the fortune of the war was speedily changed. General Pichegru advanced into maritime Flanders, and in a variety of engagements defeated Count Clairfayt, an Austrian general of great activity, who ruined his army by incessant and sanguinary efforts to drive back a superior enemy. An attempt made by the grand army to cut off the retreat of Pichegru proved unsuccessful; and the latter having in turn manœuvred to intercept the communication of the imperialists with their magazines at Ghent, was in like manner repulsed; but the obstinate conflict which he maintained, and the steady fire of his troops, during a succession of conflicts, which lasted from daybreak till sunset, convinced the allied armies that the invasion of France had become a hopeless project. At last the French advanced, under General Jourdan, from the eastward, and at Fleurus gained a victory which cost the Austrians nearly fifteen thousand of their best troops. Mutual disgust, as well as discouragement, now prevailed among the allies. The Austrians retreated, leaving the Duke of York at the head of the British and Hanoverian forces in considerable peril; but, with the assistance of the Earl of Moira, his royal highness made good his retreat. This nobleman, who had distinguished himself in the American war, was opposed to the present war, which he had reprobated in his place in parliament. But having nevertheless been sent by the administration with a feeble armament to assist the royalists on the western coast of France, and finding himself too weak to effect any thing of importance in that

quarter, he had brought back his troops; and was afterwards sent with them to defend Ostend, where, learning the difficult nature of the Duke of York's situation, and perceiving that Ostend could not long be protected after the rest of Flanders had been deserted, he marched across the country, and in the face of much danger, and under great hardships, effected a junction with the principal British army, to which this reinforcement afforded seasonable aid.

The French were no less successful on the Upper Rhine, and on the frontiers of Italy and of Spain. At the end of the campaign, an intense frost having set in, they reinforced their armies, and Pichegru invaded Holland. After a variety of engagements the British and Hanoverians, together with some Austrian auxiliaries, whom Britain had subsidized, were repulsed, and found it necessary to abandon Holland to its fate. Many Dutch families sought refuge in Britain. When Utrecht had submitted to the enemy, the stadtholder, knowing that Amsterdam would not be defended, left his country, and escaped in a fishing-boat to England, where he and his family became immediate objects of royal liberality, and were treated with the respect due to their rank and misfortunes. The Dutch, who had viewed the English with a very unfriendly eye since the revolution of 1787, appeared to be highly pleased with this change in their affairs. They had treated the British soldiers with great illiberality, and refused to alleviate by kindness or compassion the sufferings of the wounded, or the distress of the fugitives, who at length effected their retreat to Bremen, after a long and severe trial of their patience and fortitude. The United Provinces were now revolutionized on the French model. Liberty, equality, and the rights of man, were proclaimed; representatives of the people were chosen; and the regenerated state was named the Batavian Republic. But the pretended friends of the Hollanders, in rescuing them from what they termed a disgraceful yoke, did not allow them real freedom or independence.



The result of these successes was, that the King of Prussia perceiving France restored to more than her ancient energy, and capable of humbling his enemy, and her ancient rival, the house of Austria, deserted the coalition, refused to accept of any further subsidy from Britain, and took under his protection, as neutral states, the whole princes of the north-west of Germany; thus becoming the ostensible head and guardian of a large division of the empire, which was enabled to recover its tranquillity, and to become a calm spectator of the prolonged contest, which the rest of the empire under Austria continued to carry on against France. Spain was also under the necessity of imitating the example of Prussia, though upon less favorable terms, being constrained to relinquish, as the price of peace, her half of the island of St. Domingo; and the Duke of Tuscany also deserted a contest in which he had reluctantly engaged.

In the year 1795, a treaty of marriage was concluded between the Prince of Wales, and the Princess Caroline of Brunswick.

The incidents of the war during the year 1795 were less memorable than those of the preceding years. Lord Bridport, with an inferior force, attacked a French fleet near Port l'Orient, and took three of their ships. Vice-Admiral Hotham pursued to the Genoese coast a fleet which had sailed from Toulon to attempt the recovery of Corsica, and had captured one of his detached ships; and having brought the enemy to a partial engagement, he took two sail of the line; but he afterwards lost one of his own ships in consequence of damage sustained in the conflict. On the western coast of France, the enemy, with thirteen sail of the line and fourteen frigates, avoided coming to an engagement with Vice-Admiral Cornwallis, who had only eight ships including frigates. These events occurred early in summer. But notwithstanding the vigilance of the British navy, the French captured, in the month of July, thirty sail of a valuable convoy return-

ing from the Mediterranean, and also made prize of part of a Jamaica fleet.

As the Dutch, though nominally the allies of the French, had in fact, become subject to them, letters of marque were issued against them by Great Britain, and directions given to seize their colonial territories, under the professed intention, however, of restoring them when the stadtholder's government should be re-established. The Cape of Good Hope was taken, together with Trincomalee and the other Asiatic settlements of the Dutch, excepting only Batavia. Their territories in the West Indies were not attacked during the present year, on account of the difficulties which the British experienced in that quarter in keeping in subjection the islands captured from the French, where various insurrections were incited by their ancient masters. Jamaica was also kept in a state of great alarm by a small tribe of independent negroes, called Maroons, who had long existed in the mountainous parts of the island. These people, having quarreled with the white inhabitants, committed many cruel ravages, and were not subdued till Spanish hunters and blood-hounds were procured from the island of Cuba, and employed against them, which induced them at last to submit to deportation from the island.

The British ministry resolved, when it was too late, to give assistance to the royalists in the western parts of France; and an expedition, planned by Mr. Windham, and guided by French emigrant officers, with troops, many of whom consisted of prisoners of war, relieved from confinement on condition of bearing arms against their native country, set sail for the French coast, and landed upon the extremity of the narrow peninsula of Quiberon. Here they fortified themselves; but many of the troops proving unfaithful, and the expedition being otherwise ill conducted, they were speedily overpowered by the republicans, who put to death such of their countrymen as they found in arms fighting against them. By this feeble and ill-timed invasion of the French territory,

nearly ten thousand men were killed or taken prisoners.

The continental campaign on the side of Germany was of little importance during this year, but upon the whole it proved unfavorable to the French. The convention had shaken off the yoke of that sanguinary faction which, under Robespierre and his frantic associates, had deluged the interior of France with blood, but had nevertheless the merit of calling forth with astonishing energy the powers of the country for the support of its independence. The present leaders possessing less activity, and affecting a milder course of conduct, the military operations languished; and the French army remained inactive till autumn, when it crossed the Rhine near Mentz under General Pichegru, but was speedily repulsed, and an armistice concluded for the winter. The convention, however, established a new form of government, consisting of an executive directory of five persons, elected by two representative bodies, to which the powers of legislation were intrusted, and it was expected, that if the war continued, the new executive power would endeavor to distinguish itself by some important operations.

The British parliament was again assembled at an early period, namely, on the 29th of October. The state of public affairs wore at this period an unfavorable aspect. The French armies had been inactive during the summer, but they had lost nothing; for the new republic retained possession of the territory extending from the Pyrenees to North Holland, and consequently of an immense length of coast opposite Great Britain. Meanwhile, a dearth of provisions began to prevail at home. The winter, which had set in with extreme severity at the close of the year 1794, and had enabled the French to conquer Holland with little difficulty, was followed by an ungenial summer, during which the crop failed in consequence of almost incessant rains. This state of things was productive of discontent among the lower orders, and

the war was blamed as tending to aggravate the distress which they thus suffered. Previous to the assembling of parliament some meetings were held by the London Corresponding Society, for the purpose of petitioning the king and parliament in favor of peace and of parliamentary reform; and as the meetings were held in the open fields, they were very numerous attended, but the persons composing them dispersed without disturbance. At the opening of parliament, however, some riots took place, and an attack was even made on the person of the king, as he was proceeding to the House of Lords in his carriage.

After some fruitless negotiation with Great Britain, an extremely active campaign was now opened by the French upon the Continent. Their generals, Moreau and Jourdan, penetrated into Germany; but they were ultimately repulsed by the Archduke Charles, though not till they had reached the vicinity of Ratisbon. The retreat of Moreau, amidst hostile armies, and through the difficulties and entanglements of the Black Forest, formed one of the principal events of the war, and has been much lauded by some military writers, though severely criticized by Napoleon. On the side of Italy the French obtained greater success. Their new general in that quarter, Bonaparte, turned the Alps by the Col di Tende, and gaining in rapid succession the victories at Montenotte, Millesimo, and Dego, compelled the King of Sardinia to desert the allies, and to purchase peace at the expense of a considerable portion of his territory. He next descended into the Milanese; and after a multitude of sanguinary conflicts at Lodi, Arcole, Lonato, Castiglione, Rivoli, and other places, he succeeded in subduing, by famine, Mantua, the only fortress that remained to the Austrians in Italy. Few maritime events of much importance occurred. The Dutch were deprived of their whole intertropical possessions, with the exception of the unhealthy but rich settlement of Batavia, in the island of Java; and they also lost a



squadron which they had sent out to attempt the re-capture of the Cape of Good Hope, but which was itself made prize of by the British admiral Sir George Elphinstone, afterwards Lord Keith. On the other hand, the British were under the necessity of abandoning Corsica, in consequence of the conquests of Bonaparte in Italy, and the unsubdued spirit of his countrymen the Corsicans. The result of the campaign was, that the British ministry, in order to appease the nation, found it necessary to send Lord Malmesbury to Paris on the pretence of attempting to negotiate a peace; but it was afterwards admitted by Mr. Pitt that they had no wish to conclude a treaty, and that the measure was adopted merely in compliance with the wishes of the public. Accordingly, as the French still refused to relinquish their hold of the Netherlands, this was accounted a sufficient reason for persevering in the war.

In the early part of the session of Parliament, which met on the 6th of October, there occurred few debates, on account of the intention to attempt an immediate negotiation, which had been announced in the king's speech, and afterwards from expectation of its issue. But at the close of the year the French directory, in consequence of an invitation from a disaffected party in Ireland, sent an expedition of seventeen ships of the line and many smaller vessels, having on board an army of eighteen thousand men under General Hoche, to invade that country. The violence of the weather prevented this armament from assembling at the rendezvous in Bantry Bay, and no landing was in consequence attempted; so that the fleet returned home with the loss of two ships of the line and two frigates, which perished in a tempest, and of one frigate taken by the English. Shortly afterwards the French disembarked on the coast of Pembrokeshire, twelve hundred and fifty criminals, whom they had sent as soldiers upon the Irish expedition, and knew not how to dispose of after the failure of that attempt.

At this period the first instance of serious

difficulty occurred in the management of the British funding system. The large sums of money sent abroad as subsidies to foreign princes by government had diminished the quantity of gold and silver in Great Britain, whilst the administration, through the medium of the Bank of England's paper, had issued immense sums for the public expenses, and in payment of the additional interest of the national debt. The alarm occasioned by the Irish invasion coming in addition to these circumstances, produced a run upon the bank to exchange its paper for specie; and as their coffers were soon drained, they found themselves under the necessity of giving a premium for bullion, which they paid with their paper. This made matters worse, as certain persons secretly melted down the guineas which the bank had caused to be coined and issued, and sold the gold to the bank as bullion for the sake of the premium. A ruinous traffic was thus carried on by the bank, which purchased bullion at a high rate, while they gave out their guineas at par. The directors, therefore, were under the necessity of laying their case before the privy council, which, after considering the circumstances of the case, issued an order authorizing the bank to discontinue the payment of their notes in cash. Considerable alarm was occasioned by this step; and committees of both houses of Parliament were appointed to inquire into the state of the bank's affairs. But although these were reported as prosperous, yet each committee recommended a continuance of the restriction; and an act was therefore passed for confirming it, while, to render it less inconvenient, bank notes for one and two pounds were put into circulation.

During the preceding year the emperor had received a subsidy, under the name of a loan, from the British government, and a new subsidy was now given him under a similar denomination. To supply this and the rest of the national expenses, £27,647,000 were voted early in the session, and afterwards above fifteen millions additional were thought

necessary, and voted. Two loans were negotiated by government; one of sixteen millions and a half, in the usual way, from money-brokers; and another of eighteen millions, called the Loyalty Loan, from the nobility and gentry being requested to fill it up, which they did with great eagerness.

The French had now acquired such an ascendancy over the Spanish monarchy, as to induce the government of that country to declare war against Britain; and soon afterwards the Spanish fleet, amounting to twenty-seven sail of the line, attempted to join a French armament; but they were attacked by Sir John Jervis on the 14th of February, near Cape St. Vincent, with only fifteen sail of the line; and four of their ships, of from seventy-four to a hundred and twelve guns, were made prizes by the British fleet. This victory may be regarded as the first of that mighty series of naval triumphs with which the name of Nelson is indissolubly associated. The British force consisted of two ships of a hundred guns, two of ninety-eight, two of ninety, eight of seventy-four, and one of sixty-four, with four frigates, a sloop, and a cutter. The Spaniards had one four-decker of a hundred and thirty-six guns, six three-deckers of a hundred and twelve, two eighty-fours, and eighteen seventy-fours; with ten frigates and a brig. The disparity of force was therefore prodigious. The British were formed in two lines in the most compact order of sailing; and, by carrying a press of canvass, Sir John Jervis came up with the enemy's fleet at half-past eleven on the 14th, before it had time to collect and form a regular order of battle. Not a moment was to be lost; so, departing from the regular system, the British passed through their fleet, in a line formed with the utmost celerity, tacked, and thereby cut off nine ships, or one third, from the main body. The vessels thus separated attempted to form on the larboard tack; but only one of them succeeded, under cover of the smoke, which prevented her intention being discovered till

she had reached the rear; whilst the others were so warmly received that they put about, and did not again appear in the action till towards its close. The admiral now made a signal to tack in succession; but Nelson, whose station was in the rear of the British line, perceiving that the Spaniards were bearing up before the wind with an intention of forming their line, going large, and joining their separated ships, or avoiding a close engagement, disobeyed the signal, without a moment's hesitation, and ordered his ship to be wore. This at once brought him in contact with the Santissima Trinidad, of a hundred and thirty-six guns, the San Josef of a hundred and twelve, the Salvador del Mundo of a hundred and twelve, the San Nicolas of eighty, the San Isidro of seventy-four, another seventy-four, and another first-rate; but Trowbridge, in the Culloden, immediately joined, and nobly supported him; and for nearly an hour did the Culloden and the Captain, Nelson's ship, maintain the most terribly unequal contest recorded in the annals of naval warfare. At length the Blenheim, passing between them and the enemy, gave them a respite, while she poured in her fire upon the Spaniards. The Salvador del Mundo and San Isidro now dropped astern, and were fired into in a masterly style by the Excellent, Captain Collingwood. The San Isidro struck, and the Salvador also hauled down her colors; but Collingwood, disdaining the parade of taking possession of beaten enemies, pushed on, with every sail set, to save his old friend and messmate, Nelson, in the Captain, which was at this time fired upon by three first-rates, by the San Nicolas, and by a seventy-four; whilst the Blenheim was ahead, and the Culloden, crippled, astern. Ranging up in the noblest style, and hauling up his mainsail just astern, Collingwood passed within ten feet of the San Nicolas, and giving her a tremendous fire, passed on to the Santissima Trinidad. The San Nicolas then luffed up, while the San Josef fell on board her, and Nelson resumed his station abreast of them, and close alongside. But



the Captain being now incapable of further service, either in the line or in chase, Nelson directed the helm to be put to starboard, and the boarders to be called up. His orders were instantly obeyed; the *San Nicolas* was boarded, and, after a short but sharp contest hand to hand, carried in the most brilliant manner. But a fire of pistols and musketry having been opened on the victors from the stern gallery of the *San Josef*, Nelson, directing his captain to send more men into the prize, gave orders for boarding that ship from the *San Nicolas*; and, leading the way himself, exclaiming "Victory or Westminster Abbey!" the thing was executed in an instant, with an energy and enthusiasm which rendered all resistance hopeless. But the Spaniards had still eighteen or nineteen ships which had suffered little or no injury; and as the part of the fleet which had been separated from the main body in the morning was now coming up, Sir John Jervis made signal to bring to. If the enemy had chosen at this moment to avail themselves of their great superiority of force, the situation of the British admiral would have been most critical. His ships could not have formed without abandoning those which they had captured, and running to leeward; the Captain was lying a perfect wreck on board her two prizes, with her fore-topmast shot away, and not a sail, shroud, or rope left, while her wheel was smashed; and many of the other ships were so shattered in their masts and rigging as to be wholly unmanageable. But the Spanish admiral, Don Josef de Cordova, having inquired of his captains whether they judged it proper to renew the action, and nine having answered in the negative, whilst others gave their opinion in favor of delay, abandoned all idea of recommencing the battle, and drew off, leaving the British in possession of the prizes which they had so gallantly won. For this victory the commander-in-chief was rewarded with the title of Earl St. Vincent, and Rear-Admiral Nelson had the order of the Bath given him. It was his skillful and dar-

ing disobedience of orders which rendered the battle decisive.

At the commencement of the summer an event occurred which, had the French been prepared to attempt an invasion of this country, might have been productive of serious evils. This was a mutiny in the fleet. Gross impositions had for some time been practiced upon the seamen, both as to the quantity and quality of the provisions allowed them; and they had made an anonymous application for redress to Earl Howe. But the application was disregarded, because the strictness of discipline prevented the open avowal or appearance of discontent, which his lordship inconsiderately supposed had no existence; and the seamen, disappointed of the expected relief, resolved to enforce the consideration of their claims. Accordingly, when orders were given to prepare for putting to sea, the crew of the *Queen Charlotte*, and other ships lying at Spithead, refused to act; and treating with contempt the remonstrances of the officers, they made choice of delegates, who after a formal consultation drew up petitions to the board of admiralty and the House of Commons. Earl Spencer, first lord of the admiralty, dreading a dangerous mutiny, and not thinking the demands of the seamen unreasonable, promised compliance; and the king readily offered full pardon to all who should immediately return to their duty. But the seamen would not be satisfied till the parliament had confirmed the promises of the admiralty; and as some delay thus ensued, the irritation of their minds led to a contest with Vice-Admiral Colpoys, in which some lives were lost. An act, however, was passed for the gratification of the seamen in point both of pay and provisions; and subordination was restored at Spithead and Plymouth. The concession of these claims encouraged the seaman at the Nore to insist on a more punctual discharge of arrears, a more equal distribution of prize-money, and a general abatement of the severity of discipline. A council of delegates was elected, at the head

of which was a seaman named Richard Parker, who took the command of the fleet, and prevailed upon the men to reject repeated offers of pardon. He robbed two merchant ships of provisions, obstructed trade by the detention of other vessels, and fired on some ships of war which refused to accede to the mutinous combination. An act of parliament was passed in the beginning of June, denouncing capital punishment against all who should hold intercourse with the rebellious ships, or voluntarily continue on board; and as the public strongly disapproved of this last mutiny, for which no excuse could be offered, the seamen gradually returned to their duty. Parker was apprehended, and, along with several other mutineers, punished with death; and a considerable number were also condemned after trial, but the greater part of them were pardoned.

During the summer the ports of Cadiz were blockaded by the British fleet under Sir John Javis, afterwards Earl St. Vincent; an attempt was made against the Spanish islands of Teneriffe, but without success. Meanwhile another fleet under admiral Duncan watched the *Texel*; but the blockading force having retired for a short time, the Dutch fleet, under Admiral De Winter, put to sea. Intelligence of this event having been brought to Admiral Duncan at Yarmouth, he instantly proceeded in quest of the enemy; and about eleven o'clock in the forenoon of the 11th October, 1797, he got sight of the squadron which had been left to watch their motions, and which displayed signals of an enemy to leeward. Admiral Duncan immediately made signal for a general chase, and soon got sight of the Dutch, forming in a line on the starboard tack to receive him, the land between Camperdown and Egmont being then about nine miles to the leeward. On making this discovery, he shortened sail to connect the squadron; and finding there was no time to be lost in making the attack, he made signal to bear up, break the enemy's line, and engage each ship her opponent to leeward, without waiting to form the line of battle.

The order was promptly and gallantly obeyed; Vice-Admiral Onslow, in the *Morarch*, bore down on the enemy's rear, his division following his example; and about forty minutes past twelve o'clock the battle commenced. Admiral Duncan, in the *Venerable*, also passed through the enemy's line, at the head of his division, and began a close action with the enemy's van, which lasted two hours and a half, when all the masts of the Dutch admiral's ship were observed to go by the board, and she not long afterwards struck to her opponent. The Dutch vice-admiral's ship being also dismasted, surrendered to Vice-Admiral Onslow, and nine others became the prizes of the conquerors.

While their allies, or rather subjects, were suffering these disasters by sea, the French armies triumphed on the Continent. Bonaparte advanced from Italy against the centre of the Austrian dominions, and, after several sanguinary conflicts, crossed the Alps where they approach the frontiers of Hungary, and forced the emperor to conclude preliminaries of peace at Leoben, on the 18th of April, which were followed by a definitive treaty, signed at Campo Formio, near Udine, on the 17th of October. The emperor acquired the city of Venice; but he relinquished the Milanese and the Netherlands, and, by secret articles, consented that the Rhine should form the boundary of France. Britain being now left alone in the contest into which she had originally entered as an auxiliary to Austria and Prussia, the government opened a negotiation towards the close of the summer; and as both the French and British nations eagerly wished for a termination of this sanguinary contest, it is probable that administration seriously wished to conclude a treaty; but at this time a party, headed by the director Barras, had gained the ascendancy in France, and resolved to continue the war. A demand was therefore made that Britain should renounce every conquest as a preliminary to negotiation, whilst France reserved a right to make further demands; and on this being refused, the British ambassador



Lord Malmesbury, was dismissed from Lisle, where the negotiations had been opened.

During the summer of this year a rebellion broke out in Ireland, the particulars of which will be stated in their proper place.

Upon the Continent, the world was amused with a negotiation carried on at Rastadt, between the French Directory and the German Empire. It was conducted with much slowness, and ultimately proved ineffectual. But whilst it was in progress, the French government, having contrived to quarrel with the Swiss Cantons, invaded and seized their country, and converted it into a new republic, under their own influence.

Meanwhile the weakness of the French navy rendered it impossible for them to engage in any serious attack against the European part of the British empire. The French government, however, with the double view of attacking the rich empire which Britain had acquired in Asia, and of removing a successful military chief, whose ambition was already accounted dangerous, formed a design of sending Bonaparte, with an army, to seize upon and colonize Egypt. To accomplish this scheme with the greater safety, the threats of invading England were loudly renewed; the troops stationed on the coast were denominated the Army of England; and Bonaparte being now appointed their commander, visited them in person. But suddenly departing, he embarked at Toulon with a powerful army, before his intentions were suspected in Great Britain; Malta was surrendered to him on his passage; and departing thence, he landed in safety in the vicinity of Alexandria, and soon made himself master of all Egypt. Here, however, his successes terminated. He was closely pursued by a British fleet under Admiral Nelson; and the French admiral, Brueys, having remained at anchor near the shore in the Bay of Aboukir, afforded an opportunity for the British navy to earn one of its proudest and most decisive triumphs.

Why Bonaparte, having effected a landing in Egypt, should not have suffered the fleet

to return, has never been explained. He accused Admiral Brueys, after that officer's death, of having lingered on the coast, contrary to orders; and the same charge is repeated in the memoirs which he transmitted from the place of his exile. But it is scarcely credible that any officer, situated as Brueys was, would have incurred the heavy responsibility which such disobedience incurs; and the more probable supposition therefore seems to be, that the fleet was detained by Bonaparte's orders. It arrived at Alexandria on the first of July; and Brueys, not being able to enter the port which time had ruined, moored his ships in Aboukir Bay, in a strong and compact line of battle; the headmost vessel being close to the shoal on the north-west of the bay, and the rest of the fleet forming a curve along the line of deep water, so as not to be turned by any means in the south-west. He had in fact made the best of his situation, and chosen the strongest position which he could possibly take in an open roadstead; so much so, indeed, that the commissary of the fleet thought they were moored in such a manner as to bid defiance to a force double their own. Besides, the advantage of numbers, in ships, guns, and men, was in favor of the French. They had thirteen ships of the line and four frigates, carrying 1196 guns, and 11,230 men. The English had the same number of ships of the line, and one fifty gun ship, the *Leander*, carrying only 1,112 guns, and 8,086 men. The French had one three-decker of a hundred and twenty guns, and three eighty gun ships, whilst the English ships were all seventy-fours. The moment Nelson perceived the position of the enemy, his intuitive genius suggested to him the decisive conception, that where there was room for a French ship to swing, there was room for an English ship to anchor; and the plan he accordingly adopted was to keep entirely on the exterior side of the French, and station his ships, as far as he was able, one on the outer bow, and another on the outer quarter of each of the enemy's, thus doubling on

them in the way which had been projected by Lord Howe when he intended to attack the French fleet at their anchorage in Gourjean road.

As the British squadron advanced the enemy opened a fire from the starboard side of their whole line into the bows of the leading ships. It was received in silence and with stern composure; whilst the men on board of every ship were employed aloft in furling the sails, and below in tending the braces, and making ready for anchoring. Captain Foley led the way in the *Goliath*, outsailing the *Zealous*, which for some minutes disputed the post of honor with him; and intending to fix himself on the inner bow of the *Guerrier*, kept as near the edge of the shoal as the depth of water would admit; but his anchor hung, and having opened his fire, he drifted to the second ship, the *Conquérant*, before it was clear, then anchored by the stern inside of her, and in ten minutes shot away her masts. Captain Hood in the *Zealous* took the station which the *Goliath* intended to have occupied, and in twelve minutes totally disabled the *Guerrier*. The *Orion*, Sir James Saumarez, next passed to windward of the *Zealous*, discharging her larboard guns as long as they bore on the *Guerrier*; and running inside the *Goliath*, sunk a frigate which annoyed her, hauled round towards the French line, and anchoring inside between the fifth and sixth ships from the *Guerrier*, took her station on the larboard bow of the *Franklin* and the larboard quarter of the *Peuple Souverain*, receiving and returning the fire of both. The *Audacious*, Captain Gould, pouring in a heavy fire into the *Guerrier* and the *Conquérant*, fixed herself on the larboard bow of the latter, and, when that ship struck, passed on to the *Peuple Souverain*. The *Theseus*, Captain Millar, followed, and having brought down the *Guerrier*'s main and mizzen masts, anchored inside the *Spartiate*, the third ship of the enemy's line. The sun was now nearly down; but Nelson's decisive manœuvre had already been completely executed in its most critical parts.

The *Vanguard*, bearing the admiral's flag, and leading his division, now anchored on the outside of the enemy's line, within half-pistol-shot of the *Spartiate*, and veering half a cable, instantly opened a tremendous fire, under cover of which the *Minotaur*, *Bellerophon*, *Defence*, and *Majestic*, passed ahead to occupy their several stations. On this side the French were completely prepared; and in a few minutes every man stationed at the first six guns in the fore part of the *Vanguard*'s deck was either killed or wounded. The *Minotaur* anchored next ahead of the *Vanguard*, and took off the fire of the *Aquilon*, the fourth in the enemy's line. The *Bellerophon* passed ahead and anchored by the stern on the starboard bow of the *Orient* of a hundred and twenty guns, Brueys' own ship, and the seventh in the line, "whose difference of force was in proportion of more than seven to three, and whose weight of ball from the lower deck alone exceeded that from the whole broadside of the *Bellerophon*." The *Defence* took her station ahead of the *Minotaur*, and engaged the enemy's sixth ship, the *Franklin*, by which judicious proceeding the British line remained unbroken. The *Majestic* having got entangled with the main rigging of one of the French ships astern of the *Orient*, suffered severely from the heavy fire of that three-decker; but she at length swung clear, and engaging the *Heureux*, or ninth ship, on the starboard bow, received also the fire of the *Tonnant*, which was the eighth in their line. The remaining four ships of the British squadron, having been detached previous to the discovery of the French, were at a considerable distance when the action commenced, which was at half-past six; and as night closed about seven, they had no other light to guide them in going into action than the fire of the contending fleets.

Trowbridge in the *Culloden*, the foremost of the remaining ships, being two leagues astern, came on sounding as the others had done; but as he advanced the darkness increased the difficulty of the navigation; and



suddenly, after having found eleven fathoms of water, and before the lead could be hove again, he was fast aground; nor could all exertions get off the ship in time to bear a part in the action. This accident, however, proved in some degree fortunate, since the *Culloden* served as a beacon to the *Alexander* and *Swiftsure*, which would otherwise have gone upon the reef, and thus enabled them to enter the bay and take their stations in the darkness. As the *Swiftsure* was bearing down she fell in with what at first seemed to be a strange sail, but proved to be the *Bellerophon*, which, overpowered by the *Orient*, was now drifting out of the line towards the lee side of the bay, with her sails hanging loose, her lights knocked overboard, nearly two hundred of her crew killed or wounded, and all her masts and cables shot away. Suspecting how it was, Captain Hallowell, with great judgment, abstained from firing; and occupying with the *Swiftsure* the station of the disabled ship, he opened a heavy fire on the quarter of the *Franklin* and the bows of the French admiral; whilst Captain Ball, in the *Alexander*, passed under the stern of the *Orient*, and anchoring with-in side on her larboard quarter, raked her, at the same time keeping up a severe fire of musketry on her decks. Lastly, the *Leander*, finding nothing could be done to get off the *Culloden*, advanced with the intention of anchoring athwart hawse of the *Orient*; but the *Franklin* being so near ahead that there was not room for him to pass clear of the two, he took his station athwart hawse of the latter.

This description will serve to convey an accurate idea both of the plan of attack and of the mode in which it was carried into execution. Though fiercely contested and sanguinary, the issue of the battle was never for an instant doubtful. The first two ships of the French line had been dismasted within a quarter of an hour after the commencement of the action, and the others had suffered so severely that victory was already certain. At half-past eight o'clock the third, fourth,

and fifth, were taken possession of; and about nine a fire broke out in the *Orient*, which soon mastered the ship, illuminating the contending fleets with the light of the conflagration. About ten o'clock the ship blew up with an explosion so tremendous that the firing immediately ceased on both sides, and for a time no sound was heard to break this awful pause, except the dash of her shattered yards, masts, and timbers falling into the water from the great height to which they had been projected. The firing recommenced with the ships to the leeward of the centre; and at daybreak the *Guillaume Tell* and the *Généreux*, the two rear ships of the enemy, formed the only portion of their line which had colors flying. Not having been engaged, these ships cut their cables in the forenoon and stood out to sea, accompanied by two frigates, being the only portion of the enemy's fleet which escaped. It is needless to add that the victory was complete. Of thirteen sail of the line, nine were taken and two burnt; and of four frigates one was burnt and another sunk. The British loss in killed and wounded amounted to eight hundred and ninety-five; while of the French three thousand one hundred and five, including the wounded, were sent on shore by cartel, and five thousand two hundred and twenty-five perished. About two hours after the commencement of the action, Nelson received a severe wound on the head from a piece of langridge shot; and Captain Westcott of the *Majestic* fell. Brueys was killed before the fire broke out which destroyed his noble vessel. He had received three wounds, yet would not leave his post; but a fourth cut him almost in twain, and he died like a hero on the deck. From the description of this battle, it must be obvious that its triumphant success was owing to a skillful repetition, with necessary variations, of the manœuvre which had decided the victory at Camperdown; and in fact Nelson, although not acquainted with Lord Duncan, wrote to him, soon after the battle, to tell his lordship how "he had profited by his example."

From the time of the battle of Actium, by which the sovereignty of the Roman empire was decided, no naval victory was ever attended with consequences so immediately and obviously important as this. The French directory had concealed their intended enterprise from the Ottoman Porte, which laid claim to the sovereignty of Egypt, but had never been able to make its claim fully effectual. The grand signior, however, considered the present attempt as an act of hostility against himself; and the maritime victory above mentioned encouraged him to declare war, in the name of all true Mohammedan believers, against that host of infidels which had invaded the land from which the sacred territory of Mecca is supplied with bread. In Europe similar consequences took place. The irresistible career of Bonaparte had compelled Austria to submit to peace, upon terms which left France in a state of most dangerous aggrandizement. But as this victorious chief, with the best part of his veteran army, was now held under blockade by the British fleet in a distant country, the hopes of Austria began to revive, and there seemed reason to expect, that by renewing the contest, her ancient rank in Europe might be recovered. The King of Naples entered into these views with great eagerness, and rashly declared war against France, without waiting for, and following, as he ought, the movements of the greater powers. The Empress of Russia was now dead, and her son Paul had succeeded to the throne of the Czars. The empress had never contributed more than her good wishes towards the war which the other powers of Europe had waged against France; but her son, a man of a furious and passionate character, had not the sense to follow the same cautious policy, or to remain a quiet spectator of the issue of a contest against the French republic; and, encouraged by the naval victory of the Nile, which seemed to insure the absence of Bonaparte and his army, he declared his willingness, to join in a new combination against France.

Thus, by the victory of the Nile, Great Britain was enabled to procure allies, willing to send abundance of troops against her enemy, provided she consented to defray the necessary expense. In the mean time, the acquisitions and losses of Britain were nearly equally balanced in other quarters. An armament sailed towards the island of Minorca, and a descent was effected near the Creek of Addaya. Here a body of Spaniards threatened to surround the first division of the invading army; but they were soon repulsed, and the British troops gained a position from which they might have attacked the enemy with advantage, if the latter had not retired in the evening. The army seized the post of Mescalal, and a detachment took the town of Mahon and Forte Charles. It was expected that the principal stand would have been made at Civadella, where new works had been added to the old fortifications; but the approach of the English drove the Spaniards within the walls of the town, and General Stewart summoned the governor to surrender it without delay. Intimidated by the movements of the troops and the appearance of the squadron, the garrison capitulated, and thus the whole island was reduced without the loss of a single man. But towards the end of the same year, the British troops, which during a considerable length of time had occupied a great number of positions upon the coast of the island of St. Domingo, found it necessary to abandon the whole. The power of the French government there had nearly been annihilated by a negro commander, Toussaint-Louverture, to whom the British surrendered Port-au-Prince and St. Marc. The losses incurred in consequence of the unfortunate attempt made by the British government to subjugate the island of St. Domingo were immense.

The necessity of providing for the enormous subsidies with which Great Britain enabled the continental powers to carry on the war, led to the first introduction of the income tax in this year.



The fear of a French invasion had in a former age induced the English nation so far to overcome their own prejudices as to consent to an incorporating union with Scotland. The rebellion in Ireland, together with the dread that by means of French aid Ireland might be dismembered from the British empire, as the American Colonies had been, now produced a sense of the necessity of doing that which ought to have been done three centuries before this date; that is, of uniting Ireland to Britain, by incorporating into one the heretofore distinct legislatures of the two islands. The measure was at this period very practicable, because Ireland was in fact under the dominion of forty thousand troops, who had been collected to crush the rebellion, and protect the island against the French; and because the friends of the government were too much intimidated by the confusion and the scenes of bloodshed which had recently occurred here, to venture to oppose vigorously a measure which promised for the future to preserve the tranquillity of the country inviolate. On the 31st of January Mr. Pitt proposed the measure in the British House of Commons. Mr. Sheridan opposed a union, as particularly unseasonable, amidst the irritation which at this period prevailed in Ireland; and he deprecated the accomplishment of the object by means of force or corruption. The measure, however, was approved of by a very large majority; and in the House of Lords the same subject was afterwards discussed with a similar result. But in the Irish parliament the proposal was resisted with such vehemence, that the administration, finding themselves supported only by a small majority, thought fit to avoid pressing the matter further at this time.

During the present year the British power in India was greatly augmented, and its territory extended, by the fall of Tippoo Sultan, the son and successor of Hyder Ali.

In Europe the present campaign proved extremely eventful. The French directory had been more anxious to establish its own

power at home, than careful to maintain the armies upon the frontiers and in the conquered countries in a proper state of force and efficiency. A French army under General Jourdan advanced into Suabia in the month of March, but was encountered and beaten at Stockach by the Archduke Charles. The importance of the possession of Switzerland instantly displayed itself. The vanquished French army immediately crossed the Rhine into Switzerland, and in that mountainous country contrived to make a stand during the greater part of the summer. The Austrians advanced as far as Zurich, of which they obtained possession; but before they could proceed further, the French armies, having been reinforced towards the end of the season, were enabled in their turn to assume the offensive.

In Italy the French manœuvred unskillfully at the opening of the campaign. Instead of concentrating their forces, they attempted to retain possession of the whole of that country, and were thus beaten in various engagements at different points.

The advantage derived by the French from the possession of Switzerland having by this time begun to be understood, a resolution was in consequence formed to close the campaign, not by sending Suwarof from Italy into the south of France, but by directing him to turn his arms northward against the Alps. The Archduke Charles had spent the summer in pressing upon the French in that quarter, but had not been able to advance beyond Zurich; here, however, he left a considerable body of Austrians and Russians, and proceeded with a division of his army towards Mannheim and Philipsburg. Suwarof advanced from Italy at the head of eighteen thousand men to take the command of these troops; but his views were anticipated by the French General Massena, who, finding the Archduke Charles and Suwarof at the distance of more than a day's march on his left and right, instantly attacked the troops stationed near Zurich. The Austrians perceiving the hazardous nature of their situa-

tion, retreated with only a moderate loss; but the Russians, from an ill-judged contempt of their enemy, total ignorance of the country, and want of skill in the art of conducting war in it, maintained their ground till they were hemmed in on all sides. Their order was at last broken, and their retreat converted into an utter rout. Suwarof was at the same instant advancing rapidly to their relief; but the victorious enemy now turned quickly upon him, and attempted to encompass him on all sides. By incredible exertions, however, and following paths which were believed to be utterly impracticable, he effected his escape with about five thousand of his troops, in want of every thing, and retaining only the muskets in their hands.

Thus terminated on the eastern side of France this active and brilliant campaign. The allies remained masters of Italy; but France was still enabled to menace that country, as well as Germany, by retaining possession of Switzerland. In the meanwhile the British attempted, with the aid of Russian auxiliaries, to drive the French out of Holland. On the 27th of August, a landing was effected under Sir Ralph Abercromby at the mouth of the Texel; and the Zuyder Zee was immediately entered by a British fleet under Admiral Mitchell. Upon this the Dutch admiral, Storey, surrendered the fleet under his command, alleging that his men refused to fight. Here, however, the effectual success of the expedition terminated. The Duke of York afterwards assumed the command, and forces amounting to thirty-five thousand men were landed; but it was soon discovered that the invasion had been ill concerted and ill directed.

At the end of this campaign the French government underwent a new change. After the conquest of Egypt Bonaparte had invaded Syria, and subdued or conciliated most of the native tribes; but his career of victory was stopped at St. Jean d'Acre by the Turkish governor of that town, assisted by the British under Sir Sidney Smith. He was forced

to raise the siege of that place, after fifty-nine days of open trenches, and delivering five unsuccessful assaults; and having returned into Egypt, and destroyed a Turkish army at Aboukir, he ventured upon a step which is without example in the history of modern Europe. Having learned from an old newspaper the great reverses which the French armies had experienced in the early part of the campaign, and the general discontent produced by these misfortunes, he resolved to trust to fortune and return to France. With this view he secretly embarked, along with a select party of friends, on board a small vessel, leaving the command of his army, which was now completely insulated in the country, to General Kleber, an officer of high reputation for military genius and enterprise; and after escaping a thousand perils he landed safely at Frejus, in the south-east of France. Finding a party willing to second his views, Bonaparte now took advantage of the satisfaction occasioned by his arrival, together with the discontents arising from the corruption and mismanagement of the directorial administration, to usurp the government, cashier the directory, and to dissolve the representative legislature.

Affairs on the Continent now began to assume a most unpropitious aspect. The Emperor of Russia, being exasperated at the defeats sustained by his troops towards the close of the campaign, became dissatisfied with his allies, and withdrew from the alliance; and there was reason to dread that his irascible and unreasonable temper might lead him not merely to desert but to quarrel with them. In the meanwhile Bonaparte, under the title he had assumed of First Consul of the French Republic, resolved to signalize his acquisition of power by an attempt to procure peace. With this view he thought proper to address a letter, signed by himself, to the King of Great Britain. An unsatisfactory answer from Lord Grenville, as secretary of state, was the only response. Overtures made to the court of Vienna, met



with no better treatment; and the war continued.

The great measure of a legislative union with Ireland was carried into effect during the present session of parliament. The administration had found it necessary to delay this matter in consequence of the opposition in the Irish parliament; but during the recess they had obtained a more ample majority; and as the British parliament had already, on Mr. Pitt's motion, passed resolutions in favor of the union, the project was formally introduced to the Irish parliament on the 5th of February, 1800, by a message from the lord-lieutenant. After a long and spirited debate, the ministry prevailed by a majority of forty-three.

During the present year the war proved extremely eventful. The army which Bonaparte had left in Egypt under General Kleber, entered into a negotiation with the Turkish grand vizier and Sir Sidney Smith; the result of which was, that the French agreed to abandon the whole of Egypt, on condition of being permitted to return unmolested to France. The British government, suspecting that some proposal of this kind might be made, sent secret orders to Vice-Admiral Lord Keith not to consent to any arrangement which might leave so large an army at liberty to act in Europe, or which should not include the surrender of all the ships in the port of Alexandria. The consequence was, that Lord Keith refused to ratify the treaty of El Arish which Sir Sidney Smith and the Turkish grand vizier had concluded, and detained as prisoners General Dessaix and a number of troops which had been sent from Egypt. The French general Kleber immediately intimated to the Turks a determination to resume hostilities. He attacked and totally routed their army, consisting of forty thousand men, in the neighborhood of Grand Cairo; and multitudes perished by slaughter in the desert, while the French remained complete masters of the country. When it was too late, an order arrived from Britain to permit General Dessaix

and the troops along with him to land in France, and to fulfill every part of Sir Sidney Smith's treaty; but the state of affairs had changed; Kleber had been assassinated by a fanatical Arab, and his successor, Menou, refused to evacuate Egypt; so that it became necessary, at a future period, to send an army from Britain to drive the French out of the country which they had proposed to evacuate without firing a shot or shedding a drop of blood.

The French campaigns in Italy and Germany have been already related in the article on France.

In the meanwhile Great Britain was greatly distressed by a scarcity of provisions, and riots broke out in London and some provincial towns. On this account Parliament assembled on the 11th of November, and the principal discussion which occurred in it related to the scarcity which prevailed throughout the country, and involved in great difficulties both the middle and lower classes of society. The members of the opposition asserted that the war and the scarcity were closely connected; whilst Mr. Pitt and his colleagues contended that a more obvious cause might be found in the deficiency of the two preceding crops, owing to cold and rainy seasons.

At the commencement of the following year government laid an embargo on all Russian, Danish and Swedish ships in British ports, in retaliation for their conduct in withdrawing from the alliance; so that Great Britain was now at war with nearly all Europe. Austria, indeed, ventured to renew hostilities; but the French general, Moreau, having defeated the Archduke John with tremendous loss, at Hohenlinden, drove back the Austrian army upon their capital, advancing within seventeen leagues of Vienna; whilst at the same time signal defeats were sustained by them both in Italy and in Franconia. From the necessity of their affairs, therefore, the Austrians were compelled to sue for peace, which was accordingly concluded at Luneville. The Netherlands and

the Milanese were resigned; France extended her boundary to the Rhine; and Tuscany was relinquished by the grand duke, who was to receive an indemnification in Germany; whilst, on the other hand, the city of Venice and a portion of its ancient territory were given up to Austria. The German princes who suffered by the treaty were to receive an indemnification out of the ecclesiastical states of the empire; thereby weakening still further the influence of the house of Austria. By this treaty the French became masters of Europe to the southward of the Rhine and of the Adige.

The commencement of the year 1801, was marked in Great Britain by the termination of Mr. Pitt's administration. When this event was announced to the public, it created no small degree of astonishment. Since Mr. Pitt had come into office a new generation had sprung up; and a succession of the most extraordinary public transactions had occurred, amidst all of which that minister, with his kinsman Lord Grenville, and his friend Mr. Dundas, had remained firmly established in power. The authority and influence of these men had in some measure interwoven itself in the opinions of the people, and they were surrounded by a train of powerful adherents, dependent on their patronage; whilst, at the same time, Mr. Pitt himself retained such a degree of popularity as caused his dismissal or resignation to appear a very bold measure in the present state of affairs.

At the time when the change of ministry took place, the king became affected with a severe illness, supposed to be the result of anxiety and agitation of mind. In making choice of a new prime minister, however, he avoided admitting into power the party which had opposed the war; and selected Mr. Addington, who, as we have already mentioned, was originally patronized by Mr. Pitt, and who, as speaker of the House of Commons, had gained approbation by his good temper, prudence, industry and conciliating manners.

In the meanwhile, to prevent the active co-operation of Denmark with Russia, and

if possible to break up the northern confederacy, an armament was fitted out in the British ports, consisting of eighteen sail of the line and as many frigates, sloops, bombs, fire-ships, and smaller vessels, as made the whole amount to about fifty-three sail. This fleet under the command of Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, with Vice-admiral Lord Nelson as his second, sailed from Yarmouth on the 12th of March, 1801, and soon afterwards reached its first rendezvous at the entrance of the Cattegat.

It was at first hoped that Denmark, notwithstanding her hostile demonstrations, would prefer negotiation to war; but this expectation having been disappointed, and the Danish government, instead of conciliation, having assumed a tone of open defiance, preparations were made for forcing the passage of the Sound, though in these much valuable time was lost through the irresolution of the admiral, Sir Hyde Parker. At length, however, the British fleet weighed anchor at six o'clock in the morning of the 30th March, and with a fine breeze at north-north-west entered the Sound in a line a-head, the van division commanded by Lord Nelson in the *Elephant*, the centre division by the commander-in-chief, and the rear division by Rear-admiral Graves. At seven the batteries at *Elsineur*, which had been represented as tremendous, commenced firing at the *Monarch*, which was the leading ship, and the other ships as they passed in succession; but the distance was so great that not a shot took effect, nor did any of the British ships fire in return except the van division, which only discharged a few broadsides. As the strait at *Elsineur*, however, is less than three miles across, a mid-channel passage would undoubtedly have exposed the ships to a fire from *Cronenburg Castle*, adjoining *Elsineur*, on the one side, and from the Swedish town of *Helsingburg* on the other; but the British having observed that the batteries of the latter mounted only eight guns of a small calibre, inclined to the Swedish shore, where not even a show of opposition was made, and passing within



less than a mile of it, avoided a fire which, as proceeding from nearly a hundred pieces of cannon, could scarcely have failed to do much injury to the ships. About noon the fleet anchored at some distance above the island of Huen, which is about fifteen miles from Copenhagen; and the commander-in-chief, Vice-admiral Lord Nelson, and Rear-admiral Graves, accompanied by Captain Domett and the commanding officers of the artillery and troops, proceeded in a lugger to reconnoitre the enemy's defences. These were soon ascertained to be of the most formidable description. It was apparent that the Danes could not be attacked without great difficulty and risk; and when a council of war was called in the afternoon, much, as usual, was urged to show the propriety of foregoing, or at least delaying, the attack. But happily the opinion of Nelson prevailed, and he offered his services for the attack, requiring ten sail of the line and all the small craft. Sir Hyde Parker willingly accepted the tender, gave him two more line-of-battle ships than he asked, and wisely left every thing to his own judgement.

An attack from the eastward was first meditated; but a second examination of the Danish position, on the 31st, and a favorable change of the wind, determined the vice-admiral to attack from the south. Accordingly on the morning of the first of April, the British fleet removed to an anchorage within two leagues of the town, off the north-western extremity of the Middle Ground, a shoal extending along the whole sea front of the city of Copenhagen and leaving an intervening channel of deep water called Konigstiefe, or King's Channel, about three quarters of a mile wide. In the course of the forenoon Nelson, accompanied by Captain Riou of the Amazon, reconnoitred for the last time the position which he was about to attack; and soon after his return at one o'clock the signal to weigh appeared at the Elephant's mast-head. It was received with a shout throughout the whole squadron, and promptly obeyed. They weighed with a light and favorable

wind; the small craft pointed out the course distinctly; Riou led the way in the Amazon, and coasting along the edge of the right hand shoal or Middle Ground until they reached and partly rounded its southern extremity, the squadron anchored off Draco Point just as the darkness closed, the headmost of the enemy's line not being more than two miles distant. Captain Hardy now proceeded in a small boat, under cover of the night, to examine the channel between the anchorage and the Danish line, and actually approached near enough to sound round the first ship of the latter, using a pole least the noise of throwing the lead should occasion a discovery. Having completed his task, he returned about eleven o'clock, and reported to the admiral the depth of the water, and the practicability of the channel up to the Danish line. This was gratifying news to Nelson, though it added to his impatience, and prevented him from sleeping during the remainder of the night, the whole of which was spent in preparing instructions and receiving reports.

The force now about to be attacked was of the most formidable description. It consisted of eighteen vessels, all two-decked ships, but some of them old and dismantled, with frigates, praams, and radeaux, mounting altogether about six hundred and fifty guns, and moored in a line of about a mile in extent, flanked at the north end, or that nearest the town by two artificial islands called the Trekroner or Crown Batteries, one of thirty twenty-four pounders, and the other of thirty-eight thirty-six pounders, with furnaces for heating shot, and commanded by two-decked block-ships. The entrance into the harbor and docks, which are situated in the heart of the city, was protected by a chain drawn across it, and also by some batteries on the northern shore, particularly the Trekröner already described; and, in addition to this, two seventy-four gun ships, Dannemarek and Trekröner, a forty-gun frigate, two eighteen gun brigs, and several armed zebees, provided with furnaces for heating shot, were moored in advantageous positions off the mouth of

the harbor. Along the shore of Amak island, a little to the southward of the floating line of defence, were gun and mortar batteries; and as the Danes were animated by an enthusiastic spirit of patriotism, and eager by every possible means to repel the assailants, there was no want of men, skillful and brave, to work the guns either afloat or on shore.

The day of the second of April broke, as Nelson had hoped it would, with a favorable, south-easterly wind; and the signal for all the captains to come on board the flag-ship was hoisted as soon as it could be seen. As circumstances prevented the admiral's plan of attack being strictly followed, it may suffice to state that all the line-of-battle ships were to anchor by the stern abreast of the different vessels composing the enemy's line, an operation for which they were already prepared by having cables out of their stern-ports. The *Amazon*, *Blanche*, *Alemène*, *Arrow* and *Dart*, with two fire-ships, all under the direction of Captain Rion, were to co-operate in the attack on the ships stationed at the mouth of the harbor, and to act otherwise as circumstances might require. The bomb-vessels were to station themselves outside the British line, and to throw their shells over it; while the *Jamaica*, with the brigs and gun-vessels, was to take a position for raking the southern extremity of the Danish line; and a similar station was assigned to the *Desirée*. It was also intended that the forty-ninth regiment, under Colonel Stewart, and five hundred seamen under Captain Freemantle of the *Ganges*, should storm the principal of the *Trekroner* batteries, the instant that its fire should be silenced by the cannonade from the ships. Between eight and nine o'clock the pilots, most of whom had been mates in Baltic traders, were ordered on board the *Elephant*. But as they hesitated about the bearing of the east and of the shoal, and the exact line of deep water, it became evident that their knowledge was not to be trusted. Nelson was extremely perplexed. The signal for action had been made; the wind was fair;

not a moment was to be lost. They were urged to be steady, to be resolute, and to decide; but they wanted the only ground for steadiness and resolution in such a case; and Nelson had now reason to regret that he had not trusted to Captain Hardy's single report. At length Mr. Alexander Briarly, the master of the *Bellona*, undertook to lead the fleet; and his proposal being acceded to, the captains returned to their ships, and at half-past nine the signal was made for the ships to weigh in succession, and advance to the attack.

The *Edgar* led the way; but the *Agamemnon*, which was next in order, having anchored rather outside than off the great shoal, could not weather it, and was obliged to bring up again in six fathoms of water, where the current was so strong that, although she afterwards re-weighed, and continued for a long time to warp with the stream and kedge anchors, she was compelled again to bring up nearly in the spot from which she had last weighed. When the misfortune of the *Agamemnon* was discovered, the admiral made signal for the *Polyphemus*, which followed the *Edgar*; and the *Isis* steered after the *Polyphemus*. The *Bellona*, notwithstanding a fair wind and ample room, kept too close on the starboard shoal, and grounded abreast of the outer ship of the enemy. The *Russell* following the *Bellona*, also grounded; and although both were within range of shot, their absence from their intended stations was severely felt. Three ships of the squadron were now aground and comparatively useless; so that Nelson was compelled to begin the attack with one ship of the line less than he had calculated upon as absolutely necessary. In compliance with the wish of the pilots, each ship had been ordered to pass her leader on the starboard side, from a supposition that the waters shoaled on the larboard; but, as Captain Hardy had proved, the water deepened all the way to the enemy's line. The *Elephant*, flagship, came next; but Lord Nelson, as soon as he perceived the state of the *Bellona* and



Russell, ordered his helm to be put a star-board, and passed within those ships; and all the ships astern followed his example. By this act of promptitude on the part of the admiral, the greater part of the fleet were saved from going on shore. At the moment when Lord Nelson's squadron weighed, Admiral Parker's eight ships did the same, and took up a position somewhat nearer the mouth of the harbor, so as to menace the northern wing of the defence; but a nearer approach was impracticable in time to render any active service in the engagement.

The cannonade commenced at five minutes after ten, and for nearly an hour the principal ships engaged were the Polyphemus, Isis, Edgar, Ardent and Monarch. By half-past eleven, however, the Glatton, Elephant, Ganges and Defiance, got to their respective stations, as did also several frigates and smaller vessels, and the action now became general. The *Desirée* proved of great service in raking the *Provesteen*, and drawing part of her fire from the *Polyphemus* and *Isis*; but owing to the strength of the current, the *Jamaica*, with the gun-vessels, could not get near enough to be of any service in the action; and the bomb-vessels were not able to execute much. The absence of the *Agamemnon*, *Bellona* and *Russell*, disconcerted the plan of the attack, and caused several of the British ships to sustain a heavier share of the enemy's fire than had been allotted to them, or they were well able to bear; and among the sufferers on this account was the *Amazon* frigate, which, along with four others under Captain Riou, had boldly taken a position right against the *Trekröner* batteries. The cannonade had continued three hours, and few if any of the Danish block-ships, praams, or radeaux, had ceased firing, nor had the contest as yet taken a decisive turn to either side. Meanwhile the commander-in-chief, near enough to the scene of conflict to know the unfavorable accidents which had deprived Nelson of one-fourth of his force, and yet too distant to

know the real state of the contending parties, suffered the most dreadful anxiety; and from the reports made to him that signals of distress were flying at the mast-heads of two British line-of-battle ships, and the signal of inability on board a third; from observing the zig-zag course and slow progress of the *Defence*, *Ramillies* and *Veteran*, which he had dispatched as a reinforcement; and from the distance of the *London*, which bore his flag, preventing his judging of the relative condition of the contending parties; Sir Hyde Parker was induced to throw out the signal for discontinuing the action. When this was reported to Nelson, he continued to walk the deck without appearing to take any notice of it. At the next turn the signal lieutenant met him, and having stated that the commander-in-chief had thrown out number thirty-nine, asked if he should repeat it. "No," replied Nelson, "acknowledge it;" and presently he called after the officer to know if the signal for close action was still flying. Being answered in the affirmative, he said, "Mind you keep it so;" and, after pacing the deck for some time, moving the stump of his lost arm in a manner which always indicated great emotion, he accosted one of the officers thus: "Do you know," said he, "what is shown on board the commander-in-chief? Number thirty-nine." The officer asked what that meant. "Why, to leave off action." Then, shrugging up his shoulders, he exclaimed, "Leave off action! No, damn me if I do. You know, Foley," turning to the captain, "I have but one eye; I have a right to be blind sometimes;" and then putting the glass to his blind eye, in sportive bitterness, he exclaimed, "I really do not see the signal;" adding, after a momentary pause, "Damn the signal! Keep mine for closer battle flying. That's the way I answer such signals. Nail mine to the mast!" The three frigates and two sloops nearest to the *London*, however, obeyed the signal, and hauled off from the *Trekröner* batteries; when "the gallant, good Riou" was killed by a raking shot, which cut him in two.

just as the Amazon presented her stern to one of the latter.

About half-past one the fire of the Danes began to slacken, and at a little before two it had ceased along nearly the whole of their line. Some of the praams and light vessels had also gone adrift; but few if any of the vessels whose flags had been struck would suffer themselves to be taken possession of, and fired on the boats as they approached; whilst the batteries on the isle of Amak aided them in this irregular warfare. Nelson was justly irritated at this conduct on the part of the Danes; and at one time had thoughts of sending in the fire-ships to burn the vessels which had surrendered. But, as a preliminary measure, he retired into the stern gallery, and wrote to the crown prince of Denmark that celebrated letter, which will ever be memorable in the history of England: "Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson is commanded to spare Denmark when she no longer resists. The line of defence which covered her shores has struck to the British flag; but if the firing is continued on the part of Denmark, he must set on fire all the prizes that he has taken, without having the power of saving the men who have so nobly defended them. The brave Danes are the brothers, and should never be the enemies of the English." This letter was carried on shore with a flag of truce by Sir Frederick Thesiger, who found the crown prince at a sally-port. Meanwhile a destructive cannonade was still kept up by the *Defiance*, *Monarch*, and *Ganges*, while the near approach of the *Defence* and *Ramillies* silenced the fire of the *Indosforethen*, *Holstein*, and the ships next to them in the Danish line. But the great *Trekröner* still continued its fire. This formidable work, having had nothing but frigates and sloops opposed to it, and that only for a time, was comparatively uninjured; and as it had just been manned with nearly fifteen hundred men, it was considered as too strong to be successfully stormed. It was now judged advisable to withdraw the fleet out of the intricate channel

while the wind was fair; and preparations were making for this purpose, when the Danish adjutant-general Lindholm came, bearing a flag of truce; upon which the *Trekröner* discontinued its fire, and the action, after having lasted five hours, during four of which it had been hotly contested, was brought to a close.

The negotiations continued during the five following days. On the 9th an armistice for fourteen weeks was, after much discussion, agreed to; and Denmark engaged to suspend all proceedings under the treaty of armed neutrality which she had entered into with Sweden and Russia.

This was a murderous action. The English loss in killed and wounded fell little short of twelve hundred; whilst that of the Danes, including prisoners, amounted to about six thousand. For the battle of Copenhagen Nelson received the title of Viscount; a paltry reward for services equally splendid in themselves, and important to the maritime interests of England.

On the 12th the British fleet sailed from Copenhagen roads by the difficult channel of the Grounds, between the islands of Amak and Saltholm, and steered for the northern extremity of the island of Bornholm, in order to intercept a Swedish squadron, reported at nine sail of the line. The Swedish admiral, however, whose force consisted of only six sail of the line, sought refuge behind the forts of Carserona; and here a negotiation was opened, which, on the 22d, ended in an agreement by his Swedish majesty to treat for the accommodation of all existing differences. On the 5th of May, Sir Hyde Parker was recalled, and Nelson invested with the command, which ought never to have been for one moment intrusted to another. On the 8th he informed the Swedish admiral, by a flag of truce, that although Sir Hyde Parker had consented not to interrupt Swedish navigation, he, Lord Nelson, would act against the Swedish fleet if he found it at sea; and he left Captain Murray with six sail of the line, the *Glatton*, and a frigate,



to cruise off Carlserona. On the 14th his lordship anchored off Revel roads, prepared, if necessary, to let Russia feel "the Nelson touch," under which Denmark and Sweden had quailed; but events had already occurred in that country which changed the aspect of affairs, and brought on an accommodation without any further hostilities.

On the 23d of March the emperor Paul died suddenly. His son and successor, Alexander, immediately disclaimed all hostility against Great Britain, and made reparation for the damage which their merchants had suffered from the embargo laid upon their ships. A convention was adjusted with Russia in the month of June, which put an end to the dispute with the northern states, as Sweden and Denmark could not of themselves hope to resist the power of Great Britain.

The war between France and Great Britain was now reduced to merely maritime operations, and these were of no great magnitude. One of the most important occurred upon the coast of Spain, between Sir James Saumarez and a squadron of French and Spanish ships of war. On the morning of the 6th of July, the British admiral stood through the Straits of Gibraltar, with the intention of attacking three French line-of-battle ships and a frigate, which were lying at anchor off Algesiras. On opening Cabrita Point he found that the ships lay at a considerable distance from the batteries on shore, and having the advantage of a leading wind, he conceived that he had every prospect of success. He had previously directed Captain Hood in the *Venerable* to lead the squadron; but the wind failing, this officer found it impossible to occupy the station assigned to him. Captain Stirling in the *Pompée*, however, having anchored opposite the inner ships of the enemy, commenced the action; while, in the ardor to engage, the *Hannibal* unfortunately ran aground. Every effort was now made by the admiral to cover this ship from the enemy's fire; but as she was only three cables length from one of the batteries on shore, he was obliged to retire,

and to leave her in their hands. The loss on board the English squadron was considerable. The admiral had scarcely reached harbor when he was apprised that the French line-of-battle ships, disabled in the action of the 6th, were on the 8th reinforced by a squadron of five Spanish ships of the line under the command of Don Juan de Mozen, and a French ship of seventy-four guns; and that they were all under sail on the morning of the 12th of July, together with their prize, the *Hannibal*. He had almost despaired of having a sufficient force in readiness to oppose such numbers; but by great exertion he was able to warp out of the Mole with all the ships under his command, the *Pompée* excepted, which had not time to get in her masts. The object of the British admiral being to intercept this powerful force on its way to Cadiz, he observed, late in the evening, that the enemy's ships had cleared Cabrita Point, and at eight he bore up after them. About eleven the *Superb* came up with the hostile squadron, and opened her fire at not more than three cables' length. At this critical period a mistake of the enemy decided the fate of the action. In the darkness and confusion, the Spanish ships fired upon each other; the *Real Carlos* took fire and blew up; whilst the *Hermenegildo*, mistaking her for an enemy, ran on board of her, and shared her melancholy fate; and the *San Antonio*, of seventy-four guns and seven hundred and thirty men, being thus left unsupported, struck to the *Superb*. The remaining ships of the enemy now crowded all sail and stood out of the straits; and at daybreak there appeared in sight only one French ship, which was standing towards the shoals of Cavil. But at this juncture the wind failing her, the *Venerable* was able to bring her to action, and had nearly silenced her when the loss of the mainmast obliged the captain of the *Venerable* to desist; and this ship, which was one of eighty-four guns, escaped along with the rest.

As the French had now resumed their usual menacing project of invasion, and ap-

peared to be collecting a force in the harbor of Boulogne, an attempt was made by Lord Nelson to obstruct their preparations; and he succeeded in doing some damage, which appears to have encouraged him to make a more serious effort. Boats intended for boarding the French vessels were sent off in the night in four divisions, under the conduct of the Captains Somerville, Parker, Cotgrave and Jones; and launches furnished with howitzers were detached under Captain Conn to join in the enterprise. Parker's division first approached the enemy, and commenced a furious attack, making strenuous efforts, with the most undaunted courage, and sanguine hopes of success. But an unforeseen obstacle baffled all their exertions. This was a very strong netting traced up to the lower yards of the French vessels, which were also fastened by chains to the ground and to each other; and so effectual was the resistance of the enemy thus protected, that the crew of Captain Parker's boat were repulsed in their attempts to board a large brig, by a furious discharge of cannon and musketry, which killed a number of the assailants, while many more were wounded and maimed. Captain Parker died of his wounds after the return of the fleet to the Downs. The number of British seamen killed and wounded on this occasion amounted to nearly two hundred.

Owing to the refusal of the former administration to ratify the capitulation of El Arish, negotiated between General Kleber and Sir Sidney Smith, the French still retained possession of Egypt. To remedy this unpardonable blunder a considerable force had been dispatched from Great Britain, under the conduct of an experienced and gallant officer, Sir Ralph Abercromby. The British forces under Lord Keith and General Abercromby, after unexpected delays on the coast of Asia Minor, arrived off Alexandria on the 1st of March; and the following day the fleet made sail for the bay of Aboukir, where it anchored. The sea continued to run high

until the 8th, and no disembarkation could be effected; but on that day the first division made good their landing at ten o'clock in the morning, in the face of a body of French, who, evidently aware of their intention, were posted in force, with considerable advantage, on some sand hills opposite the landing place. The front of the disembarkation was narrow, and a hill which commanded the whole appeared almost inaccessible; yet the British troops ascended it under a fire of grape and musketry with the utmost intrepidity, and forced the French to retire, leaving behind them seven pieces of artillery, and a number of horses. The disembarkation was continued during that and the following day; while the troops which landed on the 8th advanced three miles during the same day. On the 12th the whole army moved forward, and came in sight of the French, who were formed advantageously on a ridge, with their left resting on the canal of Alexandria and their right towards the sea. As it was determined to commence the attack on the 13th, the British force marched in two lines by the left, with an intention of turning the right flank of the enemy. But the attack was in some measure anticipated by the French, who descended from the heights on which they were formed, and assailed the leading brigades of both lines. The British troops were therefore compelled to change their front, which, though one of the most difficult operations in war, was executed with the greatest precision; and the rest of the army immediately followed their example. After a severe conflict, victory declared in favor of the English, though not without considerable loss.

The French commander-in-chief, Abdallah Menou, appears to have acted upon this occasion with but little judgment. Instead of bringing down nearly his whole force to the coast, which would have enabled him greatly to outnumber, and consequently, in all probability, to defeat the invaders, who were less acquainted with the country than his own officers, he thought fit to hazard an



engagement on the 21st of March with only half his force. The battle commenced before daylight in the morning, by a false attack on the left of the English under Major-General Craddock, in which the French were repulsed. But the most vigorous efforts of the enemy were directed against the right of the English army, which they endeavored by every possible means to turn. The attack on this point was begun with great impetuosity by the French infantry, sustained by a strong body of cavalry, who charged in column. The contest was unusually obstinate. The French were twice repulsed, and their cavalry were repeatedly intermixed with the English infantry. While this was passing on the right, the French attempted to penetrate the centre of the British army with a column of infantry, who were also repulsed and obliged to retreat. A corps of light troops, however, advanced, supported by infantry and cavalry, to keep in check the left of the English, which was the weakest of the line; but all their efforts were fruitless, and the British remained masters of the field. The loss on their side was great, amounting in killed, wounded and missing, to upwards of fifteen hundred. The loss of the French was calculated in the English accounts at three thousand. One of the French generals, Roiz, was killed, and Generals Lanusse and Bodet died of their wounds. A French regiment which had been styled *Invincible* was destroyed in this battle, and its colors fell into the hands of a serjeant of the 42d regiment, called Sinclair, having, it is said, been picked up on the field by a Maltese, named Anthony Lutz. The victory of the 21st decided the fate of Egypt. In this battle, however, the British army suffered a great calamity in the loss of its general.

After the death of Sir Ralph Abercromby, the command devolved upon General Hutchinson, who lost no time in proceeding towards Alexandria, where the principal force of the enemy was now concentrated. In the mean time the town and castle of Rosetta were taken by a division of the British army under

Colonel Spencer, aided by a body of Turks. The French garrison, amounting to eight hundred men, made but a feeble resistance, and retired to the right bank of the Nile, leaving a few men killed and prisoners. While such was the state of affairs in the neighborhood of Alexandria, Admiral Blanket, with a considerable force from the East Indies, effected a landing at Suez. The admiral had been separated from the rest of his squadron in the dangerous and difficult passage of the Red Sea; but before the end of April he was joined by a large reinforcement under the command of General Baird, who had with him Colonels Wellesley and Murray, and other officers of distinction.

As the capture of Grand Cairo, next to that of Alexandria, was a great object with the allies, a force was detached early in May for its reduction. On the 9th General Hutchinson, with four thousand British and an equal number of Turks, attacked the French near Rhamanieh; and the latter being driven in, retreated in the night towards Cairo, leaving a small garrison at Rhamanieh, which on the following day surrendered to the British. The loss of the English on this occasion did not exceed thirty men. About the same time a body of French and Copts, who had moved forward from Cairo to attack the Turks, were defeated by the grand vizier, who was essentially assisted by Colonel Murray and other British officers. The French are said to have lost fifty men, and the Turks about thirty in this action. The whole number of French engaged amounted to nearly five thousand, and the Turkish army to about nine thousand.

From various causes, it was the middle of June before the British army under General Hutchinson reached the vicinity of Cairo, where he found the works very much extended, though the garrison did not exceed five thousand in number. The capitan pasha at the same time invested Gizeh, a suburb of Cairo, on the left bank of the Nile, and the grand vizier took a position within cannon shot of the city. Thus invested on every side,

the garrison, on the 22d, sent a flag of truce to the English general, offering to treat for the evacuation of Cairo upon certain conditions. After a negotiation of several days, the surrender was finally agreed upon in a convention of twenty-one articles; the substance of which was, that the French army at Cairo and its dependencies were to be conveyed in the ships of the allied powers, and at their expense, together with their baggage, arms, ammunition and other effects, to the nearest French ports in the Mediterranean; and of this convention General Menou was to be at liberty to avail himself. The port of Alexandria was all that now remained in possession of the French; it was attacked by sea and land, and at length surrendered by capitulation on the 2d of September.

By the time when intelligence of this event reached England, the views of men had been turned to a new state of things. The administration had seriously entered into negotiations of peace, which were conducted by Lord Hawkesbury on the part of Great Britain, and M. Otto, who resided in London as agent for the French prisoners of war, and who was now intrusted on the part of the French with this important business.

By the preliminary articles, which were signed at London on the 1st of October, by M. Otto on the part of the French Republic, and Lord Hawkesbury on the part of his Britannic majesty, Great Britain agreed to the restoration of all her conquests, the island of Trinidad and the Dutch possessions of Ceylon excepted.

To negotiate the definitive treaty of peace, the Marquis Cornwallis went to Paris towards the close of the year, and thence proceeded to Amiens, where the negotiations went on very slowly, and were not concluded till the 27th of March, 1802.

During the dependence of the negotiation, the first consul, Bonaparte, without waiting till a definitive treaty of peace had been concluded, sent a large army to St. Domingo, which obliged Britain to despatch a powerful fleet to the West Indies in order to watch

its motions. On the Continent his measures were not less arbitrary. A considerable portion of Lombardy, with Milan as its capital, which had been erected into what was called the Italian or Cisalpine Republic, and contained some millions of people, was now united to France, by the form of nominating Bonaparte to the office of president over it.

These transactions could scarcely fail to be noticed in Britain, and to become the subject of animadversion in the public newspapers. Even the personal character of the first consul was not spared; and it cannot be denied that he was often libelled in the grossest manner. Bonaparte appears to have early become sensitive and irritated on this head. A great degree of irritation was thus produced in the French government against England; and the first consul even went so far as not only to prohibit the importation of English newspapers into France but to demand from the British government restrictions upon the liberty of the press.

In the meanwhile some difficulties occurred in the execution of the treaty of Amiens. The British ministry had avoided engaging in a quarrel with Bonaparte on account of his continental usurpation, because they found no power willing to join them in resisting him; but his restless ambition induced him to endeavor to lay hold of the island of Malta; and his impatient spirit prevented his conducting the plan in such a manner as might have enabled him to avoid suspicion and insure success. That island was destined by the treaty to be intrusted to the order of St. John of Jerusalem. Without waiting till the British had abandoned it, Bonaparte instantly set on foot negotiations with the different countries to which the knights of the order belonged, to procure the abolition of the order, the confiscation of its revenues, and the prohibition of the future enrolment of knights, and their departure for Malta. And having accomplished these objects, he required the British government to deliver up the island to a grand master, appointed, at his instigation, by the pope; or to the King



of Naples, who was to receive possession, in the first instance, for behoof of the knights. Strictly speaking, there was thus no longer any order of Malta to defend the island; and as the King of Naples was at all times at the mercy of France, the evacuation of Malta by the British troops would, in the actual posture of affairs, have been equivalent to the transferring it to the latter power. The British ministry had submitted to the late continental acquisitions of France from want of means to oppose them; but they resolved to oppose the seizure of this island, which may be considered as the key of the Mediterranean, because the superiority of the British fleet enabled them successfully to do so. This determination appears to have greatly perplexed the vehement and irritable mind of the first consul. At the drawing-room, where he was waited upon by the whole ambassadors of Europe, and by a numerous assemblage of persons of high rank from all countries, he could scarcely observe the ordinary forms of civility to the British ambassador; and on one occasion he openly insulted Lord Whitworth who then filled that position.

The negotiations in the mean time proceeded; and Bonaparte still insisted upon the literal fulfillment of the treaty of Amiens. He appears to have flattered himself that the British ministry would not venture to renew the war on account of Malta. But encouraged by the support of the people the English administration rose in their demands; and on the 12th of May, Lord Whitworth presented the ultimatum of the British government, which was in substance that the French government should engage to make no opposition to the cession of the island of Lampedosa to his majesty by the king of the Two Sicilies; that, in consequence of the present state of the island of Lampedosa, his majesty should remain in possession of the island of Malta until such arrangements should be made by him as might enable him to occupy Lampedosa as a naval station, after which period the island should be given up to the inhabitants,

and acknowledged as an independent state; that the territories of the Batavian republic should be evacuated by the French forces within one month after the conclusion of a convention founded on the principles of this project; that the king of Etruria and the Italian and Ligurian republics should be acknowledged by his majesty; that Switzerland should be evacuated by the French forces; that a suitable territorial provision should be assigned to the King of Sardinia in Italy; and, in a secret article, that his majesty should not be required by the French government to evacuate the island of Malta until after the expiration of ten years. The proposed stipulations relative to the king of Etruria, the Italian and Ligurian republics, and the King of Sardinia, were merely inserted as make-weights; and accordingly in an additional article, it was provided that they might be omitted, but that, if inserted at all they must be inserted together.

This ultimatum having been rejected, war was announced on the 16th of May, by a message from the king to the two houses of parliament; and on the 21st of May a declaration, justifying this measure, appeared in the London Gazette.

War having been declared on the 18th of May, the French troops advanced from Holland, and entered the electoral capital by the 5th of June. To attempt resistance would have been folly; but in a season when soldiers were so much wanted in England, and so great an expense was incurred in training them, it was a matter of regret that the Hanoverian troops, in number about fifteen thousand, should not have been marched down to the coast, and embarked in a body, instead of being disbanded and obliged at pledge themselves not to serve against France until exchanged.

On the side of France the aspect of war was displayed in a great encampment at Boulogne, and in the dispatch from all the ports along the coast, of flotillas of boats to join the armament preparing in that central rendezvous. These convoys had instructions

to tempt the English cruisers to attack them, and to draw them, at fit occasions, under the fire of land-batteries; and they were sometimes successful in doing so. The main object of Bonaparte was to excite alarm; a course which, however politic toward some countries, was certainly ill judged in regard to one where the executive power, in its inability to coerce, often seeks support in the apprehensions of the public. The general impression of dread facilitated the measures of defence, and led to the volunteer system, which was carried to an unparalleled extent.

Such was the aspect of the war during two years, in which the British naval superiority led to an easy conquest of several of the Dutch and French West India colonies. St. Lucie surrendered on the 22d of June, 1803; Tobago, on the 1st of July; Demerara and Berbice, on the 23d of September; and Cape Town, the last spot in the French half of St. Domingo, occupied by French troops, capitulated to the Blacks on the 30th of November. Next year was taken the small island of Goree, on the coast of Africa, and soon after the important Dutch colony of Surinam. On the other hand, England was not successful in her attempts on the French flotillas on their own shores.

The war hitherto had been with France and Holland only; but a new power was now to be added to the list of antagonists. Spain had been allowed by Bonaparte to avoid participating in the contest, on condition of paying a large annual contribution; a condition so contrary to real neutrality, that for some time past the government had kept a vigilant eye on the expected arrival of her treasure ships from America. A small squadron of four frigates, sent out to intercept these valuable supplies, met, on the 5th of October, 1804, a Spanish squadron of a similar number proceeding towards Cadiz; and the Spanish commodore refusing to surrender, an engagement ensued, attended with the capture of three of the Spanish frigates, and the explosion of the fourth, accompanied with the loss of many lives. This decisive act, was

naturally productive of the worst impressions in regard to the English national honor both in Spain and her colonies, and led soon afterwards to a declaration of war by that power.

Bonaparte was now provided with additional means of threatening the distant possessions of Great Britain. A squadron of five sail of the line escaping from Rochefort, landed a body of nearly four thousand men on the island of Dominica, and burned the chief town; the island of St. Kitt's escaped with paying a contribution and the loss of some merchantmen. But this was only a prelude to the arrival of a much more formidable fleet, which, to the number of eighteen sail of the line, French and Spanish, reached the West Indies in the end of May, and spread alarm throughout the islands; an alarm not dispelled till the arrival of a force inferior by nearly one-third, but commanded by Lord Nelson. The hostile fleet soon after set out on its homeward voyage. Intelligence to that effect was opportunely received by Lord Barham, then at the head of the admiralty; and a fleet, detached to cruise on their supposed track, had the good fortune to fall in with them on the 22d July. An action took place; two sail of the line, Spanish ships, were captured; night terminated the conflict; and though it might have been renewed on the succeeding days, an unfortunate indecision on the part of the English admiral, Sir Robert Calder, allowed the enemy to escape. They soon afterwards repaired to Ferrol, whence they sailed with augmented force, and reached Cadiz.

To watch them there, or to engage them on their coming out, was now an object of the highest moment; and it was to Lord Nelson that this important trust was committed. Joining the English fleet off Cadiz on the 20th September, he avoided keeping in sight, and even dispensed with the aid of six sail of the line, which he sent to a distance along the coast; judging that the enemy, when apprised of their absence, would be induced to come out. Accordingly, the combined fleet left Cadiz on the 19th of October, to the



number of thirty-three sail of the line, eighteen French and fifteen Spanish, commanded by Admiral Villeneuve, and early on the 21st came in sight of the British fleet, consisting of twenty-seven sail of the line, off Cape Trafalgar, about half way between Cadiz and Gibraltar. The enemy, convinced that their former defeats at sea had been owing to the want of concentration and mutual support, now formed a double line, every alternate ship being about a cable's length to windward of her second ahead and astern, so that any of the English ships, attempting to penetrate, would be exposed to the fire of two or of three antagonists. Nelson, while yet distant, perceived their arrangement, and understood its object. It was new, but he was satisfied that no concentration in the open sea could prevent his vessels from coming to close action with their opponents, in which case the result could not long be doubtful. He consequently made no alteration in his previous plan, which was to make the order of sailing the order of battle, the fleet being in two lines, with an advanced squadron of eight of the fastest sailing two-deckers; but directed the fleet to advance to the attack in two divisions, one of which, under Admiral Collingwood, intersected that part of the enemy's line which gave it nearly an equal number of ships to encounter; whilst Nelson, with the other division, acted on a similar plan. Such was the only general manœuvre in this great action. By their superior seamanship, and their ships keeping near each other, they had in some cases a local superiority; but the general character of the fight was a conflict of ship to ship; and its decision in their favor was owing to that skill in working the guns, to that dexterity in an occasional change of position, and that confidence of success which characterizes a naval force in a high state of discipline. Their loss, amounting to sixteen hundred men, was in part caused by the riflemen in the enemy's rigging: an ungenerous mode of warfare, which may deprive an opposing force of officers, but can have little effect on the general issue of a conflict. The

fighting began at noon, became general in less than half an hour, and lasted from two to three hours; in the case of a few ships it continued longer, but all firing was over by half-past four o'clock. The victory was complete, but purchased by the death of Nelson, who was mortally wounded by a musket ball fired from the mizzen-top of the *Redoubtable*, by one of the enemy's riflemen, and expired just as the action closed. Nineteen sail of the line struck; but unfortunately gales of wind, after the action, wrecked part of their prizes, and necessitated the destruction of others. Four sail, however, were preserved; and four more, which had escaped, under Rear-admiral Dumanoir, were met on their northward course, on the 2d of November, and captured off Cape Ortegal, by a squadron under Sir Richard Strachan.

The course of events on the continent; the glorious campaigns of Ulm and Austerlitz have already found their place in the history of FRANCE, and we pass them over here.

The proceedings which had been commenced against Lord Melville by the commissioners of naval inquiry, made a deep impression on Mr. Pitt, and deprived him of his only efficient coadjutor, at a time when, from the magnitude of his public cares, he was more than ever in want of support. The consequent fatigue and anxiety made severe inroads on a constitution naturally not strong. His indisposition became apparent in the early part of winter, and, on the meeting of parliament, it was understood to have reached a dangerous height. His death took place on the 23d January, 1806. A motion, brought forward a few days after, to grant a public funeral, and to erect a monument to the late excellent minister, excited much discussion. Mr. Fox paid a high tribute to the financial merits of his great rival, which, in fact, were extremely questionable; but he could not join in ascribing the epithet of "excellent" to measures which he had so often opposed. Mr. Windham also opposed the vote, and the Grenvilles chose to be absent. Still the motion was carried by two



Arthur Brontë





hundred and fifty-eight against a hundred and sixty-nine. To a subsequent proposition for a grant of £40,000 for the payment of Mr. Pitt's debt, no opposition was made.

The public attention was now fixed on the approaching change of ministry. The king, in concurrence, it is said, with the death-bed recommendation of Mr. Pitt, sent for Lord Grenville, desired him to form a ministry, and made no opposition to the admission of Mr. Fox into the cabinet; but he is said to have expressed a desire that the Duke of York should retain the office of commander-in-chief. The new administration was formed on a broad basis, comprising the friends of Lord Grenville, those of Mr. Fox and those of Lord Sidmouth.

The trial of Lord Melville before the House of Peers began on the 29th of April, 1806. The charges against him, little understood by the public at large, related to an infraction of his official duty, not as a member of the cabinet, but in his early and inferior station of treasurer of the navy. The trial closed on the 12th of June. The articles of impeachment had been extended to the number of ten, and on all of them there was a majority of peers for his acquittal.

The bill for the abolition of the slave-trade was now brought forward with all the weight of government support, and carried by triumphant majorities; in the Lords by a hundred to thirty-six, in the Commons by two hundred and eighty-three to sixteen. This prompt termination of a struggle of twenty years showed how easily the measure might have been carried had not Mr. Pitt declined to give it ministerial support; a course suggested to him probably by a dread of offending the West India planters. This proved the last important bill of the Grenville ministry, whose removal from office took place very unexpectedly, in consequence of a difference with the sovereign about the Irish Catholics.

Of the new ministry, the efficient members were, Mr. Perceval, chancellor of the exchequer; Mr. Canning, minister for foreign af-

fairs; Lord Castlereagh for the war, and Lord Liverpool for the home department.

The alteration of fortune by sea and land was so great, that 1806 had hardly commenced when fresh successes were obtained over the French navy. A division of the Brest squadron, after landing troops in the Spanish part of St. Domingo, was overtaken by a superior force, and three sail of the line captured and two burned. Admiral Linois, returning from India, was captured in the Marengo of eighty guns; and, at a subsequent date, of a squadron of frigates detached from Rochefort for the West Indies, four fell into the hands of the English.

It was under these circumstances that a negotiation for peace was for some months carried on at Paris. It began in consequence of an overture from Talleyrand, eagerly embraced by Mr. Fox; and Lord Yarmouth, who happened to be under detention in France, was made the first medium of communication and conference. In its more advanced stage, the negotiation was intrusted to Lord Lauderdale; and at one period, namely, in September, the conciliatory tone of the French inspired a hope of peace; a hope soon disappointed, when it was found that the offers of Bonaparte were followed by the demand of Sicily.

The humiliation of Austria left Bonaparte at liberty to direct his manœuvres, both diplomatic and military, against her northern rival.

The discussions between France and Prussia continued during the summer of 1806, and from the blind confidence of one party, and the artifice of the other, assumed at last a serious aspect. War was declared; the battle of Jena deprived Prussia of her army, her capital, and her fortresses; and her court was fugitive in the north of Poland, ere there had been time to send, or even to concert the sending of succors from England. The Grenville ministry, less eager than their predecessors to embark in continental war, confined themselves to sending a general officer, Lord Hutchinson, to the Russian headquar-



ters, and to the grant of a limited subsidy. For some time the difficulties of the country, and the firm resistance of the Russians, particularly at Eylau, enouraged the hope of arresting the progress of Bonaparte; but this hope was disappointed by the battle of Friedland, and still more by the approximation of the court of Russia to that of France.

The treaty of Tilsit excited alarm, less from its specific provisions, than from the probable consequences of the co-operation of the contracting powers. Among these, some persons reckoned, or pretended to reckon, the equipping of the Danish navy, a force of sixteen sail of the line, not manned or ready for the sea, but capable of being fitted out without a great sacrifice. The ministry of 1807 founded their claim to public favor on a system of vigor, on a course altogether opposite to the cautious calculations of their predecessors. No sooner were they apprised of the treaty of Tilsit, than, without waiting for its effect on the Danish government, they determined on the as yet unexampled measure of taking forcible possession of a neutral fleet. A powerful armament of twenty thousand troops and twenty-seven sail of the line, prepared ostensibly against Flushing and Antwerp, was directed to proceed to the Sound, there to await the result of a negotiation opened at Copenhagen. This negotiation was intrusted to a special envoy, who represented the danger to Denmark from France and Russia, and demanded the delivery of the Danish fleet to England, under a solemn stipulation of its being restored on the termination of their war with France. The Danes, justly offended at this proposal, and aware that their agreeing to it would expose them to the loss of the continental part of their territory, refused; the envoy returned on board the English fleet; the army was landed, and Copenhagen invested by land and sea, while a part of the fleet cut off all communication between the continent and the island on which it stands. After a fortnight passed in preparations, a heavy fire was opened on the city, and continued during two

days with very great effect. A capitulation now took place; the citadel, dock-yards and batteries were put into their hands, and no time was lost in fitting out the Danish men of war for sea. All stores, timber and other articles of naval equipment, belonging to government, were taken out of the arsenals, embarked and conveyed to England.

The Cape of Good Hope surrendered in January, 1806, to an armament sent from England. After this, Sir Home Popham, who commanded the naval part of the expedition ventured to make, without the sanction or even knowledge of the government, an attempt on Buenos Ayres. The troops, although under two thousand in number, effected a landing, and occupied the town. Intelligence to this effect having reached England, the popular notion that Buenos Ayres would prove a great market for her manufactures, induced the government to take measures for completing the new conquest. And though the inhabitants soon rose and drove out the feeble detachment under Sir Home Popham, an armament, which arrived in January, 1807 under command of Sir Samuel Auchmuty, attacked the strongly fortified town of Monte Video, and carried it by assault, which was conducted with great skill and gallantry. But a very different fate awaited their next enterprise, an attack on Buenos Ayres, planned by General Whitelocke, an officer wholly unfit for this or any other kind of service. The troops, eight thousand in number, were, under every disadvantage, successful in some parts; but failing in others, the result was a negotiation, and a convention that Britain should withdraw altogether from the country, on the condition of her prisoners being restored.

But in another part of the world, and against an enemy in general far more formidable, her arms had been attended with success. Naples had been engaged in the coalition of 1805, with a view to assail the French on the side of Lombardy; but an Anglo-Russian army, landed for that purpose, had been prevented from marching northward by the

disastrous intelligence from Germany. They were subsequently re-embarked, the British withdrawing to Sicily, and Palermo becoming once more the refuge of the Neapolitan court. The court, eager to excite insurrection against the French in Calabria, prevailed on General Sir John Stuart, in the beginning of July, 1806, to lead thither a detachment of troops. They landed, and soon after received intelligence, that at Maida, distant only ten miles from the English encampment, was a French corps, already equal to the English, and hourly expecting considerable reinforcements. The troops marched to attack them on the morning of the 4th July, and at nine o'clock drew near to their position; which had a river in front. But General Regnier, who commanded the French, having received his reinforcements the preceding evening, and seeing that the small British army was unprovided with cavalry, caused his men to march out of their camp, and advance to charge them on the plain.

The French marched towards them with great confidence, not expecting them to stand the charge. The British line, however, formed, faced the enemy and advanced; the forward movement of the opposing lines lessening the intervening distance in a double ratio. On a nearer approach the enemy opened their field-pieces, but, contrary to the usual practice of the French artillery, with little effect. Not so the British; for when their artillery opened, every shot told, and carried off a file of the enemy's line. The lines were now fast closing, being within three hundred yards distance, and a fire having commenced by the sharpshooters on the right. At this moment the enemy seemed to hesitate, halted and fired a volley. The British line also halted, returned the salute, and having thrown in a second volley, advanced at full charge. The enemy, apparently resolved to stand the shock, kept perfectly steady, till, intimidated by the advance, equally rapid and firm, of an enemy whom they had been taught to despise, their hearts failed, and they faced about and fled, but not in confusion. When

they approached within a short distance of their second line, they halted, fronted and opened a fire of musketry on our line, which did not follow up the charge to any distance, but halted to allow the men to draw breath, and to close up any breaks in their formation. They were soon ready, however, to advance again; and the order to charge having once more been given, the brave troops rushed forward to the onset, the enemy, as before, making a show of determination to remain firm. But their courage again failed them; they would not stand the shock; and giving way in greater confusion than before, their first line was thrown upon the second, and both became intermingled in great disorder. Seeing himself thus completely foiled in his attack on the front, and being driven back more than a mile, Regnier now made an attempt to turn the left flank; but this was defeated by the British second line, which, refusing its left, opened an admirably directed and destructive fire, which quickly drove back the enemy with great loss. Their efforts were equally unsuccessful against the right of the British line, which also charged in the most gallant and decisive manner, and the field of battle remained entirely in possession of the English. The French loss in killed and wounded was upwards of two thousand; the English only between three hundred and four hundred. This brilliant exploit produced the evacuation of part of Calabria by the French, but had no other result.

The next operation in the Mediterranean was an unsuccessful menace of the Turkish capital. The court refusing to enter into the plans of hostility to France, the English ambassador withdrew, and re-entered the Straits of the Dardanelles with a squadron of seven sail of the line, exclusive of frigates and bombs. They suffered considerably in passing the narrow part of the straits, between the ancient Sestos and Abydos, now called the castles of Romonia and Natolia. Anchoring at a distance of eight miles from Constantinople, the admiral, Sir J. Duckworth,



threatened to burn the seraglio and the city, but in vain. The Turks continued adverse to the demands, and employed the interval, wasted by the British commander in useless negotiations, in strengthening the formidable batteries of the Dardanelles. It soon became indispensable therefore to withdraw, and to repass the straits; but this was not accomplished without a considerable loss in killed and wounded, the cannon at the castles being of great size, and discharging granite balls, one of which, weighing eight hundred pounds, cut in two the mainmast of the Windsor man of war. A descent made soon after in Egypt was equally unfortunate. A detachment of troops landing at Alexandria, occupied that town, but suffered a severe loss at Rosetta, and eventually withdrew, on the Turks consenting to give up the prisoners they had taken. Peace was soon after concluded with the Turks, and the operations in the Levant were confined to the capture of the Ionian Islands from the French. Zante, Cephalonia, Ithaca and Cerigo, were taken by a small expedition in 1809, and Santa Maura the succeeding year.

On the side of Sicily, the English commanders, though pressed by the court of Palermo, refused to make descents on Calabria, which could lead to nothing but partial insurrections, followed, on the return of a superior force, by the death of the most zealous of their partisans. They took, however, in June, 1806, the small islands of Ischia and Procida, near the coast of Naples; and, in the autumn of 1810, repelled an attempt of Murat to invade Sicily. A body of nearly four thousand Italians, who had landed on this occasion, were driven back with loss.

The hostility of Russia consequent on her connection with France produced a menaced invasion of Sweden, now the only ally in the north. To aid in repelling it, Sir John Moore was sent to Gottenburg with a body of ten thousand men. This force did not land; but the general, repairing to Stockholm, entered into communications with the king, and had the mortification of finding that prince bent

on projects which would necessarily involve the sacrifice of the British troops. On this he lost no time in returning to Gottenburg, and soon afterwards brought back the armament to England, to be employed on a more promising service.

The influence possessed by Bonaparte over Spain had long inspired him with the hope of overawing Portugal, and of obliging that country to dissolve her alliance with England. To this hope the humiliation of Germany, and his new alliance with Russia, gave double strength; and, in the latter part of 1807, the most peremptory demands were made on the court of Lisbon. To part of these, implying the exclusion of British merchantmen from the harbors of Portugal, compliance was promised; but the demand of confiscating English property, and detaining the English resident in Portugal, was met by a decided refusal. A French army now marched towards Lisbon, and threatened openly to overthrow the house of Braganza; but the latter, after some momentary indications of indecision, took the determination of abandoning their European dominions, and proceeding to Brazil. This spirited, and by many unexpected measure, was carried into effect in the end of November, and Lisbon was forthwith occupied by French troops. A few months afterwards occurred the transactions at Bayonne, and the general declaration of hostility by the Spaniards to Bonaparte. The English cabinet now determined to postpone all other projects to that of a vigorous effort in Spain and Portugal. With that view, an armament of ten thousand men, collected at Cork, and said to be intended for Spanish America, sailed in July for the Peninsula, and offered its co-operation to the Spaniards in Galicia. They, however, thought it best that England should confine her aid to Spain to arms and money, directing her military force against the French army in Portugal. Accordingly, the troops, after passing an interval at Oporto, were landed to the southward, in Mondego Bay, where, after receiving the co-operation of another division of

British, and a few Portuguese, they proceeded on their southward march towards Lisbon. The first actions took place with French detachments at the small town of Obidos, and at Rorica. Neither was of much importance; the French, inferior in number, retreated; but their commander at Lisbon was Junot, an officer trained in the school of revolutionary enterprise. He determined forthwith on assuming offensive operations, advanced from Lisbon, and reaching the British army on the 21st of August, 1808, attacked it in its position at the small town of Vimeiro. The force on either side was about fourteen thousand men. The principal column of the enemy, headed by General Laborde, and preceded by a multitude of light troops, mounted the face of the hill forming the crest of the British position, and crowned the summit; but, shattered by a terrible fire of the artillery, breathless from their exertions, and riddled by a discharge of musketry from the fifteenth regiment at half pistol-shot distance, they were vigorously charged in front and flank, and overthrown. Equal success attended the British in other parts of the line, and the loss of the enemy was three thousand men and thirteen pieces of cannon. The object now ought to have been to follow up this success, before the French had time to recover themselves, and fortify the almost impenetrable mountains on the road to Lisbon. In vain did Sir Arthur Wellesley urge this, first on Sir Harry Burrard, who had now taken the command, and next day on Sir Hew Dalrymple, who arrived and replaced him. A precious interval was thus lost. The French occupied the passes, opened their negotiation in a tone of confidence, and obtained, by the treaty called the Convention of Cintra, a free return to France on board of British shipping. The ministry, though disappointed, determined to defend this convention; judging it indispensable, partly from the communications of Sir Hew Dalrymple, more from its bearing the unqualified signature of Sir Arthur Wellesley, who was, even then, their

confidential military adviser. The public, however, called for inquiry; the ministers felt the necessity of acceding; the three generals were ordered home from Portugal; and, after a long investigation and divided opinions, the chief error was found to consist in stopping General Ferguson in the career of victory, when about to cut off the enemy's retreat to Lisbon, and in the loss of the twenty-four hours which followed the battle of Vimeiro.

Meantime the command of the troops in Portugal was vested in Sir John Moore, and arrangements were made for moving them forward into Spain. But from the badness of the roads, it was necessary to advance in two divisions, one marching due east, and another northeast; while a further force, which had arrived from England at Corunna, was instructed to hold a southeast course. The lateral divisions received, in their progress, orders to adapt the direction of their march to existing circumstances; but the result was, that both converged towards the central division, conducted by Sir John Moore in person.

Sir John Moore reached Salamanca on the 13th of November, aware that the Spaniards had been defeated at Burgos, and soon after apprised that a French corps was advancing to Valladolid, within sixty miles of his front. In this situation he received from Madrid the most urgent solicitations to advance thither with his army, either in whole or in part. He knew the ardor of his country for the cause of Spain, and directed his movements in the view of complying, as far as should be at all advisable, with the representations pressed on him; but day after day the intelligence became more discouraging. At last the fall of Madrid, ascertained by an intercepted letter of General Berthier, removed every doubt, and left him no other plan but that of uniting his three divisions, and determining on a retreat; but, as his army was now augmented to twenty-five thousand men, he determined, if possible, to strike a blow against the detached French army under



Soult, stationed at some distance to the north-east. With this view, he advanced on the 11th December towards the small town of Sahagun, and a partial action which took place between the opposite vanguards, was to his advantage; but intelligence arriving that Bonaparte was directing, by the passes of the Guadarama, a superior force on a point in rear of the British, it became indispensable to make a prompt and uninterrupted retreat.

Meanwhile, Soult, marching by a different road, hoped to cross the British line of retreat at Astorga; and the Spaniards having abandoned the position which covered the access to that town, it required both prompt and skillful exertion to enable the English army to occupy it before the enemy. The weather was severe, provisions scanty, the inhabitants cold and unfriendly; while privations and disappointment relaxed the discipline of the soldiers, who called loudly to be led to action, as the close of their distress. Retreat, however, was unavoidable; and, in this state of suffering and insubordination, the army performed a march of more than two hundred miles; the general keeping in the rear to check the French, who followed with their usual audacity. On the 13th, 14th and 15th, the sick and artillery were embarked on board the English men of war; while the troops remained on shore, to await the enemy, and to cover the reproach of retreat by some shining exploit. This led to the battle of Corunna. On that day the position was good on the left, but very much otherwise on the right; thither, accordingly, the French pointed their strongest column, and thither also, Sir John Moore repaired in person. He directed the necessary movements, first to obstruct, and afterwards to charge, the advancing enemy. These orders were gallantly executed, and the attack of the French repelled; but the English general received a wound, which soon after proved mortal, from a cannon ball that struck him in the shoulder, and knocked him off his horse. The embarkation was continued on

the 17th, and completed on the 18th, after which the whole set sail for England.

The failure in the campaign of 1808-9 was far from discouraging the government from new efforts. Austria was preparing to attack the allies of Bonaparte in Germany; and the Spaniards, though repeatedly beaten in close action, continued a destructive warfare in the shape of insulated insurrections. Sir Arthur Wellesley was accordingly sent with a fresh army to Lisbon, and General Beresford with a commission to discipline the Portuguese forces. They found the French threatening Lisbon in two directions; from the east, with a powerful force under Victor; from the north, with a less numerous body under Soult. Sir Arthur Wellesley advanced against the latter, drew near his rear guard on the banks of the Douro, drove it over that river, and crossing immediately after, forced Soult to a precipitate retreat from Oporto. Returning to the southward, he obliged the force under Victor to draw back; and having, sometime after, effected a junction with a Spanish army, he took the bold determination of moving forward in the direction of Madrid by the valley of the Tagus. The French now sent reinforcements to the army of Victor, and the opposing forces met at Talavera de la Reyna, a town to the north of the Tagus, near the small river Alberche. The British force was nineteen thousand, and that of the Spaniards above thirty thousand; the French army amounted to upwards of forty-seven thousand men. Lord Wellington was too distrustful of the discipline of his allies to venture an attack on the French, but he saw no imprudence in trying, as at Vimeiro, the chance of a defensive action. Stationing the Spaniards on strong ground on the right, he occupied with the British a less strong but yet favorable position on the left. Against the army thus posted the French advanced in the afternoon of July 27th, driving in the English advanced post, and attacking an eminence on their left. This eminence, the key of the position, would have been assailed from the beginning by Bonaparte, with a formidable

column; but the rifle corps and a single battalion sent against it by Victor were speedily driven back. A second attack, made in the evening by three regiments of infantry, was at first successful, but it was soon repelled by a fresh division of British troops. The main body of the French, surprised at this failure, waited impatiently for morning to renew the attack; they advanced, marched through a destructive fire to the top of the rising ground, approached the British cannon, and were on the point of seizing them, when the line rushed forward with bayonet, and drove them back with great loss. Their commanders now determined to suspend all attacks on the right of the position, and to bring a mass of force against the front and flank of the British left. A general attack took place at four in the afternoon, and the troops directed against the heights now consisted of three divisions of infantry, or about eighteen thousand men. Crossing the ravine in their front, the first division scaled the height amidst volleys of grape-shot; but its general fell, a number of officers shared his fate, and retreat became unavoidable. No attempt was now made to carry the eminence in front; attacks were now made on left and right, but were ineffectual. This battle, which was one of hard, honest fighting, reflected little credit on the generalship of either party. The loss on both sides was unusually severe.

Notwithstanding this dear-bought success, it became necessary for the allied army to retire; the French divisions in the north-west of Spain having united and begun to march in a direction which would soon have brought them on its rear. The English army crossed the Tagus at Arzobispo, and held a south-west course till it reached Badajos, where it remained during the rest of the year, in a position which covered that fortress.

Doubtful as was the aspect of the great contest in Spain, it employed a large portion of Bonaparte's military establishment, and, revived the hope of independence in Germany. Prussia was too recently humbled, and too closely connected with Russia, at that

time the ally of France, to take up arms; but Austria was unrestrained, and thought the season favorable for the renewal of the contest. Her troops took the field in April, and invaded Bavaria under the Archduke Charles, but were worsted at Eckmühl, after a series of the most splendid military combinations, and Vienna was a second time entered by Bonaparte. His impatience to attack the Austrian army on the north side of the Danube led to his failure in the sanguinary battle of Aspern, and necessitated the advance of almost all his regular troops into the heart of Germany, at a distance of several hundred miles from the coast. But the battle of Wagram at length decided the fate of the campaign, and placed Austria again at the feet of France.

Of the naval stations exposed in consequence of the withdrawal of the troops, by far the most important was Antwerp, situated on a part of the Scheldt of as great a depth and as accessible to ships of the line as the Thames at Woolwich. From Antwerp to the mouth of the Scheldt is a distance of about fifty miles. The first fortified town, on coming in from the sea, is Flushing, the batteries of which, though formidable, are not capable of preventing the passage of ships of war through a strait of three miles in width. The English armament, consisted of nearly forty sail of the line and thirty-eight thousand military. It crossed the narrow sea with a fair wind; and, in the morning of the 30th of July, the inhabitants of the tranquil coast of Zealand were astonished by an unparalleled display of men of war and transports. The troops landed and forthwith occupied Walcheren and the islands to the north. No resistance was offered except at Flushing; but the commander, the Earl of Chatham, showed himself wholly incapable of discriminating the causes of success or failure when he stopped to besiege that place. It ought only to have been watched, whilst the main body of the troops should have landed in Dutch Flanders, on the south of the Scheldt, and march straight to Ant-



werp, which, even with artillery, might have been reached in a few days. The French, never doubting the adoption of this plan, and conscious of their weakness, had moved their men of war up the river, beyond the town, previous to setting them on fire. But a delay of a fortnight took place before Flushing, and time was thus given to the enemy to strengthen the forts on the river, and to collect whatever force the country afforded. Still, as an attack by water was not indispensable to success, there yet remained a chance; ten days more, however, were lost; the relinquishment of the main object of the expedition became thus unavoidable; and the only further measure was to leave a body of fifteen thousand men in the island of Walcheren. There, accordingly, they remained during several months, suffering greatly from an unhealthy atmosphere, and doing nothing except destroying, on their departure, the dock-yards of Flushing.

We turn from the banks of the Scheldt to a scene more honorable to British arms. The troops under Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Lord Wellington, had passed the winter in the interior of Portugal, moving northward as spring advanced, but delaying active operations. Bonaparte's determination now was to make Massena penetrate into Portugal, and not to expel those auxiliaries who were the mainspring of the obstinate resistance experienced by him in Spain. The first enterprise of the French army was the siege of the frontier fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo, which surrendered on the 10th of July. The next object of attack was the Portuguese fortress of Almeida, which was invested in the end of July, and taken unfortunately too soon, in consequence of the explosion of the magazine. Soon after, the French army, now a formidable body, advanced into Portugal, Lord Wellington retiring before them, but determined to embrace the first opportunity of fighting on favorable ground. This occurred when occupying the highest ridge of the mountain of Busaco, directly in face of the enemy. The French, always im-

petuous, marched up the mountain; one division reached the top of the ridge, where they were immediately attacked by a corps of British and Portuguese, and driven from the ground. In other parts the same result took place before the French reached the top. The loss on the English side was a thousand men, that of the enemy between two and three thousand. Massena desisted from further attacks; but turning the flank of the English position by a mountain, Lord Wellington, instead of heading the enemy's columns as they debouched from the defile, retreated in the direction of Lisbon, till he reached the ground which he had previously determined to occupy at Torres Verdas, in order to cover that capital.

The tract of country to the north of Lisbon is not above twelve miles in breadth, having the sea on the west and the Tagus on the east; the ground is extremely mountainous, and accessible only by passes, which were occupied by their troops and batteries. Massena felt all the strength of this position, and the repulse at Busaco made him beware of a second encounter on disadvantageous ground. The armies remained opposite to each other above four months, during which time the French were greatly straitened for provisions and forage, being obliged to get convoys of biscuit under escort from France, whilst the command of the sea secured abundance to the British. Still Massena persisted in keeping his position, hoping to combine his operations with the army of Soult, then advancing from the south-east of Spain; an army which was but too fortunate, having attacked and taken by surprise a Spanish camp on the banks of the Guadiana. A number of boats had been constructed by Massena to cross the Tagus and co-operate with Soult; but in the beginning of March intelligence arrived that a convoy of biscuits long expected from France had been intercepted by the Guerillas. There was now an end to all offensive projects, and there remained only the alternative of retreat. It began on the 5th of March; the British followed; and

the movements of either army, during a very long march, afforded an admirable exemplification of the rules of war. The English advance was so rapid that the French were frequently obliged to move hastily from one position to another; but they kept their best troops in the rear, collected in solid bodies, and afforded no opening to their enemy. The retreat lasted a month, and closed near the fortress of Almeida, on the frontier of Spain. The French, however, were soon again in a condition to act, and advanced to relieve Almeida, of which the siege was now begun. The chief fighting took place on the 3d and 5th of May, near a village called Fuentes de Honor, which was repeatedly taken and retaken; but all their efforts were ultimately ineffectual, and Almeida was left to its fate. The chief part of the garrison, however, found means to escape by a nocturnal march. Meanwhile the south or rather the south-west of Spain was the scene of very active operations. A body of Spaniards and British, marching northward from Gibraltar, approached the south-western extremity of the line occupied by the French troops engaged in the blockade of Cadiz. General Graham commanded the British, and on the 5th of March, at noon, was drawing near to the close of a long march, when he received intelligence of the advance of a French force. Knowing the height of Barrosa, which he had just left, to be the key of the position, he immediately countermarched his corps, and had proceeded but a short way when he found himself unexpectedly near to the enemy, whose left division was seen ascending the hill of Barrosa, while the right stood on the plain within cannon-shot. To retreat was wholly unadvisable; an immediate attack was therefore determined on by General Graham, though unsupported by the Spaniards, and inferior to the enemy. A battery opened against the right division of the French caused them considerable loss, but they continued to advance until a charge with the *bayonet* drove them back with great slaughter. With the other division on the ascent

of the hill there took place a similar conflict with a similar issue; both sides fought with courage, and both sustained a heavy loss; that of the British was above twelve hundred, and that of the enemy nearly double.

About the same time, but at a distance of two hundred miles to the north of Cadiz, the important fortress of Badajos fell into the hands of the French. This painful intelligence reached Lord Wellington when following up the retreat of Massena; and no time was lost in detaching a body of troops to the south of Portugal, to enable Marshal Beresford to advance and form the siege of Badajos. This called from the south the army of Soult, twenty-three thousand strong. On their approach Marshal Beresford raised the siege of Badajos, and prepared to meet the enemy with a force numerically superior, but of which only seven thousand consisted of British troops. Soult quitted Seville on the 10th of May, 1811, but Beresford remained in a state of uncertainty till the 12th, when he commenced raising the siege. On the 13th he held a conference with the Spanish at Valverde, where it was agreed to receive battle at the village of Albuera. The conflict, one of the most important of the war continued for several hours, and resulted in the defeat of the French. It was one of the bloodiest battles in English History. When all was over of six thousand British troops fifteen hundred stood unwounded upon the heights which they had held against the attacks of Soult.

Lord Wellington reached the army sometime after the battle of Albuera, and determined to renew the siege of Badajos. Breaches were made in the walls and two attempts at assault were hazarded (6th and 9th June), but in vain; the advance of the French army from the north, in concert with that of the south, necessitated the raising of the siege. Here ended the active operations of the year. The army remained some time encamped in the central part of Portugal, after which Lord Wellington marched northward



and threatened Ciudad Rodrigo, but retreated before a superior force collected by the French.

The session of 1810-11, opened in November, 1810, more early than was intended, in consequence of the mental indisposition of the king. Repeated adjournments, however, took place in the vain hope of a recovery, and it was not till the 20th of December that resolutions for a regency were moved in both houses. They formed the chief subject of discussion during the ensuing month. Their principal characteristics consisted in the restrictions imposed on the prince for the succeeding year, during which he was not permitted to confer the rank of peer, to grant an office in reversion, or even a place or pension, except during the king's pleasure; whilst the management of the royal household was vested in the queen. Resolutions so obnoxious to the prince called forth a strong opposition; and a motion that the royal power should be conferred on him without restriction was supported by two hundred against two hundred and twenty-four.

The campaign of 1812 commenced very early, Lord Wellington invested Ciudad Rodrigo on the 8th of January. The siege was pressed with activity, and a breach being made, the town was carried by storm on the 19th of January, though with a great loss, particularly in officers, among whom was General Mackinnon. Soon afterwards Lord Wellington turned his forces to the south, and invested Badajos, already the scene of such obstinate contests. Here, also, the operations were pressed with great rapidity, that they might be brought to an issue before the arrival of the French army from Cadiz. On the night of the 6th of April, Badajos was attacked on several points by escalade; but the attack was repulsed in every direction, except at the castle, which was fortunately carried; and as it commanded all the works, the consequence was the surrender of the town next day, after a siege which, short as it had been, cost very nearly five thousand

men. Secure on the south, Lord Wellington now marched towards the north, and detached Sir Rowland Hill to make a sudden attack on the French station at Almaraz, where the bridge over the Tagus served as the chief military communication between the northern and southern army. The expedition was successful, the entrenchments being stormed and destroyed. Lord Wellington now marched against the French army in the north, commanded by Marmont, and reached Salamanca on the 16th of June. The forts in that town being taken after some sharp fighting, the French retreated to the Douro; but being soon reinforced, resumed the offensive, and obliged the English army to retreat in its turn. These movements continued several weeks, Lord Wellington being obliged to yield ground to his opponent, but ready to attack him on the commission of any material fault. Such an opportunity at last occurred on the 22d of July, near Salamanca, when the French, rendered confident by their enemy's continued retreat, extended their left, and presented an opening, which was instantly seized by their vigilant adversary. Columns were sent forward against the enemy's left and centre; the former succeeded completely, the latter met with much opposition. Great gallantry was shown, and heavy loss sustained on both sides. At last the French centre and right were both driven from the field. The darkness prevented making prisoners, but a body of cavalry joining in the night, the hostile rear-guard was attacked next morning, and obliged to surrender.

The consequences of the victory of Salamanca were the pursuit of the French army; the occupation of Madrid on the 12th of August by the allies; the abandonment by the French of the works constructed at vast expense against Cadiz; the evacuation of Andalusia, Grenada and all the south of Spain. But as this loss of territory was not attended by a loss of troops, it became incumbent on Lord Wellington to prepare against a vigorous attack from forces that

were rapidly concentrating. He made repeated attempts to take the castle of Burgos, and the military stores collected there; but this fort, defended by a strong garrison and a vigilant commander, General Dubreton, baffled all his efforts, and proved the cause of a considerable sacrifice of lives. Meantime the approach of Soult from the south, and of the army that had fought at Salamanca from the east, obliged Lord Wellington to adopt the alternative of retreat. He began his march on the 20th of October, and proceeded westward, in a line nearly parallel to the Douro, taking above three weeks to recross the country to the scene of his victory at Salamanca. There, united with General Hill, and at the head of fifty thousand men, he remained on ground lately so propitious, hoping that an opportunity might offer to attack the enemy, though now increased, by the junction of their two armies, to the number of seventy thousand. But Soult's positions were found too strong for attack, and the interval afforded him by Lord Wellington was diligently employed in pushing forward detachments to cut off communications with Portugal. Retreat now became indispensable; and here, amidst hasty marches, and a scarcity of five days, there occurred scenes of insubordination which recalled all the disorders of the march to Corunna, and drew from Lord Wellington a most severe censure in general orders. Fortunately; similar privations on the side of the French prevented them from making many prisoners, and, on the 20th of November, on the frontier of Portugal, was closed this eventful campaign.

The campaign of 1813 opened in the east of Spain, by an attack on the allied army under Sir John Murray, stationed not far from Alicante. The ground it occupied was strong out the length of the position, two miles and a half, made Suchet, who commanded the French, conceive the hope of penetrating it at one point or another. In this, however, he was foiled with a loss of from two to three thousand men; this being the only

check of importance received by that commander in all his campaigns in Spain. Soon after this success, the army was engaged in the bold plan of proceeding by sea to Catalonia, and besieging Tarragona. The wind proved favorable; the main body was landed near Tarragona; and a detachment succeeded by great exertion, in taking Fort St. Philip on the mountain called the Col de Balagner, which blockaded the nearest road for the arrival of the French from the South. Suchet however, lost no time in marching northward, and Sir John Murray, considered his force, which was chiefly Spanish, as unable to withstand the French. He therefore embarked and returned to Alicante, a measure which incurred censure, but appears fully justified by circumstances, and still more by the conduct of his successors in the command.

Suchet, though successful on this occasion soon found himself unable to retain his extensive line of occupation. The battle of Vittoria brought a new enemy on his rear and obliged him to withdraw first from Valencia, and subsequently as far as Barcelona. The English army now advanced by land, and resumed the siege of Tarragona, with the power of retreating, not as before, by sea but on the country behind; an alternative to which a second advance by Suchet soon compelled the new commander, Lord William Bentick. The French, however, unable to occupy an extended position, blew up the works of Tarragona and retired. The English army advanced anew, but was again checked and obliged to draw back, exhibiting a striking proof of the impracticability of opposing an active enemy with a mixed force, of which the Spaniards formed a large proportion.

We now turn to the western part of the peninsula, the field of the commander-in-chief. Lord Wellington averse to open the campaign till every part of his troops was ready to co-operate with efficiency, did not move from quarters till after the middle of May. The strength of the enemy lay in the line of the Douro, which they expected to



defend with advantage, but all this was prevented by Lord Wellington making his left division cross the river on the Portuguese territory, and advance along its northern bank; whilst he and Sir Rowland Hill, at the head of separate corps, marched, after several feints, in a diagonal direction, so as to support this movement, and effect a junction in an advanced position. The French, threatened with being taken in the rear, evacuated one town after another, and, even at Burgos, declined to fight on ground where late recollections would have been so animating; they continued to retreat, increasing from time to time their numbers by the garrisons of the evacuated towns, until at last they took a position at Vittoria, a town in Biscay, near the north-east frontier of Spain.

The position of the French extended from north to south, and was of great length. Their left rested on heights; part of their centre also occupied heights, as their right was near the town of Vittoria. The Zadorra, a stream of considerable size, but crossed by several bridges, ran nearly parallel to their front. Both armies were numerous, particularly that of the allies. It was the first time that nearly forty thousand British troops had fought together in Spain. Lord Wellington acted on the offensive throughout, and began active operations by taking possession of the heights near the extreme left of the enemy. This was easily effected; but the importance being soon perceived by the French, a strong effort was made to recover them; and an obstinate contest took place, but the British on the heights repelled every assault. Under cover of these heights the right wing advanced and took a village (Sabijana) in front of the enemy's centre. It was in vain that the French attempted to retake this village. The centre of the allies crossed the river near it, and the centre of the French withdrew from their position, retreating to the town of Vittoria. At first this retreat was effected in good order; but an alarming account soon reached the French from their right. That part of

their position had been defended by the river and two *têtes de pont*; but the troops of the British left wing had taken, first the heights commanding these forts, and soon after the forts themselves, baffling every effort of the enemy to retake them. The great road leading to the north was thus in possession of the allies; hence general alarm and confusion spread throughout the French army. Their reserve was hastily withdrawn from its position, and pressed, with the whole army, along the only remaining road to the eastward; abandoning all their artillery, their ammunition and their baggage. The loss of the battle was imputed by the French to Jourdan, whom Bonaparte, in a luckless hour, had allowed his brother to substitute for Soult.

The next operation of consequence consisted in the siege of San Sebastian, a frontier fortress of great importance, which the French made the most vigorous efforts to relieve. Their army, provided anew with ammunition and cannon, advanced under the command of Marshal Soult, and, after some sharp actions, drove back the British corps posted in the passes of the Pyrenees. The troops retreated to the vicinity of Pamplona, where, on the 27th, and still more on the 28th, they sustained a succession of impetuous attacks from the enemy. On the 29th, Lord Wellington resumed the offensive, drove the French from their strong position, strong as it was, and obliged them to retrace their steps through the Pyrenees.

At San Sebastian the English had been repulsed in an assault on the 25th of July; the siege was continued, and a final assault, on the 31st of August, led to the capture of the place, though with a loss of two thousand five hundred men. The further operations were, the entrance of the army on the French territory on the 7th October, the capitulation of Pamplona on the 26th, and a general attack on the position of the French near St. Jean de Luz on the 10th November, after which they retreated across the Nivelle. But this mountainous country afforded a number

of positions, and the next task was to drive the enemy from behind the Nive, a large river flowing northward from the Pyrenees. This was partly accomplished on the 9th of December; but on several succeeding days the French, commanded by Soult, made impetuous attacks on the allied army, all anticipated by Lord Wellington, and all repulsed with heavy loss. Still the rains of the season, and the size of the mountain streams, retarded operations. In January, 1814, the army made some further progress, and, on the 25th of February, attacked the French in a position near Orthès, behind the Gave de Pau, another large river flowing from the Pyrenees. This attack was successful; and the retreat of the French was followed by the desertion of a number of their new levies. Soult's army now drew back, not in a northerly, but easterly direction, to join detachments from the army of Suchet in Catalonia. At Tarbes, on the 29th of March, the fighting was of short duration; but a sanguinary battle took place at Toulouse on the 10th of April; a battle attended with a loss to the allies of nearly five thousand men, which, as well as a great sacrifice of lives on the part of the French, might have been prevented had earlier intelligence arrived of the overthrow of Bonaparte, and the change of government at Paris.

The causes of this great change are explained under another head.

The cheering expectations with which parliament separated were happily realized in the course of the autumn; and parliament re-assembled on the 4th of November with the knowledge that the victory at Leipsic had secured the independence of Germany.

On the 17th of November parliament adjourned to the first of March, evidently in the hope that before that period the advance of the allied arms into France would lead to a general pacification. This result, justified by sound calculation, was delayed by the precipitancy of the Prussians, and the consequent checks received by them and their allies; so that parliament, when it met on the

1st of March, adjourned to the 21st; and, on their re-assembling at that date, Lord Castlereagh being still absent on the Continent, the business transacted during several weeks was of inferior interest.

We have now arrived at the period when, after a contest which, as far as regards England and France, may be termed a war of twenty years, Europe was restored to a condition which promised long-continued peace.

During the two last years of which we have just spoken, Great Britain was also engaged in war with America. The particulars of this second conflict with the United States, which arose from the imperious commercial policy of England, and her disregard of the rights of neutrals, will be found in the last volume of this work. The treaty of peace of this war was signed at Ghent, on the 24th of December, 1814, and its terms afforded a curious exemplification of the futility of warlike struggles. The territorial possessions of both countries were, with a very trifling exception, left on the same footing as before the war; and not the slightest notice was taken of the questions which had most strongly excited the spirit of hostility on both sides,—neither of the impressment of seamen, a point so important to the Americans, nor of the limitation of the rights of neutral traffic, a topic so often urged among the English.

The ratification of the peace with America had not been received from the other shore of the Atlantic, when Bonaparte returned from Elba and raised in Europe a fresh alarm of war. He ventured to land with a force barely sufficient to secure his personal safety in a march, and to supply emissaries for mixing with the opposite ranks. The French soldiers are fond of glory, and their attachment revived at the sight of their leader. They first refused to oppose, and soon after pressed forward to join him; and he proceeded in a rapid and unresisted march to the capital. Ought England to participate in the coalition formed to expel this intruder, and to reinstate the Bourbons? On



this question there existed, either in parliament or the public, very little difference of opinion; so great was the enmity inspired by Bonaparte, and such the dread of incessant war under his sway. The ministry soon took their determination; their continental allies were unanimous in the cause; and not a day was lost in preparing for the invasion of France. The Netherlands, it was evident, would be the first scene of operations. Thither the Prussians pressed; thither were conveyed from England troops, ammunition, and stores, with all the dispatch afforded by the command of the sea. By the end of May, or beginning of June, the Prussian and British force in the Netherlands was superior to any that could be mustered by Bonaparte. It was not till the second week of June that his disposable force, to the number of a hundred and fifteen thousand men, was collected in front of the allied line. This was effected with great secrecy and dispatch. He joined the camp on the 14th, and sent his troops to march early on the 15th, driving in successively the Prussian outposts at Charleroi and Fleurus. From the point whence he marched to Ligny, the Prussian head-quarters, the distance was thirty miles; to Brussels, the head-quarters of Lord Wellington, was nearly twice as far; and all Bonaparte's hope rested on fighting his opponents separate and unsupported. The failure of his plan in the disastrous campaign of Waterloo, has already been told in the history of FRANCE.

This was followed by the second treaty of Paris, concluded after many vain appeals to the generosity of the allies, and which burdened France with contributions to the amount of nearly thirty millions sterling, exclusive of the support of an allied army on her frontier. This army, amounting at first to a hundred and fifty thousand men, was reduced in 1817 to a hundred and twenty thousand, and withdrawn in the end of 1818, when all bore the aspect of continued tranquillity on the Continent.

The year 1819 was distinguished by an

important naval operation, namely, the attack upon Algiers. A project had been submitted to the sovereigns assembled at Vienna in 1814, and at Paris in 1815, for the expulsion of the Turkish militia from the Barbary states; but the representatives of the cabinet of London opposed this proposition, on the pretext that the existence of these states had been guaranteed by treaties; and as the scheme for expelling the Turks had been coupled with an absurd proposal to replace the janissaries with the conventual and military order of the knights of Malta, the success of the English opposition excited no regret. It was generally agreed, however, that an end ought to be put to Christian slavery. This was a necessary consequence of the principle which had been adopted and promulgated relative to negro slavery; and England, which had procured the recognition of the one, undertook the honorable task of effecting the other. But the measures at first resorted to were by no means adequate to the accomplishment of the end in view, and, of course, failed. An attempt was made to mediate between the regency of Algiers and the kingdoms of Sardinia and Naples; and Lord Exmouth, with a fleet of twenty-six ships, of which six were of the line, was employed to superintend this negotiation. An account of Lord Exmouth's expedition has already found its place in the article on ALGIERS.

A general want of work and reduction of wages continued during the year, subjecting the lower orders to great distress, and exposing them to the arts of designing demagogues. Large assemblages, particularly in Spafields, took place previous to the meeting of parliament; and on the day of its opening (the 28th of January) the regent was insulted on his way to the House of Lords.

The new parliament met on the 14th of January, 1819, and on the 21st proceeded to business. The demise of the queen having taken place during the recess (on the 17th November), one of the first measures was to vest the custody of the king's person

in the Duke of York, who, very imprudently, under the circumstances of the country, demanded and received from parliament an annual allowance of £10,000 for discharging an act of filial duty.

The revival of commercial activity in 1818 proved unfortunately of short duration. Distress returned towards the end of that year, and assumed an aggravated aspect in the course of 1819. This produced popular assemblages, and led, on August 16th, to an unfortunate scene at Manchester, in which the interference of the yeomanry cavalry to disperse a very numerous meeting, of the people was productive of loss of life to a number of persons, and of bodily injury to a great many. The irritation excited among the lower orders by this proceeding, and by the continued pressure of poverty, led to the dissemination of a spirit of discontent and insurrection which necessitated the assembling of parliament on the 23d of November. The speech of the regent, as well as the discussions of both houses, were directed to this painful subject; and the alarm excited among the aristocracy, joined to other considerations, having finally detached the Grenville party from the opposition, the latter now mustered in less formidable array. On the division for an amendment upon the address to the regent, the numbers were a hundred and fifty against three hundred and eighty.

Several bills were afterward introduced by ministers for the prevention of disturbances. These bills produced long and animated debates; but the most considerable division on the side of opposition, namely, that for limiting the act against seditious measures to three years instead of five, consisted of only a hundred and fifty votes against three hundred and twenty-eight. A motion of a more comprehensive nature for a committee on the state of the country was negatived in the Lords by a hundred and seventy-eight to forty-seven; in the Commons by three hundred and ninety-five to a hundred and fifty.

After transacting this and other business of an urgent nature, parliament adjourned;

but was soon after brought together by an event which, however conformable to the course of nature, was not at that time expected, namely, the death of George III. The day after the demise, agreeably to established usage, both houses met, and took the oath of allegiance to the new sovereign. On the 2d February they adjourned till the 17th, the day after the interment of his majesty. On that day both houses voted an address of condolence to the present king, after which they proceeded to transact such business as was pressing, and might, according to law, have continued to sit during six months; but ministers judged fit to resort to a dissolution. Another election now took place under circumstances of general distress. The new parliament met on the 21st April, and was opened on the 27th by George IV., in a speech declaring his anxiety for strict economy, but regretting that the state of the country was such as to admit of no reduction of the military force.

In the mean time the government was beginning to learn by experience the effects of attempting to repress by arbitrary enactments the public expression of popular feeling, in the growth of those dark and sanguinary plots which are ever the consequence of violent attempts to stifle complaint. Arthur Thistlewood, a man of respectable connections, and originally of some property, but who, by his own profligate habits, had been reduced to a state of abject poverty, entered into a conspiracy, with a few others of like desperate fortunes, to overturn the government. Thistlewood's plan was to seize the opportunity of the late king's funeral, when it was expected that all the military would be engaged at Windsor, to make themselves masters of London, and plunder the shops. It was resolved to assassinate the ministers, when assembled at a cabinet dinner at Lord Harrowby's. While one party effected the massacre, others were to seize the two pieces of cannon in Gray's-inn Lane, and the six pieces in the artillery ground.

The conspirators were as deficient in cau-



tion as their plot was in any reasonable likelihood of success. They were surprised in the garret or hay-loft in Cato street, where their meetings were held, on the evening of the 23d of February, the same on which the massacre of the ministers was to have been perpetrated. After a desperate resistance, in which one police-officer was killed, and several severely wounded, the greater part of the band were apprehended. Thistlewood and some others were not secured till next day. A few of the more cowardly turned king's evidence, and the guilt of the conspirators was clearly established. Five of them, Thistlewood, the originator of the plot, Brunt his lieutenant, Ings, who was to have been secretary to the provisional government, Tidd, and Davidson, a man of color, were ordered for execution, and suffered the penalty attached to treason on the 29th of April.

The events to which we have hitherto adverted served either to indicate the strength of the ministry or to increase it. But a discussion was impending over them, which threatened to task their powers to the utmost. The dispute between the Prince and Princess of Wales was a matter of very secondary importance compared with that between the King and Queen of England. The hatred which George IV. entertained for his consort was invincible. Her name was omitted in the liturgy; the utmost anxiety was displayed to avoid, if possible, making any parliamentary provision for her as queen; the common civility of announcing to her the death of her father-in-law, who was moreover her blood relation, was not observed; and she was given to understand that if she attempted to return to England, she would be instantly visited with a bill of pains and penalties. But her majesty stood upon her rights; and after several ineffectual negotiations on the part of those friends of the royal disputants, who feared the consequences of a public agitation of the question at issue between them, she landed at Dover in the month of June. Her journey to London was

a triumphant progress; and her reception there by the populace most enthusiastic.

On the 6th of June the Earl of Liverpool, in the Peers, and Lord Castlereagh in the Commons, presented a message from the king, recommending to the immediate attention of these bodies "certain papers respecting the conduct of her majesty since her departure from the country." The Lords, after slight discussion, referred the communication to a secret committee. The same course was adopted by the Commons, after a violent debate. Not a few members declared, that without examining witnesses, they were convinced of her majesty's innocence by the line of conduct which the government had pursued.

A brief sketch of the proceedings in the House of Lords will suffice to show the character of the prosecution. On the 5th of July Lord Liverpool presented a bill of pains and penalties against the queen. Her petition to be heard by counsel was presented the same evening, and refused. On the 6th her majesty again petitioned the house, requesting, that if their Lordships were resolved to refuse her a hearing at that stage, and likewise to refuse a list of the witnesses to be adduced against her, they would at least allow her counsel to state at their bar the nature of her claims. This request was in so far complied with, that Messrs. Brougham and Denman were heard relative to the mode and manner of the proceedings to be had upon the bill, and the time when these proceedings should take place. Their arguments were ineffectual. A list of witnesses was refused. The bill was ordered to be read a second time, and evidence to be led during its second reading. The proceedings commenced on the 17th of August, and were continued, with scarcely any intermission, till the 4th of November. On that day the Lords resolved that the bill should be read a second time, by a majority of twenty-eight, in a house of two hundred and eighteen. The divorce clause was warmly attacked in the committee, but finally retained by a ma-

jority of sixty-seven in a house of a hundred and ninety-one. When their Lordships came to divide upon the question of the third reading, it was still carried in the affirmative, a hundred and eight voting for, and ninety-nine against it. Lord Liverpool immediately announced, that looking to the narrow majority and the temper of the country, he had come to the determination not to proceed further with the measure. He accordingly moved that the bill do pass that day six months.

On opening the parliamentary session of 1821, his majesty mentioned the queen by name, and recommended to the House of Commons a provision for her maintenance. At first she declined to accept any pecuniary allowance until her name was inserted in the liturgy: but she subsequently altered her determination, and an annuity of £50,000 was settled upon her.

During this session the subject of parliamentary reform excited much interest; the borough of Grampound was disfranchised for its corruption; and the necessity of economy and retrenchment in all the departments of government was repeatedly brought forward and urged by Mr. Hume, whose persevering exposition of the large sums that were uselessly swallowed up in salaries and sinecures made a great impression on the public; and though none of his motions were carried, the attention of ministers was thereby directed to the gradual diminution of the enormous expense incurred in the different public offices, wherever it could be done without detriment to the public service.

While these important debates were agitating the legislature and the country, the monarch was engrossed with the gorgeous pageantry of his coronation, and pleasure excursions to Ireland and to Hanover. All three entailed a great expense upon the country, and not one of them was rendered conducive to any useful purpose. Devolving upon other shoulders the cares of state, George IV. would have led a life of unalloyed ease, but for that thorn in his side, the

queen. Her safety once assured, and an allowance settled upon her by parliament, she naturally ceased to have any interest for the public, which had been led to espouse her cause from a conviction of the injustice with which she had been treated, not from any personal attachment, which her character was but ill qualified to inspire. She made one last desperate effort to regain her notoriety, which was rapidly subsiding at the time of the coronation; but failing in her attempt, she was seized with such chagrin that she soon afterwards died. Her death in some measure re-awakened the national sympathy; and an attempt on the part of the ministers to interfere with an expression of respect to her remains increased the unpopularity of the sovereign.

The year 1822, though not marked by any great event, foreign or domestic, was one of much interest as regarded the number of important questions discussed in parliament. Among the leading subjects of debate were agricultural distress in England, arising from a superabundant supply and consequent low prices, and the scarcity and distress in Ireland, which from the prevalence of agrarian outrage and other causes, amounted to positive famine.

The state of Ireland did indeed demand the most serious attention of the legislature. On one hand, coercive measures were necessary to repress the wild disorder that reigned throughout the island; for owing to the daring nocturnal bands of Whiteboys, etc., neither life nor property was safe. On the other hand, so universal was the failure of the potato crop, that the price was quadrupled, and the peasantry of the south were in a state of actual starvation. To meet the former evil, it was found necessary to suspend the habeas corpus act, and to renew the insurrection act. To alleviate the latter, a committee was formed in London, and corresponding committees in different parts of the country. British sympathy was no sooner appealed to than it was answered with zealous alacrity; and such was the benevolence



of individuals, that large funds were speedily at their disposal ; so that before the close of the year the subscriptions raised in Great Britain for the relief of the distressed Irish, amounted to £350,000 ; parliament made a grant of £300,000 more ; and in Ireland the local subscriptions amounted to £150,000 ; making altogether a grand total of £800,000.

From the beginning of the year to the end of the session in August, the houses of parliament were almost incessantly occupied on questions of the highest importance ; agricultural distress, for which various remedial measures were proposed ; Lord John Russell's plan for a parliamentary reform ; Mr. Vansittart's scheme for relieving the immediate pressure of what was called the "dead weight ;" the currency question, which referred to the increased value of money caused by Mr. Peel's act of 1819, for the resumption of cash payments ; the improvement of the navigation laws, etc.

Parliament was prorogued on the 6th of August ; and on the 10th the king embarked at Greenwich for Scotland. On the 15th he landed at Leith, and on the 19th held a levee in the ancient palace of Holyrood, where he appeared in the Highland costume. Having enjoyed the festivities which his loyal subjects of Edinburgh provided for the occasion, he re-embarked on the 27th, and in three days was again with his lieges in London.

During his majesty's absence the unwelcome intelligence was brought to him of the death of the Marquis of Londonderry, secretary of state for the foreign department. This nobleman, who for some years had been the leading member of government, was in his fifty-fourth year ; and in a temporary fit of insanity committed suicide, by cutting the carotid artery.

On the death of Lord Londonderry, Mr. Canning, who was about to set out to India as governor-general, relinquished that employment, and accepted the vacant secretaryship, as one more congenial to his taste, and for the duties of which he was supposed to be perfectly efficient.

The new year, 1823, presented more cheering prospects than any which had for a long time preceded it ; the foreign demand for goods of English manufacture kept the cotton, silk and woollen factories at work, and greatly benefitted others, particularly the hardware and cutlery businesses. Those engaged in the shipping interest, also, participated in the general improvement. But it was not so with regard to the agriculturists ; and during the month of January, no less than sixteen county meetings were called to take into consideration the causes of their distresses. The usual topics—parliamentary reform, remission of taxes, a commutation of tithe, a depreciation of the currency, etc.—were generally suggested ; and in some instances, where Mr. Cobbett and his supporters had sufficient influence, resolutions of a more ultra-radical kind were carried. Parliament was prorogued by commission on the 19th of July ; a great mass of business having occupied the attention of the members, and much altercation having taken place between Mr. Canning and his political opponents. But he had the satisfaction at the close of the session, of dwelling on the flourishing condition of all branches of commerce and manufactures, and a considerable abatement of the difficulties felt by the agriculturists at its commencement.

A convention between Great Britain and Austria was laid on the table of the House of Commons, by which the former agreed to accept £2,500,000, as a final compensation for claims on the latter power, amounting to £30,000,000—a composition of one shilling and eight-pence in the pound.

One of the first steps in legislation in 1825, was an act to suppress the Catholic Association of Ireland. The Catholic Relief Bill passed in the House of Commons, but was rejected in the Lords by a majority of 178 against 130.

An astonishing impulse had been given to speculations of all kinds last year by the abundance of unemployed capital and the reduction of interest in funded property.

The mania for joint-stock companies was now become almost universal. During the space of little more than a twelvemonth, 276 companies had been projected, of which the pretended capital was £174,114,050. Though many of these were of an absurd character, and nearly all held out prospects that no sane man could expect to see realised, yet the shares of several rose to enormous premiums, especially the mining adventures in South America. But a fearful reaction was at hand. Several country banks stopped payment in December. A panic in the money market followed; and in a few days several London bankers were unable to meet the calls upon them. During the three following days five other London banking firms were compelled to close; and in a very short space of time, in addition to the London houses, sixty-seven country banks failed or suspended their payments. The abstraction of capital in mining and other speculations was now felt more severely than had been expected, even by those who had endeavored to oppose their progress. It was impossible to calculate when or where the evil would stop; but that thousands of families must in the end be ruined was inevitable. The principal merchants of the city of London, at the head of whom was Mr. Baring, feeling that something was necessary to be done to support credit and restore confidence, assembled at the mansion-house, and published a resolution to the effect that "the unprecedented embarrassments were to be mainly attributed to an unfounded panic; that they had the fullest reliance on the banking establishments of the capital and country, and therefore determined to support them, and public credit, to the utmost of their power."

The effects of the panic were long and most severely felt; but it must be admitted that the Bank of England made strenuous efforts to mitigate pecuniary distress, and the course pursued by the government was steady and judicious. The main cause in producing the mischief had been the great facility

of creating fictitious money; the ministers, therefore, prohibited the circulation of one pound notes; while incorporated companies were allowed to carry on the business of banking.

Certain leading questions, which had been frequently discussed in parliament of late years, had now got such possession of the public mind, that, at most of the elections, tests were offered and pledges required from the several candidates. The most important of these were Catholic emancipation, the corn laws, and the slave trade; and out of the members returned for England and Wales, 133 had never before sat in parliament.

The new parliament met on the 14th of November, and the session was opened by the king in person. No business of any great importance was brought before the house; but an exposure of the numerous joint-stock companies that had been established was made by Alderman Waithman. As certain members of the house, whom he named, were known to be directors of some of these bubble companies, he moved for a committee of enquiry with reference to the part taken by members of parliament in the joint-stock mania of 1824-5-6. The enquiry, on the suggestion of Mr. Canning, was restricted to the Arigna mining company, of which Mr. Brogden had been a director.

Augustus Frederick, Duke of York, presumptive heir to the throne, and commander-in-chief of the army, died on the 5th of January, in the 64th year of his age.

The first topic of domestic interest was the change of ministry which took place in consequence of Lord Liverpool, the premier, being suddenly disabled by a stroke of apoplexy, which, though he survived the attack nearly two years, terminated his public life. Nearly two months elapsed before the vacancy occasioned by Lord Liverpool's illness was filled. The king then empowered Mr. Canning to form a new ministry, of which he was to be the head.

Parliament met after the Easter recess; and on the 1st of June, Mr. Canning brought



forward the budget. The session was of short duration, and the greater part of the time was occupied by charges of political tergiversation which were bandied about, and the explanations which such charges necessarily elicited. The corn laws came in for a share of discussion; as did also the law between debtor and creditor, the state of the court of chancery, and the game laws; while Mr. Peel continued his exertions towards a consolidation of the criminal statutes. On the 2d of July parliament was prorogued.

A treaty which had for its object the pacification of Greece, by putting an end to the sanguinary contest between the Porte and its Grecian subjects, was signed at London, on the 6th of July, by the ministers of Great Britain, France and Russia.

From the hour that Mr. Canning undertook the office of premier, he had been suffering under a degree of nervous excitement which made visible inroads on his constitution; but it was expected that a little repose during the parliamentary recess would reinvigorate him. Not so, however; for on the 8th of August he expired, the immediate cause of his death being an inflammation of the kidneys.

On the death of Mr. Canning there were but few changes in the ministry. Lord Goderich became the new premier, as first lord of the treasury, and the Duke of Wellington resumed the command of the army, but without a seat in the cabinet.

The treaty mentioned as having been signed on the 6th of July, for attempting the pacification of Greece, not being acceptable to the sultan, he declined the mediation of the allied powers, and recommenced the war furiously against the Greeks. To put a stop to this course of desolation, the combined fleets of England, France and Russia, proceeded to the Bay of Navarino, with a determination to capture or destroy the Turkish fleet which lay there, if Ibrahim Pacha refused to listen to pacific overtures. No satisfaction being obtained, Admiral Codrington, followed by the French ships, under De

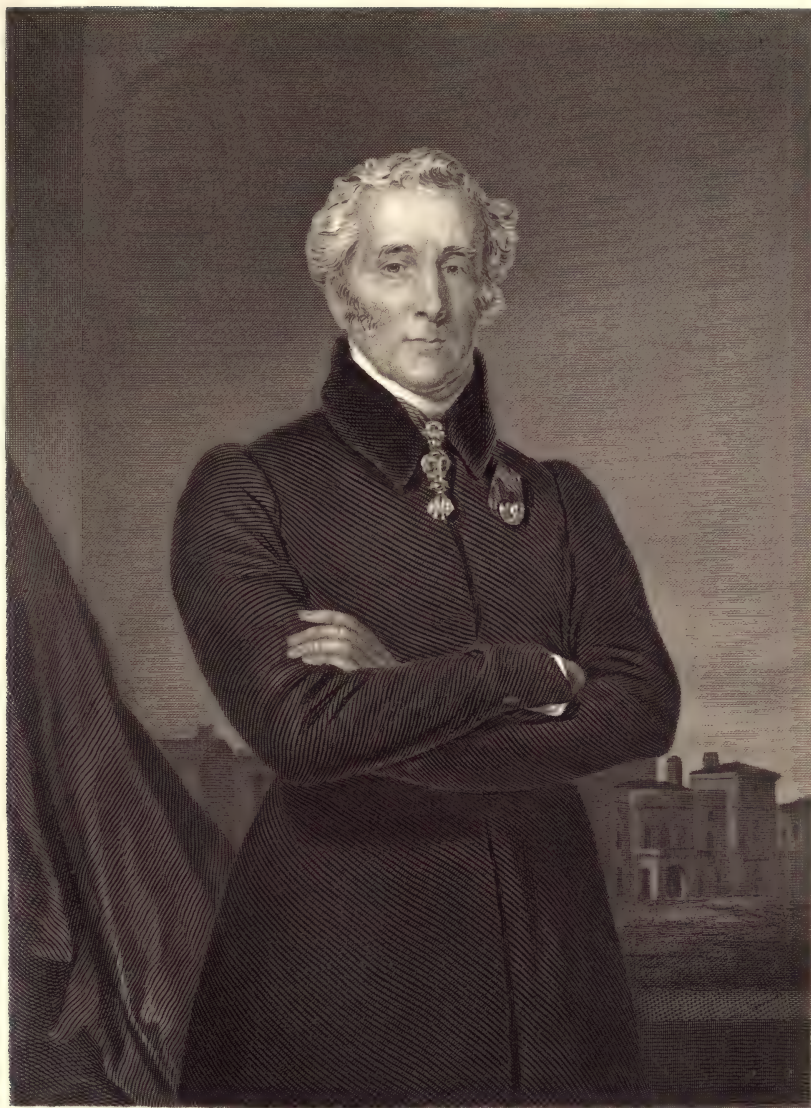
Rigny, and the Russian squadron, entered the bay; and after four hours from the commencement of the conflict, which had been carried on with great fury, the enemy's fleet was wholly destroyed, and the bay strewed with the fragments of his ships.

It was seen from the first formation of the Goderich ministry that it did not possess the necessary qualifications for a lasting union. Differences between some of the leading members of the cabinet rendered his lordship's position untenable, and he resigned his seals of office. Upon this the king sent for the Duke of Wellington, and commissioned him to form a new cabinet with himself at the head; the result was, that his grace immediately entered into communication with Mr. Peel, and other members of Lord Liverpool's ministry, who had seceded on the elevation of Mr. Canning; and, with very few exceptions, the same parties once more came into power. The duke, on becoming the first lord of the treasury, resigned the office of commander-in-chief.

The royal speech, delivered at the opening of parliament, chiefly referred to the late "untoward event" at Navarino, but defended it on the ground that the rights of neutral nations were violated by the revolting excesses of the Turks.

On the 8th of May the Catholic claims were again brought forward, when Sir Francis Burdett moved for a committee of the whole house on this subject, with a view to a conciliatory adjustment. After a three nights' debate, this was carried by a majority of six. A conference with the lords was then requested, and held; after which there was a two nights' debate in the Lords, when the Duke of Wellington opposed the resolution, chiefly on the ground that the church government of Ireland was unconnected with the civil government of the empire. The resolution was lost by a majority of fifty-four.

Soon after the opening of parliament in 1829, the ministers declared their intention to bring forward and support the long-agitated question of Catholic emancipation in



Wellington





order to put an end for ever, if possible, to a grievance which, among the Irish in particular, had "grown with their growth, and strengthened with their strength." In Ireland the Catholic population was at that time estimated at five millions and a half, whereas not more than one million and three quarters were Protestants; but in England, Scotland and Wales, the number of Catholics fell short of a million. It was well known that the Duke of Wellington's repugnance to the measure had been gradually abating; that he thought the security of the empire depended on its being carried, and that he had labored hard to overcome the king's scruples. These being at length removed, Mr. Peel, in a long, cautious and elaborate speech, introduced the "Catholic Relief Bill" into the House of Commons on the 5th of March. Its general objects were to render Catholics eligible to seats in both houses of parliament, to vote at the election of members, and generally to enjoy all civil franchises and offices, upon their taking an oath not to use their privileges to "weaken or disturb the Protestant establishment." As it was a course of policy which the Whigs advocated, it had their support; the chief opposition coming from that section of the Tory party who thought it to be a measure replete with danger to the Protestant institutions of the country. The majority in favor of the bill, however, at the third reading, was 320 to 142. In the upper house a more resolute stand was made against it; the Lords Eldon, Winchelsea, Tenterden and others, backed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Bishops of London, Durham and Salisbury, in the most solemn manner denouncing it as a measure pregnant with the most imminent peril to church and state as by law established; and powerfully appealing to their fellow peers to uphold the Protestant faith at all hazards, and not sacrifice their principles at the shrine of expediency. It was, however, carried on the 10th of April, and received the royal assent on the 13th.

The ceding of the Catholic claims was the

last important act of the reign of George IV. The country was partially disquieted during the autumn and winter of 1829. The laborers were suffering in many places from want of employment, and distress to a considerable extent was insinuating itself among the agricultural classes. England's productive powers continued unabated, and the prevalence of want showed that there was something wrong in her internal arrangements, interfering with the natural tendency of wealth to diffuse itself. In Ireland public tranquillity was far from being re-established, nor was such a consummation reasonably to be hoped for from the redress of one grievance alone in a country which had been governed for centuries by men ignorant of its wants and feelings. The boon of emancipation had been attended by an act of injustice and a gratuitous insult. The former was scarcely remembered in the hour of triumph, but it afforded a topic for declamation when the hour of agitation should arrive; and the latter sent back to Ireland, as the avowed and embittered enemy of government, the man who had more power than any other over popular feeling. O'Connell's progress through Ireland was a continued triumph. His re-election for Clare was not contested. And wherever he went he held up the ministers to the popular odium, recounting all their misdeeds, real or imaginary, and appealing in turns to every passion that could be supposed to animate the peasant. The Orangemen, on the other hand, galled by the loss of their ascendancy, continued to vociferate empty menaces, which had at least the effect of producing irritation. The waves of popular hatred and prejudice continued to dash after the storm that raised them had blown over.

At this ominous crisis George IV. breathed his last. He had long been in an infirm state, but no immediate danger was anticipated till the commencement of April. On the 15th of that month the first bulletin was issued. He continued to grow weaker, and latterly the slightest exertion became



intensely painful. A message was sent to both houses of Parliament on the 24th of May, stating that his majesty found it painful to sign with his own hand documents, which required his sign-manual, and requesting parliament to provide for the temporary discharge of that function of the crown. A bill was immediately passed, allowing the sign manual to be adhibited by a stamp. The disease continued to run its course, and upon the 26th of June his majesty expired.

William IV. ascended the throne of Great Britain on the 26th of June, 1830. The change of the monarch did not occasion any immediate change in the state of public affairs. The Duke of Clarence had accepted office under Mr. Canning, and had been rather unceremoniously deprived of it by the Duke of Wellington; hence some people augured that he would be unfavorable to his ministry. In the political world he was scarcely known. An old grudge existed against him from the time of the queen's trial. The Tories, who more than half feared his revolt, spread caricatured accounts of the proceeding at Bushy House during his brother's illness. The plainness of the new king's manners, however, soon rendered him highly popular. He mingled with the people, and his familiar address and unostentatious appearance contrasted so strongly with those of the late king, that he completely won the affections of that part of the community which, as it is the first to deify a monarch, is also the first to cast him off again. No change, however, took place in the ministry. William IV. declared himself friendly to their policy, and determined to retain them.

They were, however, incapable of being much longer sustained in office, even by the royal support. The party which they had irritated by carrying the Catholic bill was strong in the Commons, and stronger in the Lords. The Whigs had lost confidence in the Duke of Wellington and his coadjutors, whose system of policy was temporising, calculated to keep themselves in power, but

not to forward the business of the country. It was evident that every measure having in view the better organization of the state must be wrung from them, like Catholic emancipation, by demonstrations of power. War was in consequence declared against the cabinet, and prosecuted vehemently by the Ultra-Tories, but by the Whigs with more caution. A few matters of business which could not be postponed were afterwards hurried through the house with little opposition, and on the 23d of July parliament was prorogued by the king in person; and being next day dissolved by proclamation, writs were issued for a new election.

A few days afterwards the news of the revolution, by which the elder branch of the Bourbons was finally expelled from France, reached England. The intelligence had a powerful effect. The longing for parliamentary reform returned with redoubled efficacy. Men were not prepared with any definite scheme, nor were they agreed as to the principles upon which they vindicated the justice of innovation. The news of the three days in Paris ripened men's views, and showed that wishes were useless whilst unproductive of action. The French received the homage of universal sympathy. This circumstance was turned to use by some active friends of liberty. Meetings were called in every important town to congratulate the free men of France; and thus reformers were brought together, and taught how numerous a body they were.

All these circumstances operated unfavorably for the ministers at the elections. Wherever the election was popular, the reformers supported a candidate of their own principles; and of the close burghs, with the exception of those commanded by government, a decided majority were in the hands of the Duke's adversaries. Not one candidate appeared on the hustings to claim the suffrages of the electors as a supporter of the ministers. The general result of the election diminished by fifty the votes upon which the government could depend.

England now began to rival Ireland in misery and disturbances. While parliament continued to sit, its table was covered with petitions, describing in the strongest terms the distress suffered by the lower classes engaged in agriculture. It was predicted that unless a change for the better took place it would be impossible to restrain them from outrage. The harvest was scarcely concluded when this prophecy was fulfilled. The disturbances began in the county of Kent. Threatening letters were then dispersed throughout the country, machinery destroyed, money extorted and barns and stack-yards set on fire. The commotions were the wild aimless efforts of men suffering almost beyond nature and without hope. Viewing the matter in this light, the first rioters apprehended were treated with a degree of lenity which encouraged fresh outrages. During October, November and December, the riots increased in frequency and boldness, and spread from Kent into Hampshire, Wiltshire, Buckinghamshire, Sussex and Surrey. The frame of civil society seemed breaking up, the wild deluge of human passion, untamed by moral feeling, unchecked by law, threatened to overwhelm all. With a nation apparently resolving into anarchy, and a government helpless and stubborn, there was no hope. Like sailors in a shipwreck, men began to search for some thing to cling to in the impending convulsion. The demand for reform was raised more clamorously than ever. Political unions and reform associations, having for their object the propagation of definite political principles, and a demonstration of the physical strength of the reformers, were everywhere established.

Such was the threatening aspect of the country when parliament opened on the 2d of November. The speech from the throne contained no indications of the means by which ministers proposed to meet the threatening emergency. The ministerial declaration showed that the Duke of Wellington, in proud ignorance, was determined to cling to

a system whose props one after another had for years been dropping down.

Any doubt that remained upon this subject was removed by the debate which took place in the House of Lords when the address to the throne was moved. Earl Grey, advertent to the opprobrious designation applied in the king's speech to the Belgian revolution, observed,—“We ought to learn from what was passing before our eyes. He felt persuaded, that unless reform were granted, we must make up our minds to witness the destruction of the constitution.” The Duke of Wellington's reply to this portion of this speech is only memorable by the declaration made in it, which occasioned his subsequent downfall: “The noble earl has alluded to something in the shape of a parliamentary reform, but he has acknowledged that he is not prepared with any measure of reform. \* \* \* I am fully convinced that the country possesses at the present moment a legislature which answers all the good purposes of legislation; and this to a greater degree than any legislature ever has answered in any country whatever. \* \* \* Under these circumstances I am not only not prepared to bring forward any measure of this nature, but I will at once declare, that, as far as I am concerned, as long as I hold any station in the government of the country, I shall always feel it my duty to resist such measures when proposed by others.”

The tone assumed by the opposition in both houses after this haughty declaration convinced ministers of their rashness in venturing to meet such a parliament in an official capacity. Their embarrassment was increased in consequence of an injudicious manœuvre, intended to terrify their opponents, by impressing them with an exaggerated notion of popular violence. The king and queen were to dine at Guildhall on the Lord Mayor's day; but, under the pretext that there was a conspiracy on the part of some abandoned characters to attack the Duke of Wellington, their majesties were induced to retract their assent. This attempt,



by stimulating the loyalty of the nation, and adroitly confounding the king with his advisers, to give greater firmness to a wavering government, failed signally. The ministers became ridiculous. The invectives of the opposition in parliament became more pointed and inveterate; and on the 15th of November Sir Henry Parnell moved "that a select committee be appointed to take into consideration the estimates and accounts presented by command of his majesty respecting the civil list." After a short debate ministers were left in a minority of twenty-nine in an unusually full house. Mr. Hobhouse asked Sir Robert Peel whether it was the intention of ministers to retain their places after such an expression of the sentiments of the house, but received no answer. Next day the Duke of Wellington in the Peers, and Sir Robert Peel in the Commons, announced, that in consequence of the vote of the preceding evening, they had tendered, and his majesty had accepted, their resignation.

The king immediately authorized Earl Grey to form an administration upon the basis of making parliamentary reform a cabinet question. There was necessarily a suspension of business in parliament till the ministers who had vacated their seats by accepting office should be re-elected. By the time that they were all restored to their places, it was too late to think of maturing and developing their system of policy before the Christmas holidays. Accordingly, Earl Grey contented himself with declaring, that it was the intention of the cabinet to introduce a plan for the reform of the Commons House of Parliament.

The interval of parliamentary exertion was an uneasy one for the country. The riots and outrages in the agricultural districts had begun to decline; but the duty of punishing the convicted transgressors of the law remained to be fulfilled. During the latter half of December and the beginning of January, upwards of eight hundred rioters were tried before special commissions. Of those against whom sentence of death was record-

ed, only four were executed; the rest were ultimately sentenced to various terms of transportation and imprisonment. Comparative tranquillity was restored; but the mischief that had been done was not amended, nor was a healthy confidence between the lower classes and their employers restored.

Parliament met, as appointed, on the 3d of February, 1831. The ministers announced that their plan of parliamentary reform should be brought forward by Lord John Russell on the 1st of March. In announcing his scheme, Lord John Russell proposed the total disfranchisement of sixty boroughs, in which the population did not amount to 2,000; and the partial disfranchisement of forty-seven, where the population was only 4,000. By this means the number of members would be reduced 168; but which would be supplied by increasing the number of county members, and by giving representatives to certain large towns heretofore unrepresented. He then went into a variety of other details, not necessary to be here enumerated; when the bill, after a spirited discussion of seven days, was read a first time. The second reading was carried on the 22d of March, by a majority of *one*; the numbers being 302 to 301. And on General Gascoyne's motion for the commitment of the bill, there was a majority against the ministers of *eight*. Three days afterwards, on a question of adjournment, by which the voting of supplies was postponed, this majority had increased to twenty-two; whereupon the ministers tendered their resignations to the king. These he declined to accept, but adopted the advice of Earl Grey, who recommended a dissolution of parliament, which took place on the 22d of April.

And now arose the cry of "The bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill." Out of the eighty-two county members for England, nearly all were pledged to the bill; as were all the four members for the city of London. On the 14th of June the new parliament met, and was opened by the king in person. On the 24th Lord John Russell

made his second attempt. The debate lasted three nights, and on a division there was a majority of 136 in favor of the bill. It then underwent a long, patient, and severe scrutiny in the committee; every clause was carefully discussed as it arose; many of its crudities were corrected, and many imperfections remedied. These occupied the house almost uninterruptedly till the 19th of September, when, after another eloquent debate of three nights, the bill, as amended, was carried by a majority of 109 in the Commons, and taken up to the Lords by upwards of 100 members.

The debate on the second reading commenced on the 3d of October, and continued during that and four succeeding evenings. The arguments brought forward against the bill were various and contradictory. After this long and fatiguing debate, the Peers of England, by a majority of forty-one, decided, in opposition to a majority nearly triple that amount of the House of Commons, and to the almost unanimous voice of the nation, that a system of cunningly-veiled oppression and corruption should be perpetuated.

Owing to the firmness of the king, his ministers, and the House of Commons, the decision of the Lords was received by the people with deep-felt disgust; but, except in two or three isolated cases, without any alarming bursts of violence. At Derby the rabble broke open the town jail, and demolished the property of some anti-reformers, and were only prevented from the perpetration of further violence by the interference of the military. The castle of Nottingham, the property of the Duke of Newcastle, was burned by a band of rioters. Some rioting, but not of a very serious character, took place in Somersetshire and Devonshire. And at Bristol, the arrival of Sir Charles Wetherell, a strenuous anti-reformer, to discharge his judicial duties, excited a popular ferment, which being met on the part of the magistrates at first with precipitate violence, and afterwards by cowardly supineness, hurried the populace on to works of extensive destruction. In every other part of the kingdom, however, large

meetings were held, and perfect obedience to the law enforced.

Parliament re-assembled on the 6th of December, 1831. In the speech from the throne, a speedy and satisfactory settlement of the question of reform was urgently recommended. The ministry adhered to their original purpose of remodelling the representation by three separate bills applicable to the varying social relations of the three incorporated nations. That which had for its object the reform of the English representation was introduced on the 12th of December. It was confessedly superior to the former in precision of expression; and some of the subordinate arrangements had been modified with a view to avoid the captious quibbling of the preceding session. The ministerial members adopted the prudent resolution of leaving all the speaking to their opponents; but, nevertheless, the pertinacious volubility of these orators was so far successful in retarding the bill, that it did not pass through the House of Commons before the 22d of March.

It was carried up to the Lords with even more gloomy anticipations than on the former occasion. No new peers had been created. Lords Harrowby and Wharncliffe, who had seemed at one time inclined to come to terms, resumed a hostile attitude. Between the first and second reading of the bill, however, these noblemen and their followers determined to make a concession to public feeling, and allowed the bill to go into committee. In consequence of their wavering, the second reading of the bill was carried by a majority of nine, and the bill ordered to be committed the first day on which the house should sit after the Easter recess. On that day, May 7, Lord Lyndhurst moved that the disfranchising clause should be postponed, and the enfranchising clause first considered; which was carried against ministers, by a majority of 151 to 116. As this was considered the first of a series of obstructions, dexterously contrived to delay and mutilate the reform bill, the ministers an



nounced their intention to resign, unless his majesty would consent to a new creation of peers. To that expedient the king declined to resort, and the ministers sent in their resignation accordingly.

The Duke of Wellington undertook to form an administration which should take office upon condition of carrying through a large measure of reform. At the first hint of this project, the national indignation blazed up more fiercely; the timid class of politicians shrunk from the side of their leader; and the duke having abandoned the task as hopeless, the king was obliged to recall Lord Grey.

On the evening of Friday, the 18th of May, Lord Althorp announced to the House of Commons that the ministers had again accepted office, after receiving assurance that every power would be placed in their hands which should be found necessary to secure the passing of the reform bill unmutated. The discussions of the measure in the House of Lords, subsequent to this communication, were mere matters of form. Few of the amendments proposed were ever pushed to a division. Even the most obnoxious clause of all, that which gave members to the metropolitan districts, was carried by a majority of fifty-five, in a house of a hundred and twenty-seven. A creation of peers was not resorted to for the purpose of carrying the bill. In order to render that supposed evil unnecessary, a sufficient number of noble lords absented themselves from the house to leave the ministers in a majority on the third reading. The few who remained, however, expressed in their speeches the concentrated resentment of all the absentees. The royal assent was given to the English bill by commission on the 7th of June, 1832.

The bills for Scotland and Ireland had been merely read a first time, and then allowed to lie over until the key-stone of the arch, the English bill, had been secured. As soon as that object was attained, the discussions upon the other two were resumed. The Scotch bill received the royal assent by

commission on the 17th of July. Greater difficulty threatened to arise on the question of the Irish bill, for a strong body of the Irish members were dissatisfied with the provisions for the extension of the franchise, regarding them as insufficient. But timely concession on the part of the ministers conciliated the malcontents; the bill passed the House of Commons on Friday, the 20th of July; no essential alterations were made by the House of Lords; and the new constitution of the imperial parliament was thus, after an arduous struggle, completely established.

On the meeting of the first reformed parliament in January, 1833, a trial of strength between the parties in the house, and a test of the efficiency of the bill, was eagerly expected by the public. The chief struggle, however, succeeded in the settlement of Irish affairs, this subject having been earnestly recommended to Parliament in the opening speech of his majesty. In reference to these, he had expressed his confidence that they would entrust him with such additional powers as might be found necessary for controlling and punishing the disturbers of the public peace in Ireland, and for preserving and strengthening the legislative union between the two countries. A fierce attack followed from Mr. O'Connell, who characterized the speech as a "bloody, brutal, unconstitutional address," and ended by moving, that the house should resolve itself into a committee for its consideration. A keen debate ensued, which was carried through four adjournments, when Mr. O'Connell's proposal was rejected by 428 against 40, of which minority, 35 were Irish members. The coercion bill for the suppression of disturbances in Ireland was then introduced by Earl Grey into the House of Lords, and carried through without opposition. But no such tranquil reception awaited it in the lower house, where a stormy debate of six days ensued before the first reading of the bill was carried by 466 votes against 89, this majority having been obtained by the con-

servative party supporting the ministers. Undismayed by such a union, the Irish members and their adherents continued to oppose the bill at every step of debate, until it was passed with some alterations through a third reading by the large majority of 345 to 86.

Another important parliamentary measure of this year successfully closed the long struggle for negro emancipation. On this occasion an act was passed, that on the 1st of August, 1834, slavery should wholly cease throughout all the British colonies, while the immense sum of twenty millions sterling was voted to the West India planters as a compensation for their loss through the abolition of compulsory labor.

On the following year the attention of Parliament was chiefly occupied, as before, with the affairs of Ireland. The late concessions to that country had been received by O'Connell and his party merely as the first instalments of a debt, and Catholic emancipation itself as a prelude to the repeal of the union; and thus there was no end to their demands, or limits to their discontent. This was now shown upon the question of Irish tithes, connected with the renewal of the coercion bill, in which the difficulties became so complicated, that Earl Grey resigned, and was succeeded in office by Lord Melbourne. The new premier then brought forward his plan for the adjustment of the tithe question, which he stated to be the *ultimatum*, beyond which nothing was to be granted or expected. It was, that the tithes were to be collected by the crown and paid by the landlord, and thus the odium, as well as riots, occasioned by the former mode of levying them, would be avoided. But as the revenues of the clergy, in consequence of this change, were to undergo a diminution of twenty-two and a half per cent., to defray the expenses of collecting them, the bill was rejected at the second reading, and the clergy of the Irish Established Church were consigned to the poverty and uncertainty incidental to their

former position. This hasty escape from one difficulty, only plunged the ministry into another. On seeing the Irish Church thus left to its fate, the English Dissenters, who had supported the reform bill through all its stages, imagined that their season for remonstrance and redress had fully arrived; and a shower of petitions followed, demanding exemption from the payment of church rates, and, in some cases, for the entire abolition of all connection between Church and State, or, at least, for the general adoption of the voluntary system, by which every person should not only choose his own church, but support his own minister. These petitions, however, only provoked a storm of counter-petitions, in which Parliament was entreated with equal urgency to preserve the rights of the Established Church inviolate. But the chief grievance of which the Dissenters complained, was their virtual exclusion from literary degrees at the universities of Cambridge and Oxford, by the demand of conformity to the Church of England, and subscription to its articles; and they therefore prayed that these halls of learning should be thrown open to all, and their honors made accessible to every competitor. This petition was signed by sixty-three resident members of the senate of Cambridge, and introduced to both houses; but, although its demand was limited to the abolition of university tests, it was regarded as a prelude to the overthrow of church establishment itself, and, as such, was rejected in the Lords by a majority of 187 against 85 votes, and in the Commons of 321 against 174.

The only other important measure of this session was the bill for altering and amending the poor laws, upon which a commission of inquiry had been instituted soon after the accession of the new ministry to office.

In the ensuing year several important measures were proposed and carried successfully through both houses. The first was a cabinet plan for the commutation of tithes in England, by which provision was made



for the extinction within two years of the right of exacting them in kind, by the payment of a money-rate, according to the value of corn ascertained by a seven years' average. Another was the general registration of births, marriages and deaths. A third concerned the marriage laws, by which Dissenters were allowed to celebrate the rite of marriage in their own places of worship, or wherever they thought fit, instead of submitting to the usages of the Church of England. It was also intended during this session to bring in four bills, having for their object certain reforms in the English Church; but on account of the hostility of the radical party, and the lateness of the session, only one was passed, under the name of the Established Church bill, by which certain bishoprics were united, two new ones erected, and a reduction effected upon their revenues to the amount of £23,500 per annum.

Such were the principal occurrences of this reign after the passing of the Reform bill, an event that constitutes its chief point of interest. It was now closed by the demise of William IV., who died at Windsor Castle, on the 20th of June, 1837, in the seventy-second year of his age, and when he had all but completed the seventh year of his reign.

On the accession of Queen Victoria to the throne of Great Britain, everything gave promise of a prosperous and happy reign. The country was tranquil; and people of all classes, mindful of the prosperity in arts and arms, that had crowned the eras of Anne and Elizabeth, were ready to welcome once more the rule of a female sovereign. The little kingdom of Hanover also, which for more than a century had been a source to vexation to Britain, was at last severed from the empire, in consequence of the Salic law which prevents the succession of a female to the Hanoverian crown. The moderation of the young queen's first step in government justified the hopes of her people, for instead of yielding to the temptations of innovation and change, she retained the officers of state

in their places, and honored them with her confidence. In consequence of this disinterested commencement, the elections of members for the new parliament went onward as tranquilly as if no change in the occupation of the throne had been experienced.

But while harmony thus prevailed throughout the United Kingdom, the case was very different in the colonial province of Lower Canada, where the French part of the population had long been in a state of insubordination; and, as out of forty members who composed the Legislative Council, eighteen were French Canadian, there was fuel enough to flame the general discontent. The grievances chiefly complained of, as exhibited in a memorial sent to the British Parliament in 1828, and signed by 87,000 inhabitants of Lower Canada, were—arbitrary conduct on the part of the Governors—the appointment of none but creatures of the executive government to the legislative council—the illegal appropriation of public money—violent prorogations and dissolutions of the Provincial Parliament—connivance of the government at the insolvency of Sir John Caldwell, the receiver-general—and certain acts of the imperial parliament relative to Canadian trade and tenures. Since the publication of that report, the attention of Parliament had been repeatedly occupied with its details, and in most cases a strong disposition had been evinced to meet them with concession. These concessions, however, liberal though they were, did not satisfy the colonists, who only became the more extortionate in their demands, so that at last they announced their purpose to withhold any rate of supply, until the alterations in the constitution which they demanded were fully satisfied. Thus matters went on until 1837, when the discontent broke out into open revolt, headed by Mr. Papineau, their chief agitator, who, however, fled at the commencement of action, and left his followers to shift for themselves. This they did by a gallant resistance in several encounters with the royalist forces, until they were finally de-

feated and dispersed by Sir John Colbourne, the British commander-in-chief. This example of rebellion in Lower Canada was not lost upon the Upper province, whose malcontents had been tampered with by emissaries from the United States; and towards the close of the year, an association calling itself the Provincial Convention, issued a manifesto inviting their fellow-colonists to arms, in language as wild as that of the fifth-monarchy saints of the days of Cromwell. It invited them to buckle on their armor, and establish a government and perpetual peace "founded upon the eternal heaven-born principles of the Lord Jesus Christ," and no longer to be "hood-winked by Baal's ministers, and tampered with by wolves in sheep's clothing, who take the wages of sin, and do the works of iniquity." For this outburst, Sir Francis Head, the Governor of Upper Canada, was utterly unprepared; strangely enough, even when the insurrection was expected, and on the eve of explosion, he had cleared the province of all the regular troops, and left nothing for its defence but 6000 stand of arms under the peaceful custody of the Mayor of Toronto. He was suddenly roused from his security, and even from his bed, at ten o'clock at night, by the advance of the insurgents, estimated at 3000 strong, but in reality not more than 500, who entered Toronto under the command of Mr. McKenzie, editor of a republican newspaper, M. Van Egmont, an ex-officer of Napoleon, Mr. Gibson, a land-surveyor, and Mr. Lount, a blacksmith. Roused into decisive action by this sudden emergency, the governor extemporized a militia force that was soon sufficient to keep this motley rebellion at bay, until the arrival of reinforcements of loyal volunteers to the amount of 10,000 or 12,000, obliged the insurgents to betake themselves to flight.

These increasing difficulties in the government of Canada, that seemed only to have awaited the commencement of a female reign to break out into actual rebellion, much perplexed the ministry at home. In spite of

all their conciliatory measures, the colonia, discontent had swelled into open insurrection, and, although this had been promptly suppressed, a second attempt might soon follow, more perfectly matured than the first, and more formidable in its consequences. There were many also at home, and of these, some were in Parliament, who asserted that Canada was now ripe for self-government, and should therefore be released from its dependence on the mother-country; and that the example of the United States should show the danger of a refusal. These considerations occupied the attention of Parliament in 1838; and after several debates, the Canada bill of Lord John Russell was moved, and passed through both houses. Although sufficiently stringent in its character, it was reckoned not more so than the crisis required; and, notwithstanding a fierce resistance from the Canadian sympathizers, it was carried, after undergoing several amendments, by large majorities. The governor, under whom this new experiment of colonial government over nearly a million and a half of discontented subjects was to be attempted, was also nominated; this was the Earl of Durham, son-in-law of Earl Grey, whom Lord John Russell characterized as possessed of large political experience, combined with such liberality of sentiment as would best secure the confidence of the Canadians. Lord Durham accepted the charge with reluctance, and proceeded to his seat of government; but there his rule was both brief and unhappy. Trying at once to punish and conciliate, he only exposed himself to the hostility of the Canadians, and the reproaches of the home government; and, at last disgusted with his charge, he suddenly resigned it after six months' occupation, and returned to England, loudly complaining that the ministry at home had not supported him as they ought to have done. His arrival under such circumstances was so unprecedented and ungracious, that on landing, the usual salute of guns to him as a representative of royalty was withheld, and he was even



threatened with impeachment. Indeed, almost simultaneously with his landing, tidings arrived from Lower Canada that the rebels were again in arms, and in greater force than ever. The debates that followed upon Canadian affairs bore so hard upon the earl, that to justify himself to the country at large, he published his report upon the condition of the colony, which he had originally drawn up for the enlightenment of the ministry. In the debates that followed the queen's speech in 1839, the Duke of Wellington urgently insisted upon the disturbed state of the North American possessions, as well as the precarious tenure by which they were held.

The affairs of Canada, which occupied the attention of Parliament during this year, were alternated with petitions for the abrogation of the corn-laws, and premature attempts to make this great question the subject of parliamentary discussion—with the condition of Afghanistan, into which an Anglo-Indian army had been marched—with proposals for further parliamentary reform—and the appointment of a committee of inquiry into the state of Ireland, occasioned by the assassination of the Earl of Norbury. But of still more urgent consequence was the condition of Jamaica, where the planters were so discontented with the changes introduced into their government, consequent on the abolition of negro slavery, as to cause apprehension of serious commotions. In consequence of this, a bill was introduced into parliament, proposing to suspend the existing constitution of the colony for five years—a daring remedy, which was met by the most decided opposition on the part of Sir Robert Peel. The bill, which was a ministerial one, was gained by only a majority of five, 289 being against it, and 294 in its favor; and, in consequence of this significant indication, the Melbourne cabinet, whose popularity had been gradually decreasing, sent in their resignation. On the Duke of Wellington being invited by her majesty to assist in forming a new cabi-

net, he recommended Sir Robert Peel as the fittest person to be at the head of affairs; and Sir Robert having agreed to accept the premiership, proceeded to fill up the cabinet appointments. But here his first movement was an utter shipwreck, for it was a proposal that certain ladies of the bed-chamber, connected by close relationship with his political opponents, should be either dismissed, or persuaded to resign their offices. To a cool calculating politician this requirement may have appeared just and necessary in a female court, where ladies must naturally possess more than the usual influence of their sex; but by the public in general it was indignantly complained of as a most unchivalrous proceeding, which no argument of statesmanship could justify, while the queen at once rejected the proposal as being both contrary to usage, and revolting to her feelings. Such a long period, indeed, had elapsed since the days of Queen Anne, that politicians had to learn anew the application of established court usages to the emergencies of a female sovereignty. Finding this difficulty at the outset unsurmountable, Sir Robert rejected the offered premiership, and the Melbourne cabinet was restored to office.

After this temporary bed-chamber interruption had subsided, Parliament proceeded in its ordinary routine. And foremost among the measures presented for consideration, was a ministerial plan for a general and national system of education, proposed by Lord John Russell, in which a board, composed of a president, assisted by councillors not exceeding five in number, should preside over the distribution of the ministerial grants, and the management of the system in general, which was to consist of religious and moral as well as intellectual training. But here the high church party took the alarm at the latitude which it allowed to the different religious denominations while the Dissenters themselves opposed it as too exclusively devoted to the interests of the Established Church. It was not in this fashion, or thus

early, that the momentous question of the present day was to be settled. Another subject urgently brought before the attention of Parliament by a message from the queen, was the administration of government in Canada, in which it was proposed that the upper and lower provinces should be united into one—a measure that was successfully accomplished in the following year. At home also the Chartists, who had risen into such portentous strength as seriously to alarm the government, by transmitting a monster petition in behalf of their five points, signed by 1,200,000 of the working-classes, became so riotous on its rejection, especially at Birmingham, that the police force of that city had to be largely increased, and 5000 soldiers added to the military establishment. Even these precautions were insufficient, for towards the close of the year their discontent broke out into action. This was in Monmouthshire, where 4000 or 5000 rioters, armed with various weapons, and headed by John Frost, a magistrate, attacked the town of Newport; but happily they were dispersed, after a few volleys of musketry by a handful of soldiers and policemen.

In the parliament of 1840, which was opened by Her Majesty in person on the 16th of January, her approaching marriage with Prince Albert of Saxe Coburg-Gotha, was announced in the opening of the queen's speech; and on this occasion the annual sum of £30,000 was voted out of the consolidated fund as a provision for her royal consort.

Passing over the events of less importance by which this year was distinguished, we would now confine our attention to those disasters which awaited the British arms in the East. For a long period, the chief dread of the security of the empire in India had arisen from the growing ambition of Russia, and its machinations with Persia and Afghanistan, of which last country Runjeet Sing, commonly called the Lion of Lahore, who was suspected of leaning towards the designs of Russia, had obtained dominion over the greater part by intrigue and con-

quest. In the course of these successful aggressions, Dost Mohammed, sovereign of Cabul, finding himself in danger of being dispossessed by the Lion of Lahore, had recourse to the British for protection; but as the Indian government was at peace with his enemy, the application was refused, whereupon he sought assistance not only from the Tartars, but also from Persia and Russia. In this way a door was opened for Muscovite intrigue and aggression. Instigated, as was alleged, by pecuniary aid from Russia, the Shah of Persia marched in July, 1837, at the head of 40,000 men, from Teheran to Herat, to which he laid siege; upon which it was determined by the Indian government that the young sovereign of Persia should be driven out of Cabul, and Shah Sujah, one of the deposed Afghan kings, but now a British pensionary, placed upon the throne. In this way, it was hoped, a grateful ally would be secured, and a frontier barrier erected against Persian and Russian encroachments. Accordingly, in the middle of June, 1838, a British army was landed at Karrack in the Persian Gulf, of which it took possession; and the Shah finding his own dominions thus invaded, broke up the siege of Herat, in which he had made little progress, and hastily retreated homewards. A city that was the key to the Indian possessions against Persia and Russia was thus fully recovered; but unsatisfied with this result, the Anglo-Indian government resolved to complete the work by the subjugation of Afghanistan itself. Accordingly war was declared by Lord Auckland, governor-general of India, while the conduct of it was committed to Sir Henry Fane, the commander-in-chief of all India, who unwillingly undertook the charge, from a melancholy foreknowledge of the difficulties with which it was certain to be attended.

These difficulties were not long in commencing. The first was the refusal of Runjeet Sing to allow the British troops to cross his territories at the Punjaub, notwithstanding his previous agreement by treaty to that



effect. Then came the treachery of the Ameers of Scinde, who had engaged to furnish provisions and the means of transport to the English armies; but who, when the crisis arrived, not only broke their engagement, but turned against them, and attacked the troops in the mountain passes. Finally, the health of Sir Henry Fane, which had been affected at the commencement, so completely failed, that he was obliged to resign the command, which was conferred upon Sir John Keane; and this change occasioned others, that led to jealousy and misunderstanding among the officers, and produced some of the worst errors of the war. In spite of these and other obstacles, the Anglo-Indian army advanced, and was everywhere successful: Ghuzna was taken by storm, Cabul entered in triumph, and Shah Sujah seated upon the musnud. All danger being now thought at an end, Sir John Keane returned to England, where he was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Keane of Ghuzna and Capoquin, and Lord Auckland was rewarded with the rank of Earl. But while the whole nation triumphed in this conquest of Afghanistan, by which the British dominion was completed over India, the sagacity of the Duke of Wellington was not deceived. Understanding too well the nature of Eastern affairs, he expressed his apprehensions of a coming reaction, and that these conquests in Afghanistan were but the commencement of fresh difficulties.

These forebodings were but too well verified. On the withdrawal of the army, 8000 of the troops, British and Sepoy, were left at Cabul, independently of Shah Sujah's contingent, which was commanded by British officers. In the spring of 1840, as soon as the melting of the ice and snow had opened the mountain passes, hostilities were resumed by the Afghan tribes, aided by the Ameers of Scinde; and although the army was increased by reinforcements to 16,000, it seemed to be blockaded in a hostile country, rather than a force in successful military occupation, while already an expense equal to three mil-

lions per annum was the price of such an undesirable tenure. In November, 1841, Sir A. Burnes, the British resident at Cabul, and two officers, one of whom was his brother, were attacked and murdered in their own house by the insurgent Afghans, whose formidable bands had surrounded the city and shut out all communication between the British army and the government; the British encampment itself was attacked; and the troops demoralized by the confusion of counsels that prevailed among their officers, fled from the commissariat fort, leaving their provisions, clothing, and stores in the hands of the enemy. A dangerous retreat or negotiation was now the only alternative, and unhappily the latter was adopted. For this purpose, Sir William Macnaughton, the British commander, went out from the cantonment to an interview with Akbar Khan and the other insurgent chiefs, and the latter agreed to allow the British army to retire without molestation, and furnish them with provisions and the means of transport. But instead of fulfilling their bargain, these faithless barbarians murdered all the sick and wounded that fell into their hands, and withheld the promised provisions; and when the British troops were exhausted with hunger, sickness, and the severity of the weather, they rose in their demands, and insisted on a new treaty. A fresh interview followed, and Sir William Macnaughton was basely murdered in the midst of the conference. Utterly dispirited by this atrocious deed, the army abandoned all thought of resistance, and entered into a composition to secure their further retreat, by agreeing to abandon all their guns except six, and all their treasures to the enemy; to give bills for the payment of five lacs of rupees; and to leave the married officers, with their wives and children, as hostages until these terms were fulfilled. It was a miserable treaty for the conquerors of India to make. The retreat purchased under such humiliating circumstances was as disastrous, proportioned to the number of the sufferers, as any which history has recorded.

It was in the depth of winter, and 26,000 human beings, comprising soldiers, camp followers, women and children, are calculated to have perished by the severity of the weather, by privations of every kind, and by the swords of the perfidious enemy, who hung upon their march and cut down every straggler who was unable to keep up with his companions. In short, of the whole military force who were thought sufficient for the conquest and possession of any eastern kingdom, only a few sepoys and camp followers succeeded in escaping to Jellalabad, still held out by General Sale, who had cleared the pass of Khoord Cabul at the commencement of the insurrection, and who gallantly retained possession of the fortress, notwithstanding the desponding orders of his superior, Elphinstone, to evacuate it.

A reverse so remarkable in the history of British conquest in India produced a corresponding depression, and it was resolved to obtain the liberation of the captive women and children by treaty and ransom. But this abject step, which would have destroyed all prestige in India, and commenced a train of disasters under which the eastern government would have been shaken if not finally overthrown, was happily abandoned, and a war of retrieval commenced. For this Jellalabad afforded a centre and rallying point, as it was still gallantly held out by General Sale, who disturbed the siege of Akbar Khan by several successful sallies, and at length defeated him on the 7th of April, 1842, in an open engagement, with only a part of the garrison. In the meantime, General Pollock, who had been pressing forward to the relief of the fortress, reached it nine days afterwards, when its provisions were all but exhausted, and the siege was instantly raised. The British army then advanced upon Cabul, in the middle of August, and met with little or no resistance, the successful Afghan chiefs being now engaged in war with each other, and that too in the very neighborhood of the city which it was their common interest to defend. At the same time, General Nott,

who had gained two victories over the Afghans, and recaptured Ghuznee, advanced to effect a junction with Pollock. The chiefs who had hitherto sided with Akbar Khan, now turned against him; and a treaty in which pecuniary recompense was largely promised them by the British government was eagerly accepted. The consequence was, that after a liberal ransom, the officers, with their wives and children, who had been abandoned to the enemy as hostages, and who had been often menaced with the most infamous treatment, arrived in safety at headquarters.

This Afghan war was not the only eastern question that occupied the attention of the home government; the maintenance of the integrity of the Turkish empire, in which Britain has so deep an interest, was also at issue, in consequence of the ambition of Mohammed Ali, the most formidable of Ottoman viceroys. Soon after his accession, Abdul Medjid, the young Grand Seignor, had offered to his dangerous vassal a full pardon for the past, and the hereditary sovereignty of Egypt; but the Pacha, not contented with this, demanded possession of Syria also, by which Turkey would have been dismembered, and its very existence placed at his mercy. Upon this unreasonable demand, which Mohammed had full means to enforce, the allied powers, England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, interposed; and as the Sultan had no naval power for the recovery of Syria, his navy having deserted to the viceroy, the allied powers, who found that something more than remonstrance was necessary, entered into an agreement to that effect at London on the 15th of September, 1840. Accordingly, a British fleet, aided by an Austrian naval and land force, reduced the city of Beyrout, defeated Ibrahim Pacha, and so effectually aided the Syrian mountaineers, who were disgusted with the oppressive rule of the Egyptian army, that the latter was compelled to retreat upon Acre. The city of Sidon was then captured; and on the 3d of November the British fleet advanced to



the attack of St. Jean d'Acre, that city which Napoleon regarded as the key of the East. This fortress was taken by the British in less than four hours; and the naval force, which only lost 12 men killed and 42 wounded in the attack, inflicted upon the enemy a loss of more than two thousand in killed, wounded, and prisoners. This signal victory destroyed the pretensions of Mohammed Ali, who yielded to the terms imposed upon him by the allies through Admiral Sir Charles Napier, the conqueror of Acre. These were, that he should give up the Turkish fleet to the Sultan, abandon for ever his claims upon Syria, and hold Egypt as an hereditary dependency of the Ottoman Porte. In this way the dismemberment of Turkey was delayed.

It was not merely in the Afghanistan war that English commercial interests in the East had for a time been in danger: in China also a war had been commenced against the British, originating in the alterations that had been made in the East India Company's charter, by which their exclusive monopoly in the China trade was abolished. The Chinese, who were immoderately addicted to the use of opium, had hitherto been supplied, though in limited degree, with that pernicious drug from India through the Company; but no sooner was the trade thrown open, than opium was poured into the Chinese market without stint, until its effects were soon felt as one of the worst of national evils. Alarmed at this, the Chinese government adopted a remedy in its own despotic fashion, by suspending all trade with the British, seizing and destroying the opium and other British property, and firing upon their ships in their passage up the River to Canton. These aggressions were so frequent, and the treaties that followed them were so ineffectual, that in 1840 war was proclaimed, and Canton blockaded by a British fleet. The result of the encounters that followed was such as might have been expected: the Chinese soon found that mere barbarism, courage and numbers were no match for Euro-

pean military science, discipline and experience; and that when they had recourse to temporizing and treachery, these were only followed by fresh disasters. Thus matters went on in 1840 and the two following years, until the Chinese government was forced into submission, and a treaty was signed on the 20th of August, 1842, in which they made full reparation.

The course of eastern warfare was once more shifted from China to India. The Ameers of Scinde, encouraged by the disasters of the British army among the Afghan mountains in the retreat from Cabul, incensed at the loss of their transit duties on merchandise passing up and down the Indus, and apprehensive of losing their hunting-grounds upon the banks of the river by the continued encroachments of British dominion, took up arms for a general resistance. Against these dangerous enemies Sir Charles Napier was sent; and on the 17th of February, two days after the violation of the treaty, he attacked them within twenty miles of Hydrabad, upon which city he was advancing. The Ameers, who had mustered a numerous army, gallantly contested the ground, and for some time made victory doubtful; but at length they were routed by the greatly inferior British force, who on this occasion rivalled the brightest achievements of the soldiers of Lake and Clive. Three days after the victory the conquerors entered and took possession of Hydrabad; in consequence of which Scinde was reduced to a British province, with Napier for its governor, slavery was abolished, and the Indus opened to the trade of every nation.

During the same year, and towards its close, a war was commenced with the Mahrattas, who had rebelled against their young Maharajah, whom the British were bound by treaties to support, and committed other excesses that made chastisement inevitable. An army was sent against them under the command of Sir Hugh Gough, and a battle fought at Maharajpooor on the 29th of December, 1843, in which the Mahrattas were

defeated, though not without severe loss to the British, whose number almost equaled that of the enemy. Upon the same day a victory was obtained over a Mahratta force at Punniar by a division of the British army under the command of Major-General Grey. In consequence of this twofold defeat the Mahrattas submitted, and their country was garrisoned by military occupation. During this course of a four years' war, extending over Syria, India, and China, events at home were of such minor importance that we can scarcely afford them a passing glance. The principal affairs with which Parliament was occupied, independent of these important movements in the East, were an alarming diminution in the revenue, and the question of the repeal of the corn-laws, which, in consequence of the fall of the revenue, was forced into final discussion. Against these restrictions on the importation of grain parliament had been petitioned in 1839; in 1841 the subject was resumed, with almost as much urgency as that which had carried the Reform bill; and, in the following year, the popular agitation for the repeal of the corn-laws was so overwhelming, that a new cabinet under Sir Robert Peel, after carrying the property and income tax, found that it could do nothing less than abate, if it did not wholly abolish, these obnoxious restrictions. This accordingly was done by Sir Robert in March, 1842, when his modification of the sliding scale, instead of an entire free trade in corn, was introduced and carried by a majority of 306 against 104.

The affairs of India once more became the subjects of public attention. Lord Ellenborough, the governor-general, was recalled in April, 1844, and Sir Henry Hardinge appointed to his room. The latter, on his arrival in India, found the Sikhs in a state of wild disorder in consequence of the death of the energetic Runjeet Sing, the Lion of Lahore, and ready to invade the British territories, which they soon afterwards did by crossing the Sutledge; upon which a military force that had been in readiness for the

occasion was marched against them with great celerity. An encounter took place at Moodkee, on the 18th of December, 1845, and although the Sikhs were in great force and advantageously posted, as well as defended by a numerous artillery, in the use of which they had been trained by European officers, while the British, consisting of only four regiments of foot, and one of light dragoons, were exhausted with a long march, and provided with only a few six-pounders, the latter were victorious, although with a heavy loss in killed and wounded. Undismayed by this defeat, which fell only upon their advanced troops, the main army of the Sikhs on the opposite side of the river, crossed the Sutledge, with an overwhelming array of horse, foot, and cannon, and entrenched themselves at Ferozeshah. There a terrible engagement took place between them and the British, who were now not only reinforced with fresh troops, but aided by the presence of Sir Henry Hardinge, the governor-general, who on this trying occasion set aside his superiority of rank, and took the command of the left wing under Sir Hugh Gough. This great battle, to which that of Moodkee had been but a prelude, commenced on the 21st of December, and lasted two days; while the British, who were defective in cavalry and artillery, with which the enemy were abundantly provided, were obliged to depend upon the steadiness of their infantry, and charges of the bayonet. On this occasion the Sikhs were at last driven out of their camp after a gallant resistance, in which the British sustained a loss of more than two thousand in killed and wounded. After this double engagement, the Sikhs, still undismayed, entrenched themselves at Sohraon; but there they were attacked by Sir Hugh Gough on the 10th of February, 1846, and totally defeated, and driven across the Sutledge, while the British army entered the Punjaub. Lahore, the capital, surrendered at their approach; and the authority of the young Maharajah, Goolab Sing, was restored.



While these eastern events were in progress, a great agricultural conflict had been going on at home. This was for the repeal of the corn-laws, which, having lasted their day, were now to be dismissed as mere worn-out relics of departed feudalism. The agitation to that effect, chiefly conducted by Mr. Cobden, had acquired a formidable consistency and strength by the organization of an anti-corn-law league, well furnished with influential names and pecuniary contributions; and, at the close of 1845, the demand for a free trade was so loud over England and Scotland, that Sir Robert Peel and his cabinet, who were divided upon the question, gave in their resignation. A new ministry, however, could not be formed, and Sir Robert was persuaded to resume office only ten days after. But more urgent still than the fiercest popular clamor was the failure of the potato crop, and the famine that followed, so that even the agricultural interest was obliged to acknowledge the necessity of a repeal. It was hunger that at last ate through these stone walls of protection, and prepared the openings for a free trade in corn; and it was Sir Robert Peel himself who brought into parliament a bill to that effect, which was passed through the House of Commons on the 16th of May, 1845, and through that of the Lords on the 21st of June. With this daring experiment, not upon individual interests, but the national existence itself, the popular desire was satisfied, and the present famine forgot in the hopes of future abundance.

Next to Mr. Cobden no member of the Anti-Corn Law League did more to secure the execution of its object than John Bright, who has since become so distinguished in parliament as a powerful advocate of all liberal measures. After the repeal of the corn-laws and establishment of free-trade, Sir Robert Peel resigned office and was succeeded by Lord John Russell.

The year 1847 was signalized by political difficulties that would have tried the wisdom as well as tested the stability of any political

administration. The commercial prosperity of 1845, so flattering at its commencement, had encountered a sudden shock chiefly through the disease in the potato crop, by which there was a deficiency in the available wealth of the country to the amount of several millions. But fearfully this calamity had fallen upon Ireland, where the potato constitutes the principal article of food, and for the loss of which an immediate remedy was urgently demanded. A whole nation was at the starving point. The opening of the session was, therefore, earlier than usual, the Parliament meeting on the 19th of January, and the subject of Irish destitution was the chief subject of discussion. The temporary expedients proposed and adopted on this occasion were parliamentary labor upon the farms and public works, the reclaiming of waste lands, and the eleemosynary relief of gratuitous rations and soup-kitchens. The more permanent remedies introduced to the consideration of Parliament, were the sale of encumbered estates, the conversion of long leaseholds into copyholds, and the construction of railways; for which changes it was stated that grants from government to the amount of sixteen millions would be necessary. But costly though the price was, these remedies were subsequently adopted, and put in practice. Other measures connected with Ireland that occupied the attention of Parliament during the same session, had reference to the suppression of crime, which had increased to a fearful amount, especially in the form of open murder, assassination, and conspiracies against the rights of property; and to suppress these evils a bill was introduced and passed through parliament investing the Lord Lieutenant with almost dictatorial power, which was to continue in full force until the 31st of December, 1849. It was wonderful how easily this measure passed through the ordeal of the Irish members, few opposing it except those of the O'Connell family. But for this silence there was sufficient cause, as their great leader, whose voice would have been



*Mr Bright.*





londest on such an occasion when his country was to be colonized by the Saxons, had ended his political career. Daniel O'Connell, the great tribune of Ireland, who had won as a popular agitator a more than kingly ascendancy, died at Genoa, on his way to Rome, on the 15th of May, 1847.

While the nation was thus suffering from deficient harvests, mercantile depression, and a defective revenue, the magnanimity with which these evils were endured, and the energy with which they were surmounted, bore full evidence to the deep-rooted strength and stability of the British constitution. An attempt, indeed, was made on the part of Chartism to avail itself of the universal commotion, but all that it could effect was a few monster meetings that evaporated in speeches, or paltry riots that were easily suppressed by the police. In Ireland also an attempt at open rebellion upon a grand scale ended in a trifling skirmish in a cabbage garden, and the capture of Mr. Smith O'Brien, the redoubted leader of the movement. Still agrarian riots, violence, and assassination continued in that unhappy country as before, and with more formidable results than open rebellion, so that Irish affairs occasioned much parliamentary solicitude during the following year. To meet those difficulties arising from the destitution which the potato blight had occasioned, and which still continued to increase in severity, various temporary measures were adopted, that sufficed for a few weeks or months to hold the evil at bay, and give the sufferers a chance of recovery. But the most permanent benefit that could be imparted to such a country was the Encumbered Estates bill, proposed during the previous year, and now carried through both houses, by which land hitherto useless was thrown into the market, and made available to those who had wealth to purchase and spirit to cultivate it. In this way English and Scottish merchants became Irish proprietors; Saxon capital, perseverance, and skill were brought to a rich but hitherto unproductive soil; and all gave

promise that in a few generations more the marked superiority by which Ulster stood alone would be fully shared by all the provinces of Ireland.

During the settlement of these important measures, and while peace still continued at home, a short but sharp war had broken out in India, where the Sikhs, notwithstanding their former defeats and subjection, had again risen against the Indian government, and commenced their insurrection with the murder of two British officers. The gallant resistance which they made in the field cast an ominous shadow over the security of the rule in India, until the public anxiety was tranquillized by the capture of Mooltan, a stronghold of the Sikhs, and their final defeat at Goojerat. As it was thought dangerous to enter into further treaty with such enemies, or continue to recognize them as an independent power, their country, the Punjaub, was annexed to the Anglo-Indian empire.

The triumph obtained by the free trade party in the abolition of the navigation laws was not lost upon the protectionists; and thinking that their opportunity had fully arrived, they followed up the movement of their opponents by similar appeals and arguments in behalf of the agricultural interest. For this purpose a motion was made by Mr. Disraeli, now the leader of the protection party, to throw a portion of the rates charged upon agricultural produce into the general taxation of the country. But, though the complaints of the agricultural classes, owing to the depression which free trade had introduced among them, were both loud and formidable, the motion of Mr. Disraeli was negatived by a majority of 280 to 189. In the following year, a more favorable opportunity still seemed to have arrived, as the excess of the national income over the expenditure was somewhat more than two millions; and accordingly the proposal was again brought forward in 1850, but only again to be negatived, on this occasion, however, by a diminished majority of



21, 252 being in favor of the protectionist bill, and 273 against it. A still greater parliamentary unanimity happily prevailed in favor of the claims of the colonies to a constitutional government—a benefit which, if not freely conceded, it was thought they would soon be strong enough to take without the formality of asking. In this way the privilege of self-government was claimed for the North American colonies, the South African colonies, the Australian colonies, Van Diemen's Land, and New Zealand. These demands were separately discussed; and after many amendments, such concessions were made as were judged best fitted for the progress and necessities of each community.

On the 1st of May, 1851, the Great Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations was opened by the Queen with great splendor; it was visited by immense multitudes of both English and foreigners, and it was hoped that the friendly intercourse it had produced would tend to consolidate the peace which Europe had so long enjoyed. During the six months it was open, the receipts for admission amounted to £505,107, which not only defrayed all the expenses of its construction, but left a surplus of £150,000, which was expended on the purchase of a site for a National Gallery.

During the year 1852, however important were public events, there was one incident that abated the keenness of political interest, and threw a gloom over the public mind. This was the death of the Duke of Wellington, who, worn out with the toils of a long and most eventful life, expired at Walmer Castle, on the 14th of September, 1852, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

The next great event in the foreign history of Great Britain, the Russian war, has already been described in the history of RUSSIA, to which we refer the reader for a full account of its origin and progress.

The year 1858 saw the outbreak of new hostilities in China. The intercourse with this country, since the treaty of 1842, had

been very unsatisfactory. It was found almost impossible to keep the Chinese to the terms of that convention, and England had permitted a part of the privileges then granted to remain unexercised, till an act of open violence in the seizure of a vessel under British protection in the harbor of Canton, brought affairs to a crisis. The Imperial Commissioner Yeh would offer neither apology nor reparation, and it was found necessary to send a special ambassador to arrange all matters in dispute, and offer a display of British power which should make a sufficient impression on the natives' fears. Lord Elgin was appointed to conduct the negotiation, and hurried across to Singapore to wait the arrival of the military and naval expedition which was to enforce the authority of his requisitions. Meeting General Ashburnham at Singapore, he learned from him the first report of the mutiny of the Sepoys, and perceiving at once the danger of the Indian possessions, he changed the destination of the troops sent to support him, deferring the punishment of the Chinese till some more favorable occasion.

An account of the outbreak and suppression of the Indian rebellion has appeared in the article on INDIA. After its successful termination, and the re-establishment of British power, it became evident that a reorganization of the Indian government was required. Authority so great, a region so extensive, and military forces on such an imperial scale, seemed no longer fitted for the nominal rule of the East India Company. It was resolved to unite the name of power to the reality, which had in effect resided for a long time in the government at home. The tradition of the humble days of widening trade and increasing dividends, remained with the board in Leadenhall Street after the decision of higher matters was taken out of their hands. The form of authority still remained; and their seal was still attached to the commissions of the army, and the appointment of civil servants who were to rule over districts as large as kingdoms. After a

debate in parliament, the great deed was consummated in the transference of all the remaining power of the company to the imperial crown. The successors of the early adventurers trading to the East disappeared from history at the same time with the successor of Akbar and Aurungzebe; and encouraging peaceful enterprise like the first, and governing a wider empire than owned the sway of those eastern kings, Victoria assumed the sceptre over two hundred millions of additional subjects, and on the 2d of August, 1858, became Empress of Hindustan.

Among the more important bills passed about this time, was that for the admission of Jews into parliament. The measure, introduced by Lord John Russell, provided that a member might take the oath, leaving out the words—"on the true faith of a Christian." The special services in the prayer-book for the 5th of November, Guy Fawkes' day, the 30th of January, the execution of Charles II., and 29th of May, the restoration of the Royal Family, were also abolished in 1858. The question of parliamentary reform was brought up in the house, with no result at the time, however, beyond causing the downfall of the existing ministry.

The following years were remarkably devoid of interesting historical events in the annals of Great Britain. In the war on the continent between France, Italy, and Austria, she took no active part, closely adhering to the policy of non-intervention which has been her guiding principle through all the late European contests. During the course of the American war for the Union, the affair of the Trent almost brought her into a war with the United States; the tempting position of a nation, divided by an immense civil conflict seeming wonderfully to sharpen the sense of British national honor.

The Prince Consort died at Windsor Castle on the 14th of December, 1861. The gloom over the country at the event was more universal than on the occasion of the death of the Duke of Wellington.

During the year 1862, the Great International Exhibition displayed to the public a marvellous collection of treasures of every kind. But the circumstances attending it were very different from those of the first exhibition of 1851. Then the union of nations in contributing the products of science, art, and trade was looked upon as no slight guarantee for the continuance of a general peace. The exhibition of 1862 opened in the midst of the fearful civil war in the United States; and the feelings of satisfaction or pride with which it might otherwise have been regarded were miserably dampened by the cotton famine, which deprived half a million workmen in Lancashire of all means of support. Slowly, but surely, the dearth of cotton resulting from the American blockade had been increasing in intensity, until in the autumn of 1862, the dreadful extent of the calamity forced itself on the whole people. But while ruin was spreading on every side, the nation was making a determined effort to arrest the evil. All that was needed to save the noble workmen of Lancashire not merely from starvation but from pinching distress, was cheerfully given; and the relief so obtained was administered with a singular wisdom. Nor must it be forgotten that, in the midst of their own anxieties and dangers, the merchants of New York contributed largely to relieve the sufferings of the Lancashire workmen.

The most important event in the domestic history of England in 1863, was the marriage of the Prince of Wales to the Princess Alexandra of Denmark. The wedding was celebrated with great splendor in the Chapel Royal, at Windsor Castle, on the 10th of March. The year 1865 was marked by the death of two prominent English politicians, Mr. Cobden and Lord Palmerston.

The year 1866 proved disastrous to the internal affairs of Great Britain. The cattle plague which had been introduced from Germany, increased in virulence, and in twelve months caused the death of nearly



three hundred thousand cattle. A panic in the money market, brought about the failure of some of the oldest bankers in the country; and the consequent dullness of trade and the stoppage of manufactures, threw many men out of employment, and in consequence there was great hardship and suffering among the poorer classes, which, in some cases, caused bread riots.

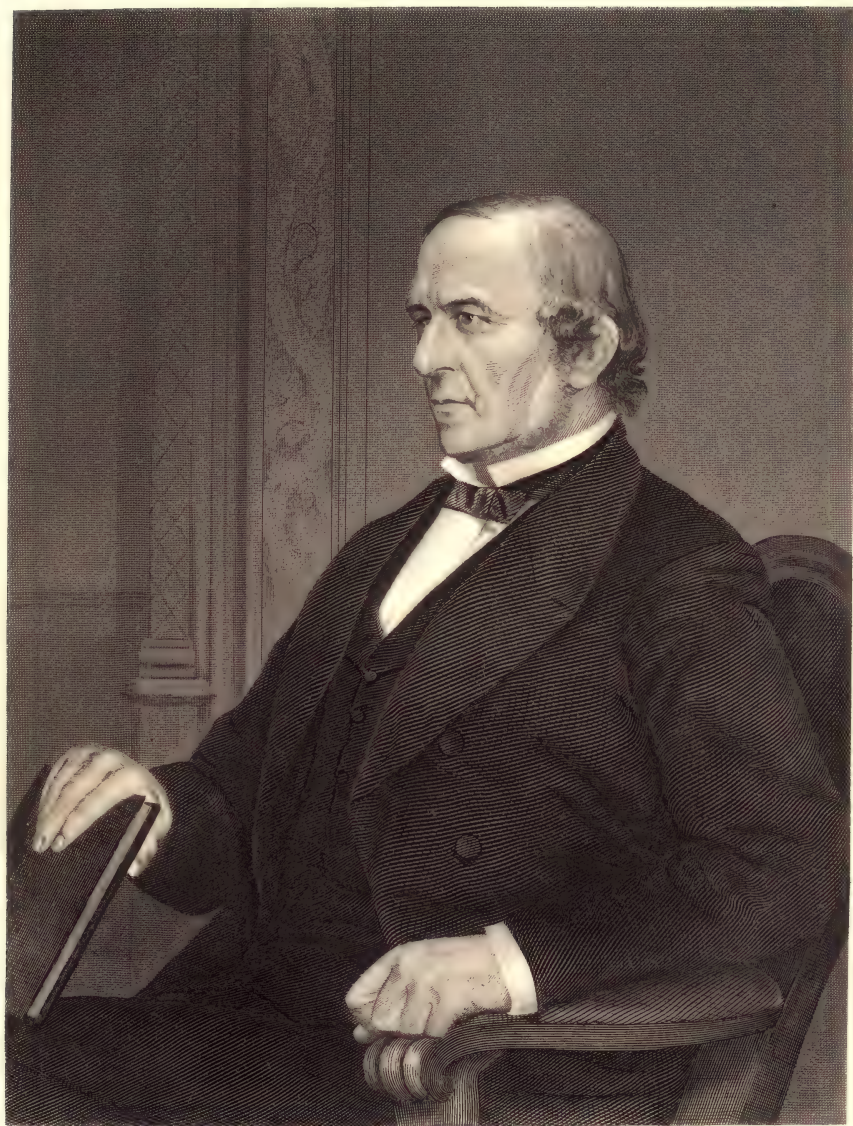
The Reform Bill introduced by the Russell-Gladstone ministry, a compromise with the claims of the large class of the people who were without the suffrage, was lost by a majority of eleven, and a cabinet headed by Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli, succeeded to the defeated administration. The question of reform, lost in parliament, was transferred to the people; the agitation was carried on with mass-meetings and processions, and the attempt of the government to disperse an assembly in Hyde Park almost led to a serious riot.

The conservative administration was steadily opposed to the extension of the suffrage, but the pressure of the general desire of the people at length became so strong that it was obliged to yield. After repeated amendments and modifications, a bill was passed on the 15th of June, 1867, giving a vote to every man who earned £100 a year. This arrangement brought in about eight hundred thousand new electors. In the latter part of September, a military expedition was sent to Abyssinia to effect the liberation of the English subjects who were held in prison by King Theodore. The details of this campaign have already been given under the head of *ABYSSINIA*.

The peace of Great Britain and the administration of her colonies had been greatly disturbed for the two or three preceding years by a new form of agitation in Ireland. This was the organization called the Fenian Brotherhood, a secret society, which directed its operations, not only against Ireland, but also tried to shake the security of British rule in the colonies. The operations, hitherto with little result, of this mysterious

force will find their place in the history of *IRELAND* and of *CANADA*. The disturbance in England in most cases, amounted to nothing more than a few local affrays with the police. A project to seize the castle of Chester was revealed by informers and prevented. At Manchester a serious riot occurred in an attempt to rescue some Fenian prisoners who were being conveyed to jail. Several policemen were killed and some others wounded. Three of the rioters were afterwards executed. While they were under sentence in London, a portion of Clerkenwell Jail, where they were confined, was blown up with gunpowder, killing and wounding many persons in the neighborhood. The Fenians denied all complicity in the crime.

Lord Derby resigned in the early part of 1868, and Mr. Disraeli rose to the premiership. The favorable course of his administration, which began so prosperously, was soon interrupted by a resolution introduced by the great liberal leader, Mr. Gladstone, for the disestablishment of the Irish Church. The maintenance in Ireland of the English Episcopal Church by the forced contributions of the people had long been one of the most oppressive grievances of that misgoverned country. Out of a population of nearly six millions, four millions and a half were Roman Catholics, and but half the remainder belonged to the Church of England. Of course, this proposal called forth the greatest opposition from several quarters; for besides the usual "No popery" cry, there was the loss of the benefits which afforded an easy livelihood to so many younger sons of the nobility. But Mr. Gladstone's perseverance effected its passage through the House of Commons, defeating the government by a majority of sixty-five. Disraeli, however, refused to resign, declaring his belief that in the coming election the people would not sanction such a radical measure. Mr. Gladstone did not attempt to force him to retire, but merely introduced a bill preventing any action with regard to vacancies, etc., in the Irish Church for a year



*W. E. Gladstone*





from August, 1868. This bill was carried through and parliament prorogued. The following election was one of the most exciting ever seen in England. A majority of about one hundred and twelve liberals was returned. Mr. Disraeli immediately resigned, and Mr. Gladstone organized a new ministry. At an early period of the session the bill for the disestablishment of the Irish Church was introduced, and passed after a long and exciting debate. The disestablishment was to take place in January, 1870, and was to be total; the ecclesiastical commission was to be abolished, and

the bishops no longer to have a seat in parliament. The public endowments, that is, the stategrants and revenues, were to return to the state, while the private endowments, the contributions from private sources since 1660, were to remain to the church. Other provisions were made for vested interests. The bill, of course, met with greater opposition in the House of Lords. It was many times returned with amendments to the Commons, but nearly all the alterations proposed were rejected. A compromise was effected, however, and the bill became a law on the 26th of July, 1869.



## SCOTLAND.

IT will not be expected that in such a sketch of the history of Scotland as is alone suited to this work, we should enter into the great controversy concerning the origin of the Scottish people. It will be more suitable to mark the progress of the great events in their national history, and to pass over its minor features; to fix the attention upon results rather than to perplex it with details; and to establish a series of points by which an intelligent reader may guide his memory and direct his studies.

It is well known, that our first authentic knowledge of Britain comes from Julius Cæsar. Fifty-five years before the Christian era, this extraordinary man invaded the island from Gaul; but his operations were attended with little success, his stay was brief, and it is certain that he knew nothing of Scotland. It was not till nearly a century and a half after Cæsar's descent, and during the reign of the Emperor Vespasian, that Julius Agricola, at the head of a Roman army, penetrated into the northern parts of Britain. Among various conflicting accounts, it seems certain that he first pushed his conquests as far as the Friths of Forth and Clyde; that in succeeding campaigns he penetrated northwards; and that in his last great expedition, during which his army was accompanied by a numerous fleet, which sailed along the coast, he was opposed by a barbarian chief named Galgacus. A sanguinary battle was fought between this leader and

Agricola, the exact site of which has been keenly disputed. There seems to be little doubt, however, that previously to its occurrence the Roman general had passed the Frith of Tay, and that although victorious over the fierce and undisciplined multitudes which opposed him, he experienced a check which compelled him to desist from any further aggression. Two great events marked the last years of the government of Agricola. He explored the northern coasts of Scotland by his fleet; and to him the Roman world, in all probability, owed its first certain knowledge that Britain was an island. He endeavored, in the second place, to secure his conquests from future attack by a chain of forts connecting the Friths of Forth and Clyde. Having completed these defences, he was recalled by the jealousy of Domitian, and left Britain in the year eighty-five.

From this time till the reign of Hadrian, a period of thirty-six years, we hear little of the Romans, either in southern or northern Britain. Early in the second century, (A. D. 121,) this emperor in person made an expedition into Scotland; and about twenty years later, Lollius Urbicus, the Roman governor under the Emperor Antoninus, distinguished himself by the courage and ability which he displayed against the turbulent and warlike tribes which inhabited the northern parts of the island. Two facts, however, are admitted by the Roman writers, which demonstrate how uncertain was the tenure

by which these masters of the world held their northern possessions in Britain. The Emperor Hadrian, apparently distrusting the sufficiency of the line of forts already formed by Agricola, constructed a wall or fortified rampart from the Tyne to the Solway. From the adoption of this measure it is evident, that the courage and successes of the barbarians had given much annoyance to the Romans; and this is corroborated by the second fact to which we allude, namely, that between the period of Hadrian's death and the succession of Antoninus Pius, (A. D. 138,) the wall between the Forth and Clyde had been so completely destroyed, that Lollius Urbicus entirely reconstructed it. During the remaining years of his government, this able officer devoted himself to opening up the country by roads; to the construction of various camps and fortalices, of which the site has been traced with much industry and success by the latest writer on the subject; and to the introduction of those useful arts which were best calculated to raise and humanize the character of the northern barbarians. His administration in Britain appears to have terminated with the death of his master, Antoninus Pius, A.D. 161.

From this period till the beginning of the third century, all is dark in Britain. But in the year 207, the Emperor Severus received intelligence that the Caledonians had invaded the Roman provinces; and with a vigor and alacrity which, considering the distance of the seat of war, and the barren prize to be contested, is not easily explained, he hastened in person to reduce the insurgent Caledonians. This expedition, making every allowance for the exaggeration with which the exploits of an emperor were usually recorded, must have been an extraordinary one. In the comparatively civilized country which extended between the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus, he could meet with little opposition; but when he left this last line of defence, and conducted his army into the wild regions beyond the Frith of Forth, ultimately penetrating into Moray, we must

suppose him to have encountered very formidable obstacles. The savage and unclaried state of the country, the extent of the forests, the unhealthy and interminable marshes, the mountainous ranges which presented such formidable obstacles to the march of a regular army, the rivers, of which the fords were unknown, and the want of subsistence for his troops, except what he carried along with him, must have combined to throw infinite difficulties in his way. There seems good reason to believe that the spot where the Roman eagles terminated their flight in this memorable expedition, was the promontory separating the Cromarty and the Moray Friths. Here, according to Chalmers, the Caledonians sought for peace, surrendered their arms, and relinquished a portion of their country.

Severus retired to York in a feeble state of health; but it was not to repose upon his laurels, for scarcely had he reached that station when news arrived that the Caledonians were again in arms. Irritated by disappointment and disease, he determined instantly to renew the war; intrusted the leading of the army to his son Caracalla; and issued orders to spare neither age nor sex. But death happily arrested these inhuman projects. The emperor expired at York, and the son does not appear, on any good evidence, to have executed the orders of the father.

From this period, (A.D. 211,) which marks the commencement of the third, to nearly the middle of the fifth century, (446,) the Romans appear to have abandoned all thoughts of extending their conquests. For some time, however, an effort was made to defend the northern Romanized Britons from the repeated incursions of the Caledonians. In the commencement of the fourth century, (A.D. 306,) Constantius revisited Britain for this purpose; in the year 368, after a sanguinary and destructive invasion of the barbarians, a temporary tranquillity was restored by the arms of Theodosius; in 398, Stilicho, alarmed by new excesses and increasing weakness in the northern provinces, sent such effectual



aid as enabled the Roman governors once more to repel the enemy ; and, lastly, in the year 422, the Emperor Honorius, having in vain endeavored to rouse the provincial inhabitants to a vigorous effort in their own defence, sent a legion to their assistance, by whose efforts the fortifications of the two walls were repaired, and the barbarians once more driven back into their more northern seats. But this was the last relief which could be wrung by her miserable children from a parent who was herself expiring ; and it secured for them but a brief period of tranquillity. Imperial Rome, with a tardy and ostentatious justice, conferred freedom on the southern Britons ; and restoring a country which she was no longer able to hold, informed them that henceforth they must trust to their own efforts for the defence of their independence. Having given this parting advice to men who appear to have been little able to follow it, the Romans abandoned Britain for ever.

At the period of the Roman abdication, we find that north Britain was inhabited by the descendants of the Caledonian clans who, under the name of Picts or Picti, became for four centuries the predominating nation in Scotland. Among these we must be careful to distinguish the five Romanized tribes who possessed Valentia, or the country between the walls of Agricola and Antoninus, not as a race of different descent, but of improved civilization, while their fiercer brethren beyond the Forth bore fresh upon them all the stamp of barbarian life.

It would be a vain, and in a sketch of this nature, an idle labor, to enter upon the obscure and sanguinary annals of the Pictish period ; an era upon which, to use a quaint expression of Chalmers, archæology is loquacious, and history silent. During the four centuries which elapsed between the accession of the first and the last of these monarchs, thirty-eight Pictish kings are enumerated. Of their authentic history there is scarcely a vestige ; but the blank has been filled up by the fables of Boyce, which unhappily

were afterwards embalmed in the elegant Latinity of Buchanan.

Some points in this period, however, have been ascertained, and they are well worthy of notice. We have already seen, that on the entire abdication of Britain by the Romans, the five tribes which inhabited Valentia were declared independent. They were no longer provincial subjects of Rome, but a free, though an effeminate people. The constant attacks of the Picts rendered it necessary for them to unite in their own defence ; and from this union arose a new kingdom, denominated by ancient authors sometimes the *Regnum Cumbrense*, or more frequently the kingdom of Strathclyd. "The metropolis of this kingdom," says Chalmers, "was Alelyd, a city which they still retained when the pen dropt from the hand of the venerable Bede, in 734, and which is situated on the north bank of the Clyde, at the influx of the Leven."

Among the little kings who reigned over Strathclyd, there are none whose names or exploits are worthy of preservation, with the single exception of the semi-poetic Arthur. It is sad that the severer hand of history should strip this glorious "Childe" of his many-colored robes, and reduce him to the cold reality of a Cumbrian Pendragon. At the commencement of the sixth century, Arthur, the chief military leader or Pendragon of the Cumbrian Britons, expelled his sovereign, Huail or Hoel, from Strathclyde, and commenced a reign of which it is impossible to separate the facts from the fictions with which they have become incorporated.

But the Pictish period is not only distinguished by the rise of a new kingdom, it is marked by the arrival in Scotland of a new people, the Saxons, a race of Gothic origin, who invaded and finally effected a settlement in Lothian. This remarkable event, so important in its remote consequences upon the national history, took place in the middle of the fifth century (A.D. 449.) It was not difficult for the Saxons, a people who certainly were far their superiors in courage and in

arms, to subdue the feebler race of the Ottdinai. They do not at first appear to have attempted to push their conquests to the northward of the Forth, but contented themselves with the occupation of a portion of the province of Valentia. After the lapse of a century, however, Ida, one of the boldest and most adventurous of the sons of Woden, landed at Flamborough, and brought an important accession to the strength and numbers of his countrymen. It was by this great chief that the Saxon kingdom of Northumbria was founded; nor was he arrested in his victorious career, till he had extended his dominions from the Humber to the Forth. Ida was succeeded in the Northumbrian kingdom by Aella, and Aella by Ethelred, under whose reigns occurred no event of importance; but Edwin his successor, who came to the throne in the beginning of the seventh century, appears to have added essentially to the extent of the Saxon conquests, and to have impressed not only the southern Britons, but his fiercer and more northern neighbors the Piets, with the terror of his arms. There appears little doubt that Edinburgh or Edwinsburgh, the present capital of Scotland, owes its foundation to this energetic Saxon chief.

Hitherto, in speaking of the northern inhabitants beyond the Forth, we have designated them by the single appellation of the Piets. We must now mark the arrival of a different people, although probably sprung from the same ancient stock.

At the commencement of the fourth century, we find that the ruling or dominant people in Ireland were the Scots, a Celtic race; and although there is no sufficient evidence that they had formed any permanent settlement in Britain previously to the abdication of the island by the Romans, it is certain that in the year 360 they invaded the Roman provinces in that kingdom, and were repelled by Theodosius. In the beginning of the sixth century, three Irish chiefs, Loarn, Fergus and Angus, sons of Ere, King of Dalriada, by which we are to understand

the province of Ulster, led a colony into the ancient province of the British Epidii, and effected a settlement upon the promontory of Kentire. As far as any light is afforded by the Irish annals, in this occupation of Kentire the Scoto-Irish met with but feeble opposition; and a long period of obscurity succeeds, in which little more is distinguishable, except the fact that a series of Scoto-Irish kings, or reguli, are found in Scotland, from the commencement of the fifth century, (503,) when Fergus held the throne, till the accession of Kenneth, the son of Alpín, who reigned from the year 836 to 843, under whom the ascendancy of the Scoto-Irish or Scotch, appears to have been established.

Already the Romanized Britons of the South had received the true faith, and the Scoto-Irish appear to have been converted to Christianity by St. Patrick, previously to their establishment in Kentire. St. Ninian, himself a Briton, though educated as a monk at Rome, had, in the commencement of the fourth century, founded a monastery in Galloway; and in the sixth century, St. Kentigern signalized himself by his pious labors among the Britons of Strathelyde; but the conversion of the northern Piets was reserved for St. Columba. This great and good man was born in Ireland, in the year 521. His descent was royal, and his education was at first carefully conducted under the best masters which his native island, long before this converted to Christianity, could supply. Of these the most noted was St. Ciaran the apostle of the Scoto-Irish of Kentire; and from him, in all probability, Columba imbibed his first desire to introduce the gospel into the desolate and barbarous dominions of the northern Piets. It was in the year 568, that embarking with twelve of his friends, in a boat of wicker work which was covered with hides, he set out upon his benevolent mission, and landed in the Island of Hy, or Iona, which was situated near the confines of the Scottish and Pictish territories. The difficulties which he had to encounter on his first arrival, were of the



most formidable kind. He found a people so barbarous that his life was attempted; the king, when the holy man first approached his residence, ordered its gates to be shut against him; the priests, who were druids, and possessed much influence, employed all their eloquence to counteract his efforts; and the nature of the country, woody, mountainous, and infested with wild beasts, rendered traveling most dangerous and painful. It is also said that at first the saint required an interpreter to make himself intelligible, although after a short residence he appears to have found little difficulty in conversing with the barbarians. But none of these obstacles was sufficient to baffle the zeal and courage of Columba; and so blest were his labors, so rapid the effects produced by the example of his virtues, that in a few years the greater portion of the Pictish dominions was converted to the Christian faith; churches were erected, monasteries established, in various places, and Columba, as primate, became an object of the utmost love and veneration among the barbarous tribes, and fierce and warlike princes whom he had called from darkness into light. At that time his monastery was perhaps the chief seminary of learning in Europe. It was from this nursery, that not only all the monasteries, and above three hundred churches which he himself had established, were supplied with learned pastors, but which also gave divines to many of the religious establishments among the neighboring nations. Columba died in the year 597, in the seventy-seventh year of his age; a man not less distinguished by his zeal and labor in the dissemination of the gospel, than by the simplicity of his manners, the sweetness of his temper, and the holiness of his life.

We have already observed, that it would be foreign to the object of this historical sketch, to involve our readers in the dark and wholly uninteresting annals of the Pictish kings. But one remarkable event must not escape our notice, we mean the disappearance of the Pictish people after the mid-

dle of the ninth century. There seems every reason to believe, that the story of the total extermination of the Piets by the sword of the victorious Kenneth Macalpin, is a fable invented at a later period, and certainly supported by nothing approaching to contemporary evidence. A more rational and intelligible account ascribes this event, not to the destruction, but to what may more correctly be denominated the absorption of the Piets by the predominating nation of the Scots. Both were probably a people of the same race, speaking a similar language, and little different in their manners and civil government. Both were animated by the emulation of outstripping each other in power and extent of territory; and this led to protracted struggles, in which the Piets maintained their independence with difficulty, and the Scots, gradually enlarging their dominions, acquired a predominating influence. Such being the relative condition of the two nations, an event took place which united in one person the claim to the Pictish and the Scottish throne.

Achais or Eocha, King of the Scots, who died in the year 826, had married Urgusia, a Pictish princess, the sister of Constantine and Ungus, successively kings of the Piets. His grandson was Kenneth Macalpin, a prince of great hardihood and ambition, who succeeded to his paternal throne in 836. On the death of Uven, the Pictish monarch, in 839, Kenneth asserted his claim to the Pictish throne, in right of his grandmother, Urgusia. The feeble state of the nation, and the incapacity of the true heir, combined to favor his ambitious designs; and after a struggle of three years, he succeeded in uniting the two crowns in his own person.

The union of the two nations of the Piets and the Scots under one powerful prince, forms the commencement of the third great division of Scottish history, which extends from the middle of the ninth century (843) to the expiration of the eleventh (1097), a period of two centuries and a half.

The first event which demands our notice,

is the commencement of those invasions by the Danes, which for several centuries continued to be the greatest scourge of Scotland. It was under the reign of Constantine, the second monarch in succession from Kenneth, that these fierce pirate leaders, known under the name of *Vikinghr*, or sea-kings, first made their appearance in North Britain. Having established a settlement in Ireland, they soon became acquainted with the commodious havens of the Scottish coasts; and after a partial visit in 866, a more formidable armament sailed from Dublin, under Anlaf and Ivar, in 870. During this invasion, they took Alcluyd, or Dunbarton, ravaged the whole extent of North Britain, and returned gluttled with slaughter and booty to Ireland. These sea-wolves having once tasted blood, were not slow to return. Thrice under the same reign were their vessels seen on the coasts of the devoted country, in 871, 875 and 876; and at last, in 881, the Scottish monarch met his death on the banks of the Forth, in an ineffectual attempt to defend his people, and repel their ravages. Reappearing under the reign of Donald, who succeeded to the throne in 893, they were defeated on the banks of the Tay, in the vicinity of Scone, and again, in 904, repulsed by the same prince, who lost his life, after he had slain their leader. This, however, did not prevent their return in 907, and afterwards, in 918, under the reign of Constantine the Third, who, with the assistance of the northern Saxons, encountered and repulsed them at Tinmore; a check which appears for a considerable period to have given repose to the kingdom.

In 961, under the reign of Indalf, who had succeeded to the throne in 953, the Vikinghr made a descent in the bay of Cullen, in Banffshire; and this monarch with difficulty defeated them in a desperate action, in which he lost his life. In 970, Kenneth the Third, who is represented as a monarch of extraordinary vigor and ambition, succeeded to the throne, and under his reign the Danes reappeared with a numerous fleet in the Tay;

but after a sanguinary struggle, in which they at first succeeded, were ultimately defeated by the bravery of the Scots, commanded by Kenneth in person. This contest, which appears to have been attended with an enormous loss on both sides, took place at Luncarty, where many tumuli still remain, to mark the field of battle.

After this the country enjoyed a quiet of nine years; but in 1003, the Norsemen, who had now for some time permanently settled themselves in Orkney, again made their appearance in great strength upon the coast of Moray. They seized and fortified the promontory known by the name of the Burgh-head of Moray, where they found a commodious harbor, and from which, in 1010, they led an army to plunder that fertile region. But they were met and defeated with great slaughter by Malcolm the Second, in the battle of Mortlach, where the king, in gratitude for his victory, endowed a religious house, which became the seat of the earliest Scottish bishopric.

These repeated repulses checked and disheartened the pirate kings; but they disdained to relinquish the contest. Their last efforts appear to have been made on the coast of Angus and Buchan, where they were repulsed in successive conflicts, fought at Aberlemno, Panbride, and Slaines Castle. At length a convention, or pacific treaty, was entered into between Malcolm, and Sweno, King of Denmark, in the year 1014, which was followed by the evacuation of the Burgh-head of Moray, and the final departure of the Danes. Thus, after a severe struggle, which at various intervals, and with various success, appears to have continued for nearly a century and a half, (866 to 1014,) the energy of the Scots ultimately triumphed over the efforts of the Norsemen; and while the Danish rovers established themselves in some of the finest countries in Europe, and in England alternately fixed themselves as permanent settlers, or extorted an odious tribute as the price of their absence, Sweno, though one of their most powerful princes, found



himself at last compelled to desist from the contest.

The second event of importance which marked this period, was the enlargement of the Scottish provinces of Malcolm the First, by the pacific acquisition of Cumberland from Edmund the Saxon king of England. Against this young prince, the Danes, who had established themselves in the northern part of his dominions, declared war, and calling the Norwegians to their assistance, threatened to subdue the whole country. Edmund opposed them with great courage and success, reduced Northumberland, then a Danish province, and next turned his arms against Cumbria, or Cumberland. After wasting this little country, then inhabited by the Britons, under their king or chief leader, Dunmail, the English prince, aware perhaps of the difficulty of retaining his new acquisition, delivered it up to Malcolm the First, under the condition that he would become his associate (*medwertha*) in war, or, as the terms are explained by Matthew of Westminster, "that he would defend the northern parts of England from the invasions of his enemies, whether they came by sea or by land."

This treaty was followed by the reigns of Indulf, Duf, and Culen, a dark and sanguinary period, occupied by domestic war and civil commotion; but under Kenneth the Third, who came to the throne in 970, occurred another event of no little moment in the history of the country. This was the conquest of the ancient British kingdom of Strathclyd by the arms of that monarch. We have seen this independent state arise, in the middle of the fifth century, from a union of the Romanized British tribes, who, on the desertion of the island by the Romans, were drawn together by the ties of common danger and mutual defence. From this time, (446,) they had, under various reverses and multiplied attacks, enjoyed a precarious independence for upwards of five centuries; nor did they permit themselves to be incorporated in the Scottish monarchy without a

determined struggle. The arms and the energy of Kenneth, however, were successful and one of those gleams of romantic light, which sometimes soften the gloomy annals of these ages, fell on the ruins of Strathclyd. Dunwallon, the last of its kings, after exhibiting the utmost courage and resolution in defence of his people, assumed the religious habit, traveled to Rome, and died a monk.

The last prominent feature which marks this period, was the further enlargement of the Scottish dominions, by the acquisition of Lothian, hitherto a part of England. It took place in 1016, under the reign of Malcolm the Second, the son of Kenneth the Third, to whose conquest of Strathclyd we have just alluded. It was this same Malcolm whose courage we have seen victorious over the Danes at Mortlach, and to whose convention with Sweno, Scotland owed its freedom from the ravages of the pirate kings. In the beginning of the eleventh century, (1018,) this warlike prince engaged in hostilities with Ughtred, Earl of Northumberland. Their forces met at Carham, near Werk, on the southern bank of the Tweed, and a sanguinary battle was fought, which effectually checked the Scottish prince. Ughtred, however, having been assassinated, was succeeded by his brother Eadulph, a feeble ruler, who, from a dread of a second invasion, was induced to purchase the friendship of Malcolm, by the cession of the whole of Lothian. Nor is the remaining portion of the Scottish period, from 1018 to 1097, unmarked by some great events. In 1031, under the reign of Malcolm the Second, Canute, the Danish king of England, invaded Scotland. This prince, the most powerful monarch of his time, as he possessed not only England, but Denmark and Norway, led an army against Malcolm. The cause of the war is involved in much obscurity. It was however connected with some claim or dispute regarding Cumberland, and it terminated in Malcolm retaining the possession of that province, and performing the conditions

upon which it had been formerly transferred to him.

In the historical romance of Boyce, and the classical pages of Buchanan, Malcolm the Second figures as the first and one of the greatest of Scottish legislators. It was referred for the learning and acuteness of Lord Hailes to detect his apocryphal laws as the forgery of a much later age.

Malcolm the Second, whose severe and vigorous reign had been marked by many sanguinary domestic feuds, not necessary to be detailed, was succeeded in 1033 by his grandson Duncan, the "gracious Duncan" of Shakspeare, whose imperishable drama is founded upon a fictitious narrative, which Holinshed copied from Boyce. Let us for a moment, in a spirit rather of homage than of criticism, disentangle the dross of fact from the ore of fiction. Lady Macbeth was the Lady Gruoch, and had regal blood in her veins. She was the grand-daughter of Kenneth the Fourth. Her husband, Macbeth, was the son of Finlegh Maormor, or the supreme ruler of Ross. The real wrongs of the Lady Gruoch, the root of her implacable revenge, were even more deep than those of her mighty counterpart. She had seen her grandfather Kenneth dethroned by Malcolm, her brother assassinated, and her husband burned, griefs amply sufficient to turn her milk to gall. Macbeth, on the other hand, had wept a father slain also by Malcolm; and thus revenge and ambition were equally roused in both their bosoms. The purpose which had been arrested by the superior vigor and courage of Malcolm, was executed on his more feeble grandson. Duncan, in 1039, was assassinated at Bothgowanan, near Elgin; and Macbeth seized the sanguinary sceptre, which he held with a vigorous grasp for fifteen years, until he was defeated and slain by Macduff, in 1054.

On his death, a contest for the throne arose between Lulach, the son of the Lady Gruoch, and great-grandson of Kenneth the Fourth, and Malcolm Ceanmore, great-grandson of Malcolm the Second; and this struggle ter-

minated in 1057, by the defeat of Lulach, and the accession of Malcolm, who was contemporary with Edward the Confessor.

The accession of Malcolm Ceanmore to the Scottish throne was soon afterwards followed by an event, which, although taking place in the sister country, produced the most important effects upon the history of Scotland. This was the invasion and conquest of England by the Normans, and the establishment of an entirely new dynasty in that country. The first consequence of this change was favorable to Malcolm, as it led to his marriage with a Saxon princess, whose character had a marked and favorable influence upon the ruder manners of her husband and his people. This lady was Margaret, who was the sister of Edgar Ætheling. She was beautiful, accomplished and pious; and a union which perhaps, at a distance, had been suggested to Malcolm by ambition, on a nearer view was perfected by love.

The marriage of the Scottish monarch was soon followed by an invasion of England, in which Malcolm mercilessly ravaged the bishopric of Durham. The manner in which this predatory inroad was conducted marks the ferocity of the times. Malcolm and his subjects were Christians; yet even the churches were destroyed and burnt; while the unhappy persons who had fled to them for sanctuary were massacred, or consumed in the flames. During the occurrence of these savage scenes in England, Gospatric, one of the most powerful of the Northumbrian barons, whose assistance William the Conqueror had secured, swept through Malcolm's territory of Cumberland, and laid waste the country in a miserable manner, upon which the Scottish prince returned home, leading captive, says an English historian, such a multitude of young men and maidens "that for many years they were to be found in every Scottish village, nay, even in every Scottish hovel."

There seems to be little doubt that this expedition of Malcolm was intimately connected with the determined stand made



against William the Conqueror by the Northumbrian earls who had carried Edgar Ætheling into Scotland. Combining in 1069 with their brethren, the Danes, who brought a powerful fleet to their assistance, they advanced as far as York, where they put the Norman garrison to the sword; and here it is probable they expected to be joined by Malcolm, but being disappointed in their hope they made peace with William, who had the address to dissolve the confederacy. Malcolm alone continued faithful to the cause of the Saxon Prince; and, though deserted by his confederates, yet by invading England fulfilled his agreement.

This inroad led to a dreadful retaliation on the part of William. "To punish the revolt," we use the words of Lord Hailes, "and to oppose a wilderness to the invasions of the Danes, he laid entirely waste the fertile country which lies between the Humber and the Tees." "At this time," says William of Malmesbury, "there were destroyed such splendid towns, such lofty castles, such beautiful pastures, that had a stranger viewed the scene he might have been moved to compassion, and had one inhabitant been left alive, he would not have recollected the country." Of this fine district the inhabitants seem to have been almost wholly exterminated. Many who escaped the sword died of famine, many sold themselves for slaves, while those of higher quality, Norman as well as Saxon, sought an asylum in Scotland, and found at the court of Malcolm a favorable reception.

William having secured peace at home, prepared an armament against Scotland, and in 1072 he invaded that country, both by sea and by land. Malcolm wisely met superior power by an offer of submission. He sought and obtained peace, gave hostages, and performed homage.

We have met with Gospatric, the powerful Northumbrian earl. He had formerly fled from the Conqueror to the court of Malcolm, bringing with him the heir of the Saxon line, with his sisters. Proving treacherous

to Malcolm, Gospatric obtained from William the government of Northumberland; but on his return from his successful expedition against Malcolm, the Norman conqueror, from jealousy or disgust, degraded his Northumbrian ally, who once more fled to the Scottish king. Malcolm, on his part, not only forgave him, but presented him with the lands and castle of Dunbar, and the castle of Cockburnspath.

The remaining portion of the reign of this energetic prince (1079-1093), is chiefly distinguished by a struggle with William Rufus, who, upon the death of the Conqueror, had succeeded to the English throne. This prince appears to have withheld from Malcolm part of the English possessions to which he claimed a right; and with the view of compelling a surrender of them, the Scottish king invaded England, and penetrated as far as Chester, on the Were. Rufus led against him a superior force; and Malcolm, aware of his approach, prudently declined a contest, and, by a timely retreat, secured his plunder and his captives.

This appears to have taken place in May, 1091; and in the autumn of the same year, the Norman prince, having equipped a fleet, and levied a numerous land force, led his army in person against Scotland. He continued his march to the shores of the Forth; but here his progress was stayed, in consequence of his receiving intelligence that his fleet had been destroyed by a tempest. There were no vessels to transport his troops across the Forth. The Scots, with a policy which they early learned, and repeatedly practiced had driven away their cattle, and cleared the country of its provisions; and at this crisis, when his soldiers were perishing from famine, Malcolm led his army against the English, crossed the Forth, and advanced in to Lothian, a territory originally, as we have seen, acquired from the Angles, and therefore esteemed a part of England, although now subject to the Scottish king. Here having chosen a strong position, he encamped, and avoiding a battle, harassed the

enemy, proposing to cut off his supplies, and expel him by famine. While both parties were thus situated, Edgar Ætheling, now with Rufus, and Robert, the king's brother, exerted themselves to conciliate a peace. The English monarch, notwithstanding his fiery temper, knew how to bend his fury to his interest; and Malcolm, perceiving that he could obtain his purpose by treaty, wisely preferred this to the risk of a battle. It is important to mark the conditions of the agreement. William Rufus, we find, consented to restore to Malcolm twelve manors, which the Scottish prince had held under the Conqueror, and to make an annual payment of twelve marks of gold. Malcolm, on his part, consented to do homage to William, and to hold his lands under the same tenure of feudal service and obedience to him, as he had formerly paid to his father, the Conqueror.

The point of homage seemed thus prudently settled; but the proud and fiery temper, which appears to have been an infirmity of both princes, soon led to a new contest between Malcolm and Rufus. A jealousy of the incursions of the Scots had formerly led the Conqueror to build two strong castles, the one at Durham, the other at Newcastle. To these his successor now added a third at Carlisle; a barrier which, however necessary, might possibly be considered as encroaching on the freedom of the lands which Malcolm held in Cumberland. A dispute arose, and a personal interview between the two kings having been considered the best mode of settling their differences, Malcolm repaired to Gloucester, where Rufus met him and proposed that he should do homage in presence of his English barons. This the Scottish monarch refused; although he was ready, he said, to perform his homage on the frontiers of both kingdoms, as had been the ancient usage. The reply was angrily received, and the two kings having parted with expressions of defiance, Malcolm assembled an army, and advancing with a speed stimulated by the indignity with which

he had been treated, burst into Northumberland, which he wasted with fire and sword. Sweeping onwards to Alnwick, he was about to possess himself of the castle, when the Scottish army was attacked by Robert de Mowbray. In the battle which ensued Malcolm was slain, and Edward, his eldest son, shared the fate of his father.

The remaining sons of King Malcolm, Ethelred, Edmund, Edgar, Alexander, and David, were all under age; and his brother Donald, who, on the usurpation of the throne by Macbeth, had taken refuge in the Hebrides, appears to have remained in that distant retreat during the whole reign of the late king. These islands were then independent of the Scottish crown. They were inhabited by a warlike race, whose chiefs yielded to the Norwegian king a fluctuating subjection; and many of these leaders having joined him, Donald, with a powerful fleet, invaded Scotland and seized the crown; but it was for a very brief season. Duncan, a son of Malcolm, but illegitimate as is generally believed, had, in 1072, been delivered to William Rufus as a hostage for his father's fidelity. He had received his education at the Norman court, and having been knighted by the English monarch, was retained in his service. With permission of William, he now invaded Scotland, and, assisted by a band of English and Norman adventurers, expelled Donald Bane. He, in his turn, after a reign of little more than a year, was assassinated, and Donald once more ascended the throne, from which, in 1097, he was again expelled by William Rufus, who dispatched Edgar Ætheling with a powerful army into Scotland. By this prince the aged usurper was defeated, and Edgar, the son of Malcolm and Margaret, the nephew of Edgar Ætheling, ascended the throne. This event took place in the close of the eleventh century; and, with the captivity and death of Donald Bane, who is the last of the race of Scoto-Irish kings, the Scottish period expires.

Edgar's reign was brief, pacific, and of lit



the interest; but his successor, Alexander the First, the eldest surviving son of Malcolm, was a prince of a powerful and vigorous character. From his accession to the throne, in the commencement of the twelfth century, (1106), to the death of Alexander the Third (1285), in the close of the thirteenth, a period little short of two centuries, the nation was progressive and prosperous in a degree unequalled during the whole course of its future history. Under a succession of six monarchs, Alexander the First, David the First, Malcolm the Fourth, William the Lion, Alexander the Second, and Alexander the Third, it maintained its independence against foreign aggression, and not only preserved the integrity, but extended the boundaries of its dominions. Its commerce, its manufactures, its agriculture, and all the arts which improve and humanize an ignorant and fierce people, were encouraged; and throughout this long period, in the personal characters of each of these successive princes, though varying in their shades, there was that ingredient of energy and boldness which communicated itself to their people, and maintained the nation at the standard to which each ruler in his turn had raised it.

In the character of Alexander the First, everything seems to have been in excess; but happily the qualities which were so overcharged, were most of them of the better sort. He is traditionally remembered by the epithet of the *ferocious*; and though humble and courteous to his clergy, whom he deemed entitled to this homage as God's servants, not his, he was, to use the words of an ancient and authentic writer, "terrible beyond measure to his subjects." The leading event of his reign was the struggle which he maintained for the independence of the Scottish church against the pretended rights claimed, first by the see of York, and afterwards by that of Canterbury. On the election of Turgot, a monk of Durham, to the bishopric of St. Andrews (1109), the archbishop of York insisted on his having the right of consecrating him. To this the Scottish king declared

he would never agree; and a compromise having taken place by which the point was left undecided, Alexander, on the death of Turgot, altered his ground, and chose for his successor Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury. The same right of consecration, and founded on the same ground of the alleged dependence of the Scottish church upon the primacy of England, was now advanced by Canterbury; but it was still more haughtily and peremptorily refused by Alexander. A compromise again took place. Eadmer accepted the ring from the king, and took the pastoral staff from the altar, as if receiving it from the Lord; but finding his authority weakened, and the countenance of the monarch withdrawn from him, he intimated his resolution of repairing to Canterbury for advice. This Alexander violently opposed, declaring that as long as he lived, the bishop of St. Andrews should never be subject to that see. Nor did he fail here, as in all his other enterprises, to keep his word; Eadmer remained an elected but unconsecrated bishop. At length weary of the contest, and trammelled in his usefulness, he desired permission to resign, restored the ring to the king, replaced the pastoral staff on the high altar, and returned to Canterbury. Robert, prior of Seone, was elected to fill the vacant see, and the king's determined efforts to maintain the independence of the Scottish church, were crowned with success. It had continued for fourteen years, and Alexander survived its termination only a single year. He died in 1124, leaving no children by his wife Sybilla, a natural daughter of Henry the First, and succeeded by his brother, David the First.

Edgar, the brother of this prince, had, on his death-bed, bequeathed to him that portion of Cumberland which was possessed by the Scottish kings. The legacy had two good effects. It called the young prince early to the cares and labors of administration; and it removed him from Scotland to a country where he became acquainted with a more advanced civilization and with better regulated government. These advantages

were not thrown away upon David. His natural dispositions were excellent; his love of justice, his capacity for labor, his sense of the natural honor and independence, his affection to every class of his people, his tenderness to his children, his piety to God, were all so conspicuous in his character, that Buchanan, an author who cannot be suspected of adulation, pronounces him the perfect exemplar of a good king; and the progress made by the country during the twenty-nine years of his reign goes far to justify the assertion.

His reign was contemporary with that of Henry the First and of Stephen in England, and it opened with many difficulties. The question of the independence of the church was again started; and before it could be brought to a termination, the forcible seizure of the English crown by Stephen, who deposed Matilda, the daughter of Henry the First, involved him in a war with that usurper. During the life of Henry the First, David and Stephen had sworn to maintain the right of Matilda; and the Scottish monarch, in obedience to his oath, invading England, compelled the barons of the northern portion of that kingdom to swear fealty to this princess. His efforts however were more honorable than successful; and after a war which lasted three years, David was ultimately defeated in the great battle of the Standard, fought on Cutton Moor, in the neighborhood of Northallerton. Peace was now concluded, and the terms to which Stephen consented, indicated that, although defeated, the Scottish king was but little humbled.

The earldom of Northumberland, with the exception of the two castles of Newcastle and Bamborough, was ceded to Prince Henry, David's eldest son. As an equivalent for these fortresses, lands were granted in the south of England; the barons of Northumberland were to hold their estates of Henry the Prince of Scotland, reserving their fealty to Stephen; and in return, David and all his people became bound to maintain an inviolable peace with England.

The remaining years of the reign of this wise monarch were pacific and prosperous. The war had convinced him that the English were far superior to his people in arms and discipline; it had been undertaken in fulfilment of his oath to Henry, not from any love of conquest, and having satisfied his conscience, he devoted his life to the arts of good government.

Towards the close of his reign, it was his misfortune to lose his eldest son, Prince Henry, just as he had reached manhood and exhibited many of the excellent qualities of his father. The blow sunk deep into his heart; but David's first care had been for his people, and he roused himself to provide for the pacific succession of his grandson, Malcolm, a child in his twelfth year. By his orders, this boy, the son of Prince Henry, was carried in a progress through his dominions, to receive the homage of the barons and the people, and was solemnly proclaimed heir to the crown. Having performed this wise but mournful duty, the aged king within a year followed his son to the grave. It is a remarkable and beautiful circumstance, that he was found dead in an attitude of devotion. "His death had been so tranquil," says Aldred, who knew him well, "that you would not have believed he was dead. He was found with his hands clasped devoutly upon his breast in the very posture in which he seems to have been raising them to heaven."

The reign of Malcolm the Fourth, which lasted only twelve years, offers little for our observation. It began with those evils which so invariably attend a minority; war without, and insecurity within the kingdom. Somerled the thane of Argyle, strengthened by the naval powers of the Isles, invaded Scotland, and for some years continued to harass the country by repeated attacks, which at length terminated in an amicable agreement. The transactions of Malcolm with Henry the Second of England impress us with an unfavorable notion of this young prince. It had been a promise of the English monarch made to David the First, in 1149, that if he suc-



ceeded to the crown of England, he would cede to Scotland for ever the territory between the Tyne and the Tweed. Instead of insisting on this, Malcolm, overreached by the superior sagacity of Henry, or betrayed by the treachery of his councillors, abandoned to England his whole possessions in the northern counties, and received in return the honor of Huntingdon; a measure which created universal discontent in the nation. These feelings of disgust were imprudently increased by an expedition of the young prince into France, where he joined the army of Henry, claimed from him the distinction of knight-hood, and outraged the feelings of national jealousy, by forgetting his station as an independent prince, and fighting under the banner of the English monarch. A deputation from the Scots was sent into France to remonstrate against this conduct, nor did they hesitate in bold language to reproach their king for the desertion of his duty. Galloway rose into rebellion; the inhabitants of Moray about the same time threw off their allegiance; and Somerled the thane of Argyll invaded the country with a formidable fleet. Although the obstinacy of the king had brought these disasters upon himself, his energy and decision met and overcame them. He hurried from France, conciliated his nobles, invaded and subdued Galloway, repulsed Somerled, and after suppressing the rebellion in Moray, adopted the extraordinary measure of dispossessing its ancient inhabitants, compelling them to settle in more distant parts of his dominions, and planting new colonies in their room. These energetic measures were his last, for he died immediately after, at an early age, and was succeeded by his brother William the Second, son of Henry, Prince of Scotland, and grandson of David the First.

The administration of this prince presents us with the longest reign in the range of Scottish history, extending from 1165 to 1214, nearly half a century. In this protracted period, the most important event was, the disgraceful surrender of the national independence to Henry the Second in 1174, and

its recovery by William in 1189. It was the weakness of William to be guided by impulse. Smitten with admiration for the warlike qualities of Henry the Second, and uninstructed by the misfortunes of his predecessor Malcolm, he first courted this prince, and being disappointed in his object of procuring from his justice the restitution of Northumberland, he imprudently defied him. War ensued; and the King of the Scots having advanced with his army to Alnwick, was surprised, made prisoner, and shut up in the castle of Falaise in Normandy. His impatience under captivity, and the longing of the barons and clergy for their king, led to a pusillanimous treaty, which will ever remain a blot upon the national honor. With the consent of his barons and clergy, given at Valogne on the 28th of December, 1174, William agreed to become the liegeman of Henry for Scotland, and all his other territories; to deliver up to the English monarch the castles of Roxburgh, Berwick, Jedburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling; to give his brother David and some of his chief barons as hostages, and to receive in return his liberty. In this treaty, it is remarkable, that while little care was shown as to the independence of the people, a prudent, and, as it has been well denominated, a memorable clause was introduced, which left entire the independence of the Scottish church; and this clause, the bishops and clergy took the first opportunity of asserting before the Papal legate in a council held at Northampton (1176).

On his return to his dominions, William appears to have devoted himself with much energy and success to the cares of government. His dominions were weakened and distracted by repeated insurrections in Ross and in Galloway. In these wild and remote districts, the native chiefs claimed almost a royal sway; and the people, ferocious in their habits, and jealous of all intercourse with England, were ready, upon the slightest provocation or encouragement, to rise in rebellion.

A pretender to the crown also appeared in Galloway, in the person of Donald, the grand-

son of Duncan, commonly call the bastard king of Scotland. This adventurer having seized Ross, and wasted Moray, William led an army against him; nor was it till after a desperate struggle that Donald fell near Inverness, and by his death restored tranquillity to the country.

On the death of Henry the Second, Richard Cœur de Lion, his successor, then intent upon collecting money for his expedition to the Holy Land, invited the King of Scotland to his court, and upon William's engagement to pay him the sum of ten thousand marks, agreed to restore his kingdom to its independence, reserving the homage formerly due by the Scottish kings for the lands which they held in England. The instrument by which this transaction was completed, declares, that Richard had delivered up to William, King of Scots, his castles of Roxburgh and Berwick, had granted to him an acquittance of all obligations which had been extorted from him by Henry the Second, in consequence of his captivity, and had ordained the boundaries of the two kingdoms to be re-established as they existed at the date of William's imprisonment. The Scottish king was at the same time put in possession of all his fees in the earldom of Huntingdon; and all the charters of homage done to Henry the Second by the Scottish barons were delivered up, and declared to be cancelled for ever. We are to ascribe it to the wise regulations of this treaty, and the fidelity with which they were observed on both sides by its authors and their successors, that for a century after its date there occurred no national quarrel or hostilities between the two countries. The remaining portion of the reign of William demands little notice. During the latter years of it, the succession of John to his brother Richard the First threatened to dissolve the pacific relations between the two countries; but war was happily averted, and the Scottish monarch reserved his energies for the pacification of his own realm, disturbed by a rebellion in the northern counties. In 1214 the king

died at Stirling, after a reign of forty-eight years, the longest, as already stated, in Scottish history. His name of William the Lion was probably owing to the circumstance that, before his time, none of the Scottish kings had assumed a coat armorial. The Lion rampant first appears upon his shield.

William was succeeded by his son Alexander, a youth of seventeen, to whom the Scottish barons had sworn homage in 1201, and who was one of the wisest of their kings, whether we regard the justice of his administration, the seasonable severity with which he subdued all internal commotions in his kingdom, the firmness exhibited in his maintenance of the rights of the church, or the wisdom, forbearance, and vigor which marked his policy towards England. His reign was one of constant action, and full of incident. It commenced with his joining the English barons who resisted the tyranny of John. This conduct drew down upon him and his kingdom a sentence of excommunication (1216); but the papal weapons appear to have been little dreaded at this time; and in 1218, Honorius not only abrogated the sentence pronounced by his legate, but confirmed the liberties of the Scottish church.

On the accession of Henry the Third to the English throne, Alexander, who was occupied with quelling the repeated insurrections in the northern parts of his dominions, showed every disposition to cultivate amity with England; and his marriage to the princess Joanna, sister of Henry, had a favorable effect in strengthening the ties between the two monarchs.

One of the striking features which mark the reign of this monarch, is the gradual increase that is to be observed in the power of the nobles, and the corresponding decrease in the authority of the crown; but if this had injurious effects upon the general prosperity of the kingdom, and distracted it by internal private feuds, it encouraged a feeling of independence, and fostered that warlike spirit which proved the best safeguards against the encroachments of their more pow-



erful neighbors. This was strikingly shown on the occurrence of a rupture between England and Scotland in 1244. Some time before this, Alexander had claimed from Henry, in right of inheritance, the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland; and although the English king did not grant him his full demand, he admitted its justice, by transferring to him an equivalent in certain lands, which he accepted in full of all claims. For these lands the Scottish king did homage; and both monarchs remained on friendly terms for some years, when jealousies suddenly arose, and Henry, alleging that homage had been unjustly withheld, led an army against Scotland. Under these threatening circumstances, the Scottish king although he had recently experienced the resistance of his nobles to his personal requests, found himself strongly supported by the same barons against the meditated attack of England. They raised in a short time an army of a hundred thousand foot, and a thousand horse, and this demonstration of the national strength had happily the effect of restoring peace without bloodshed.

Having engaged in a maritime expedition against Angus of Argyre, one of those petty island chiefs, whose dubious allegiance, in those remote times, oscillated between Norway and Scotland, Alexander had conducted his fleet as far as the Sound of Mull, when he was seized with a fever, and died in a small island there named Kerraray, in the thirty-fifth year of his reign. He was succeeded by his son, Alexander the Third, a boy in his eighth year; and the kingdom, which had enjoyed under his father's wise and vigorous administration, an uncommon degree of prosperity, became immediately exposed to the many evils of a minority. Two parties divided the nobility; the one led by Walter Comyn, Earl of Menteith, the other by Durward the high Justiciar; and Henry the Third secretly wrote to the Pope, requesting him to interdict the coronation of the young king. Scotland, he said was a

fee of England, Alexander his vassal, and his permission as superior had not been obtained. The Pope appears to have rejected his demand with promptitude, as derogatory to the rights of a sovereign Prince; and the ceremony of the coronation was performed at the abbey of Scone, the coronation-oath being read first in Latin, and afterwards in Norman-French.

Alexander soon afterwards, in fulfilment of a former treaty, espoused Margaret, the youthful daughter of Henry, at York, and exhibited a spirit and intelligence superior to his years in refusing to pay homage for his kingdom of Scotland. "I came," said he to the artful monarch who made the proposal; "I came into England on a joyful and pacific errand, not to answer to an arduous question, which belongs to the states of my kingdom." He at the same time made no objection to take the oath of fealty for the lands which he held in England.

Defeated in his attempt to overreach a minor sovereign, Henry commenced a series of intrigues with the Scottish nobles, with the object of obtaining an entire control over the affairs of the sister kingdom; and the country was divided and distracted by two factions, the one acting under English influence, and the other more honestly contending for the freedom of their prince and the independent administration of the government. These scenes of civil faction and foreign interference continued till the monarch, having arrived at manhood, and developing a character of much energy and judgment, took the reins into his own hand, and compelled his nobility to respect the laws and support his measures.

Scarcely had this happy change occurred, when the kingdom, which had already suffered from the vicinity of the fleets of Norway, was threatened with invasion by Hacon, one of its most warlike princes. The dispute which led to this menace originated in a circumstance already noticed; the precarious homage paid by the petty piratical chiefs of the Western Isles, who, as circumstances

pressed on the one side or the other, acknowledged a feudal dependence on Scotland or on Norway. To support them in their independence of Alexander, Haco made a descent on the western coast of Scotland with a mighty fleet, but sustained a signal defeat at Largs, and on his return with the shattered remains of his ships, sickened and died at Orkney. The results of this victory were highly favorable to Scotland. It fixed the chiefs of the Western Isles in their allegiance, secured to Alexander the homage of the King of Man, and convinced Norway that Scotland was not to be so easily subdued or overawed as its piratical princes had anticipated.

The remainder of this reign was prosperous, as far as the circumstances of the kingdom are considered, but unfortunate for the monarch, who found himself suddenly deprived by death of all his children. His eldest son, Alexander, died soon after his marriage, and his only daughter Margaret, the wife of Eric, King of Norway, was cut off in childhood, leaving an infant daughter, Margaret, commonly called the Maiden of Norway, the heiress of the Scottish throne. These calamities induced the king, who was a widower, to make a second marriage. Having selected Ioleta de Coney, daughter of the Count de Dreux, the nuptials were celebrated at Jedburgh; and the nation, under a wise monarch still in the prime of life, flourishing at home and at peace abroad, looked forward to a long season of prosperity, when all its hopes were overcast in a moment. Alexander, when riding in a dark night, on the brink of a dangerous rocky ledge near Kinghorn, was precipitated from the top to the bottom and killed on the spot.

The death of the king was deeply lamented, and not without cause, for he left the kingdom in most difficult circumstances, exposed to the ambition and attack of Edward the First, one of the ablest princes who had ever reigned in England, and its happiness at home dependent upon the precarious life of an infant. To fill the cup of Scotland's

calamity, this child Margaret, the Maiden of Norway, when on her passage from that country to take possession of her throne, sickened and died in Orkney; and on her death arose that celebrated competition for the Scottish crown, which threatened to plunge the kingdom into all the miseries of civil war.

The moment was favorable to the designs of Edward the First, who determined to make himself master of Scotland. While in that country the various competitors collected their forces and prepared to support their claims, the English monarch having given orders for assembling the strength of his kingdom by a certain day, invited the nobility and clergy of Scotland to meet him at Norham, for the purpose of deliberating upon the succession to the crown. The competitors for the crown, with a large proportion of the nobility and clergy, accepted the mediation of Edward, and met this monarch at Norham (May, 1291).

Of these claimants for the crown the two principal were John Balliol and Robert Bruce. It was quite apparent that the question lay between them, the rights of the other competitors being evidently inferior to theirs. The title of these two chiefs arose out of the circumstance, that on the death of all descendants of Alexander the Third, the crown reverted to the descendants of David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother of King William the Lion. This David left three daughters, Margaret, the eldest, who married Alan, Lord of Galloway; Isabella, the second, who married Robert Bruce, father to the competitor Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale; and Ada, the third daughter, who married John de Hastings. It was evident, therefore, that the question lay between Balliol and Bruce. Balliol pleaded that he was entitled to the crown as the descendant of the eldest daughter; being great-grandson to David, Earl of Huntingdon. Bruce admitted that he sprung from the second daughter, but contended that, being grandson of the Earl of Huntingdon, his claim was superior.



Edward's scheme against the independence of Scotland was now ripe for execution ; and announcing his determination to give a just decision, he, to the dismay of many present, required the Scottish barons to swear fealty to him as their Lord Paramount. It was in this character alone, he said, that he was entitled to give, and as such alone that he would pronounce, a judgment. The scene which now ensued was a humiliating one. The right of Edward was admitted ; and Bruce, Balliol, the remaining competitors, the barons and the clergy, set their hands to an instrument, in which they acknowledged that the English king was feudal superior of Scotland. Edward, accordingly, having received their oaths of homage, proceeded to investigate the contending claims, and awarded the crown to John Balliol.

It was probably part of the plan of the English monarch to quarrel with his vassal king. It is at last certain that he availed himself of the earliest appearance of spirit and resistance in this unfortunate prince to summon him, in terms of reproach and indignity, to his court in England, and at last goaded him and his people into what he termed rebellion. In the war which ensued, Edward found it an easy matter to overrun a kingdom unprepared to resist so formidable an enemy. The town of Berwick was carried by storm ; Dunbar, the key of the borders, surrendered ; Balliol was taken prisoner and sent to the Tower ; while the English prince concluded what he deemed the conquest of Scotland, by removing from Seone to Westminster the sacred stone upon which the long line of its kings had been crowned and anointed. But at this sad moment Scotland, which in vain looked for a deliverer amongst its feudal nobles, found one in a man of far inferior rank.

William Wallace was the son of Sir Malcolm Wallace, who held the estate of Ellerslie, near Paisley. Having been outlawed by the English for an alleged murder, committed on one by whom he had been grievously injured, he fled into the fastnesses of

his country, and assembling round him a small band of followers, who were weary of their servitude, commenced that kind of predatory warfare, which led from one success to another, till he saw himself at the head of a formidable force. With this he boldly descended into the low country, and after having defeated the English in the sanguinary battle of Stirling, was soon after chosen Governor of Scotland. This title he only accepted as acting in the name of John Balliol, whom he had always acknowledged as his hereditary king.

It was however impossible for Wallace, with all his great qualities, to reconcile the Scottish nobles to his envied elevation, or to compose the feuds and jealousies which divided and weakened their efforts. Edward, who had been absent in Flanders when his officers were defeated at Stirling, hurried back to England, and once more invading Scotland at the head of an immense army, encountered and defeated Wallace in the battle of Falkirk. The result of this victory was the temporary subjugation of a country, whose allegiance expired the moment its invaders retired. Wallace voluntarily resigned the office of governor, Robert Bruce and John Comyn were chosen Guardians, and for five years the war was continued with various success ; but Edward, who in this interval had thrice invaded the kingdom, by these unceasing efforts and superior numerical strength, at last subdued the spirit, and appeared to have completed the conquest of this devoted people. The Guardians submitted, and were pardoned ; sentence of outlawry was pronounced against Simon Fraser and the few followers of Wallace who still held out ; and at last this great chief himself was betrayed into the hands of the conqueror, and executed at London. It was at this crisis, which seemed to seal forever the fate and liberty of the Scottish people, that a deliverer arose in the person of Robert Bruce.

Nothing could be more extraordinary, or apparently more unpropitious to the cause of freedom, than the circumstances which led

to this great result. Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, and grandson of the competitor for the crown, had acted a dubious and interested part during the years that Wallace, and the few patriotic barons who adhered to him, made their stand for the independence of their country. He inherited, with vast landed estates, the right to the crown possessed by his grandfather; but, had he urged his claim, it might have been at the risk of the forfeiture of these possessions, which made him one of the most powerful barons in Scotland; and, although in his early career, we can detect occasional outbreaks of the patriotic feeling, he preserved his allegiance to Edward the First, and appears to have been treated with confidence by that monarch.

The injuries inflicted on the country seem at last to have aroused both Bruce and Comyn, and they formed a secret agreement, to rise against the English. But Comyn's heart failed him. He betrayed the purpose to Edward, and meeting Bruce, who had been made aware of his treachery, in the church of the Grey friars at Dumfries, that proud baron reviled him as an informer, and stabbed him to the heart on the steps of the high altar. He was instantly proclaimed a traitor by Edward, excommunicated as a sacrilegious murderer by the pope, a price set upon his head; and from the first and most influential noble in the kingdom, he felt that he must either assert his right to the crown, and trust to his sword for its defence, or be content to sink into the condition of an outlaw and a fugitive. His decision was instantly taken. He rode with his little band to Seone, and was there solemnly crowned; but being aware of the advance of an English army, he hastily concentrated his forces, and after ravaging Galloway, marched against Perth, then in possession of Edward.

But the early portion of Bruce's career was disastrous; and those military talents, which afterwards conducted him through a course of unexampled victory, were nursed amid incessant defeat and hardship. He was put to flight at Methven, his small army dis-

persed, and he himself driven an almost solitary wanderer through Lennox and Kintyre, to seek an asylum in Rachrin, a little island on the northern coast of Ireland. Here he remained during the winter, unaware of the execution of his faithful followers, who had fallen into the hands of Edward; of the imprisonment of his queen and daughter, and the extraordinary severity with which the English monarch seemed determined to rivet the fetters upon his native country.

In the spring he passed over from Rachrin to Arran, accompanied by his brother Edward Bruce, Sir James Douglas, and about 300 men. His own castle of Turnberry, on the coast of Carrick, was then occupied by Lord Percy, an officer of Edward. Bruce attacked it, put the English garrison to the sword, and, after a variety of minor enterprises, in which, although often repulsed, he and his followers gained experience and confidence, he ventured, although at the head of only 600 spearmen, to meet the Earl of Pembroke, with 3000 cavalry, at Loudon Hill (May, 1307). The result of this conflict, owing to the admirable dispositions of Bruce, was the entire defeat of the English; and from this point, the crisis of his fortune, to the hour when the liberty of his country was for ever secured on the field of Bannockburn, the career of this extraordinary man presented an almost continued series of success.

It was, perhaps, fortunate for Scotland that he was opposed, not by Edward the First, who had died when on his march to Scotland (1307), but by his son, Edward the Second, a prince of far inferior talent; yet the military resources of England were so formidable, and the barons who wielded them such experienced leaders, that Bruce, who had to struggle against domestic enemies, as well as foreign invasion, may well be praised for the admirable judgment with which he wielded the strength of his little kingdom. It was his policy to avoid a general battle, and to starve and distress the formidable armies which England repeatedly



sent against him, by wasting the country, retiring slowly before his enemies into the woods and fastnesses, and when they were compelled by famine or the season to retreat, by harging on their rear, and cutting them off in detail. Convinced that, from the poverty of Scotland, it was in vain to attempt to rival the mounted chivalry of England, he turned his whole attention to the formation and discipline of his infantry. They were armed with a spear eighteen feet in length, a sword and battle-axe at their girdle, a short cut-and-thrust dagger, a steel bonnet, and a back and breast-piece buckled over a tough leather jerkin. They were trained to form sometimes in squares, sometimes in circles, more or less deep, according to the nature of the ground and of the service. Such was the main army of Bruce, his pikemen; but after he had restored peace and security to his kingdom, and began in his turn to act upon the offensive, he often employed the only kind of cavalry which Scotland could raise, the border prick-ers, who, lightly armed, mounted on hardy little horses, and carrying as their provisions a bag of meal slung at their saddle-bow, darted upon the richest districts of England, stripped them of their wealth, and scoured like a whirlwind across the border, ere the force of the country could be raised in its defence.

To pursue the details of his obstinate contest with England, is impossible. It was during the first years a war of defence, in which Bruce struggled for existence. This secured, it became aggressive; but his efforts were confined to the recovery of his dominions out of the hands of those Scottish barons who had embraced the service of the enemy, or his castles from the English governors to whom they had been entrusted. At last, when Edward the Second, at the head of an army 100,000 strong, composed of the flower of his kingdom, and led by his most experienced officers, had penetrated into the country, Bruce found himself driven from his favorite maxim, and compelled to

hazard a battle. On the field of Bannockburn, near Stirling, 30,000 Scottish foot and 500 horse, led by the king in person, and under him commanded by Douglas, Randolph and the Steward of Scotland, encountered and entirely defeated the formidable array of England. Edward fled from the field to Dunbar, and the broken remains of his army, in dispersed bodies, made their retreat in much disorder into England (June 24, 1314).

This great victory was followed up by Bruce with an immediate proposal for peace; but he would consent to treat only on the footing of an independent king, and the offer was rejected. From 1314 to 1328, an interval of nearly fourteen years, the war was continued with almost uninterrupted success on the part of the Scots; while a series of reverses were endured by England, which are chiefly to be ascribed to the pusillanimous character of the monarch, and the great military ability not only of Bruce, but of the officers whom he had trained, Sir James Douglas, Randolph, Earl of Moray, the young Steward of Scotland, and many others. It may convey some idea of Bruce's incessant occupation in the field, when it is mentioned, that during this interval, England was twelve times invaded, either by the king in person, or by his officers, its border counties were exposed to ravages, and on frequent occasions the fires which marked the Scottish march were seen burning beside the gates of York; nor were the Scottish king's proposals for a peace accepted, till the English districts, which were compelled to purchase safety by the payment of a heavy tribute, threatened in their misery, to throw themselves into the arms of Scotland. At last, on the first of March, 1328, an English Parliament assembled at York. Bruce was acknowledged king of Scotland, Scotland itself recognized as a free and independent kingdom, and peace established, after a sanguinary war of twenty years.

This great consummation was not long survived by him to whom, under God, the

result was chiefly due. The king, whose constitution had been broken by the fatigues and exposure of his early life, began to droop soon after he saw the liberty of his country permanently established; and he died at Cardross on the 7th of June, 1329.

The death of Bruce was a severe trial to Scotland. His only son David, who succeeded him, was a boy of six years old; and while the nation was thus exposed to all the evils of a long minority, Edward the Third, one of England's most warlike monarchs, was just commencing his career, which soon developed uncommon talents and great ambition. Randolph, indeed, who was chosen Regent, and the good Sir James Douglas, with other veteran officers, still remained; but Douglas was slain in Spain, whither he had proceeded on his way to Jerusalem with his master's heart; and the Earl of Moray only survived the death of Bruce for three years. To add to these calamities, the monarchs who successively filled the Scottish throne, and on whose personal character, in these rude times, much of the success and vigor of the government depended, were little similar to their great predecessor. From the death of Bruce till the reign of James the First, the first prince who in any measure was worthy of a comparison with him, a period of nearly a century elapsed, in which the sceptre passed into the hands of three princes, David the Second, Robert the Second (the first sovereign of the house of Stewart, being the son of the Steward of Scotland, by Marjory, Bruce's only daughter), and lastly, Robert the Third. Contemporaries with these Scottish princes were Edward the Third, Richard the Second, Henry the Fourth and Henry the Fifth, all, with one exception in Richard, wise, warlike, and fortunate monarchs. The odds, therefore, were infinitely against Scotland, a country far inferior in its population and resources to England, and torn by domestic feuds; and yet against reiterated attacks it maintained the contest for its liberty.

We have above alluded to the degeneracy

of David the Second, whose long reign of forty-two years was divided into a minority the greater part of which was passed in France; a captivity in England, the result of his calamitous defeat in the battle of Durham; and a train of subsequent reverses all occasioned by his headstrong character and devotion to his selfish pleasures. But the darkest stain upon David, was his intrigues with Edward the Third, in which he hesitated not to sacrifice the independence of the country, to swear homage to the English prince for his kingdom of Scotland, and even to propose to his parliament, that the order of succession solemnly settled by his heroic father, should be altered in favor of an English prince. It is needless to say that so degrading a proposal was indignantly repelled, and that the death of the prince who had offered the insult was regarded as a national deliverance.

In Robert the Second, who succeeded him as the first of the house of Stewart, and his son, Robert the Third, the nation, though still exposed to the repeated attacks of England, experienced a short breathing time, owing to the death of Edward the Third, and the incapacity of Richard the Second; but neither of these Scottish princes possessed the vigor or the talents requisite to wield the sceptre with success, in the midst of the difficulties by which they were surrounded. The second Robert came to the crown when age had chilled his vigor; and his son and successor, Robert the Third, was of too indolent and gentle a character to hold his part against a fierce feudal nobility, led by his brothers, the Earls of Fife and Buchan, the first a man of great ambition, the second a monster of crime, who gave himself up to every species of lust and rapine, and has been traditionally remembered as "the Wolf of Badenoch."

All this led to great disorder. The king, unwilling to burden himself with the cares of government, devolved the administration upon his son, the Duke of Rothsay, a young man of violent passions, though of consider-



able ability, who had made himself particularly obnoxious at the time, the Earl of Fife. This led to a fatal collision. Fife, whose authority was increased by his being made duke of Albany, proved too strong for the young prince. His father, the king, was persuaded that the excesses of his son required restraint, and the unhappy youth was hurried to Falkland, and shut up in a dungeon, where he was intrusted to the care of two ruffians, who starved him to death. It was at first reported that he had been cut off by a dysentery; but the horrible tale of his sufferings soon after transpired.

Robert, depressed by this calamity, and incapable of exertion, committed the whole cares of the government to the Duke of Albany; and the power of that daring man was increased by another event which completely broke the spirit of the king, and was probably the cause of his death. This was the seizure by the English of his eldest son James, then a youth in his fifteenth year, and on his passage to France. The consequences were very fatal to the country. The prince was carried to the Tower; the father did not long survive the captivity of the son; and on his death, which took place in 1406, his brother, the Duke of Albany, succeeded to the prize which had long been the object of his ambition, the undisputed regency of the kingdom.

The young king, James the First, was a captive, and Henry the Fourth knew too well the value of the prize to part with him. For nineteen years he was detained in England; and, during this long interval, Albany became the uncontrolled governor of Scotland. It has been suspected that the intrigues of this able and unprincipled man with the English monarch, had led to the seizure of the young king. That they prolonged the period of his captivity, there can be no doubt.

It was clearly the best policy of the regent to cultivate peace with England, and to conciliate Henry the Fourth, as this prince could at any time put a termination to his

authority, by restoring James to his kingdom; and the same desire to retain the power which he had so nefariously usurped, induced Albany to cultivate the friendship, and overlook the crimes and excesses of the great feudal barons. All this led to dreadful confusion in Scotland, which, although freed for a time from the incessant invasions of its more powerful neighbor, was torn by private war, whilst the lives and property of its people were exposed to the attack of every unprincipled feudal baron who sheltered himself under the protection of the regent.

This miserable state of things was at length terminated by the return of James to his dominions; a prince whose character presented a striking contrast to that of his father and grandfather. During the nineteen years in which he had been unjustifiably detained in England, he enjoyed advantages which almost repaid him for his captivity. Henry the Fourth, a prince who well understood the art of government, had made it his generous care that James should receive an excellent education; and he had the advantage of being instructed in war, by accompanying his victorious successor, Henry the Fifth, to France. On his return to his own dominions, he was in the prime and the vigor of manhood. His character, formed in the school of adversity, was one of great power. He found his kingdom a scene of lawless excess and rapine; a condition to which it had been reduced from the want of a firm hand to restrain oppression and enforce the laws. Since the death of Bruce the power of the aristocracy had been on the increase, while that of the crown had proportionally lost ground, and fallen into contempt. His object, as can be clearly discerned through the history of his brief reign, was to restore the kingly authority, to rescue the commons from oppression and plunder, to give security to property, encouragement to the industry and pacific arts of his people, and to compel his barons to renounce their ideas of individual independence, and become good subjects.

The regency of Albany, his uncle, and of his son Murdoch, who had succeeded him, was naturally and justly regarded by James as little else than a long usurpation. He was mortified that Albany, against whom, as the murderer of his brother, he entertained the deepest resentment, should have escaped his merited punishment; and the royal vengeance fell with a proportionably heavier force upon Murdoch, his son and successor; nor is it possible to deny that James's retribution was cruel and excessive. Murdoch, the Duke of Albany, his two sons, the Earl of Athole, and Alexander Stewart, with his father-in-law, the Earl of Lennox, a venerable nobleman, eighty years of age, were tried, condemned and executed. James, the duke's youngest son, having escaped, collected a band of freebooters, and after sacking and plundering Dunbarton, took refuge in Ireland; but five of his men fell into the king's hands, and were torn in pieces by wild horses. So horrid a punishment, and the exterminating severity exhibited to all connected with the house of Albany, can admit of no justification; and there is every reason to believe, that the early and miserable death of the monarch, is to be traced to the very deep feelings of revenge with which some of his nobles from that moment regarded him.

Having given this severe and sanguinary lesson, the next efforts of the monarch were addressed to the internal administration of his kingdom. From without he had nothing to dread; he was at peace with England, and his marriage with Jane Beaufort, the niece of Cardinal Beaufort, had, from her near relationship to the English monarch, strengthened the ties between the two countries. France was the ancient ally of Scotland; and the Netherlands profited too much from the Scottish trade not to be anxious to preserve the most friendly relations. The king could therefore direct his undivided attention to his affairs at home. His great principle, and it was one worthy of so wise a prince, seems to have been a de-

termination to govern the country through the medium of his parliament.

Other points of almost equal interest occupied his attention. By his personal presence in the Highlands, and by the military force which he brought along with him, when he visited those remote districts of his dominions, he introduced laws and order where there had formerly been little else than feudal license and contempt for all authority. Although he cultivated the arts of peace, he did not forget that its surest preservative was an attention to the military strength of his country. *Weapon-shawings*, or military musters, were held periodically; and having witnessed, when resident in England, and in the war of Henry the Fifth in France, the great superiority of the English over the Scotch archers, he made it his earnest care that his subjects should cultivate this warlike accomplishment.

Amid these severer duties, James gave an example to his rude barons of the cultivation of intellectual accomplishments. He was himself a poet; and the king's book, or KING'S QUAIR, composed during his captivity in England, is still read by many with delight and enthusiasm. He was a reformer of the language of his country; he composed pieces of music, and sang and accompanied himself on various instruments. It is probable, however, that these employments were rather the solace of his tedious confinement in England, than objects of serious pursuit after his return.

Having so zealously devoted himself to the best interests of his kingdom, James had the satisfaction to see his measures attended with success, and all seemed secure and prosperous, when he suddenly became the victim of a dark conspiracy. Under circumstances of extreme ferocity he was assassinated in the monastery of the Blackfriars at Perth, by Sir Robert Graham, the Earl of Athole, and some accomplices who had been dependents of the house of Albany. The court was then at Perth, and James had taken up his residence in the Dominican monastery beside



the town. The king was betrayed by his chamberlain, who facilitated the entrance of the conspirators, by removing or damaging the locks of the royal apartments. When the alarm was given, it is said that a lady who waited on the queen, named Catherine Douglas, thrust her arm into the staple of the door, and thus, before it was broken, heroically afforded a brief interval in which the king contrived to conceal himself in a small vaulted chamber, where for some time he evaded discovery. The conspirators, under the idea that he had escaped, had dispersed themselves through the palace, and the unfortunate monarch might have been safe, if he had not prematurely attempted to leave his concealment. The noise which he made recalled one of the ruffians, who shouted to his companions; and springing down into the vault, they threw themselves upon their defenceless victim and murdered him, after a desperate resistance.

The death of James the First was a severe calamity to the country, exposing it for the third time since the death of Bruce to all the evils of a long minority. His eldest son, who succeeded to the throne by the title of James the Second, was a boy only six years old; and although the character of the queen-mother was marked by considerable talent and vigor, these qualities were feeble substitutes for the masculine wisdom, the determined courage, and the unwearied care of the husband whom she had lost. Her first duty was the arrest and punishment of his murderers; and this she executed with speedy and immitigable severity. But the death of the king once more gave a license, and offered to the feudal nobles an opportunity of recovering their power of which they were not slow to avail themselves.

Graham, the principal murderer of the late monarch, in the midst of the cruel tortures which preceded his death, had avowed that the day was at hand when the Scottish nobles would venerate his memory for having rid them of a tyrant; and these proud and

powerful barons, when they remembered the magnitude of James's plans, and the stern and sometimes unjust severity with which he carried them into execution, could not but feel that now was the time to recover the privileges which they had lost, and to provide some strong and permanent barrier against all future encroachments of the crown.

Immediately after his coronation, a struggle commenced for the possession of the chief power in the government. In a parliament held at Edinburgh, the queen-mother was entrusted with the custody of the young king, while Archibald, Earl of Douglas and Duke of Touraine, was appointed lieutenant-general of the kingdom, a title probably including all the powers of a military governor. In civil matters the chief authority seems to have fallen into the hands of the Chancellor Crichton, who had the command of Edinburgh Castle, in which the queen-mother, with the young prince, had taken refuge soon after the murder of her husband. This princess, however, soon found that Crichton turned the possession of the royal person into an engine for his own advancement, and refused to her that frequent intercourse with her son which she had expected, and to which she was entitled.

Having combined, therefore, with Sir Alexander Livingston, a baron who had been in favor with the late king, she contrived, by stratagem, to possess herself of the person of the young king, whom she shut up in a large wardrobe chest, and carried as her luggage to Leith, from whence she hastened to Stirling Castle, which had been assigned to her as a jointure-house.

The kingdom was now divided between three factions, that of the Queen and Livingston, who possessed the person of the king, Sir Alexander Crichton the chancellor, and thirdly, the Earl of Douglas, whose immense estates in Scotland, and his foreign wealth and influence as Duke of Touraine, rendered him by far the most formidable baron in the country. From this moment to the period

when James, having attained majority, began to act for himself, an interval of thirteen years, the history of the nation presents little else than one uniform scene of civil anarchy and of unpunished crime. In this melancholy drama the chief parts were played by Crichton and Livingston, who, deeming it for their interest to crush the overgrown power of the house of Douglas, inveigled the young earl and his brother into the Castle of Edinburgh, brought suddenly against them a charge of treason, and put them to instant death.

It was fortunate for the country that, when thus torn by domestic factions, its foreign relations were of a pacific character, England, France and the Netherlands being all animated with the most friendly dispositions, while the young king, as he advanced from boyhood into maturer years, developed a character of prudence, vigor and intelligence which appeared destined to restore a better state of things to his kingdom. Having married the daughter of the Duke of Gueldres, he assumed the government, and selected as his principal councillor, Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews, a prelate of great wisdom and integrity, whose rank as head of the church, invested him with an authority to which the people, amid the general corruption, looked with much reverence and affection. It was probably by his advice that James, whose passions were naturally violent, and who viewed with indignation the arrogance of the Earl of Douglas, engaged in a systematic plan for the reduction of his overgrown power. Without attempting at once, and by any arbitrary exertion of strength, to deprive this potent chief of his high offices, a measure which might have been followed by extreme commotion, he gradually withdrew from him his countenance and employment; surrounded himself by able and energetic councillors, whom he promoted to the principal places of trust; and thus weakened the authority of the proud baron, rather by the formidable counterpoise which he raised against it, than by any act

of open aggression. This conduct was attended with the best results. The Earl of Douglas, finding his consequence decreasing, and his power on the wane, retired for a while from Scotland, and respect for the character of the monarch increased with the feeling of security derived from an improved administration of the government. During the absence of the chief, James had time to reduce the minor barons who were his dependents, to attach his own friends more powerfully to his interest, and to concentrate a strength, which, on Douglas's return from Italy, convinced him that he must consent to play a second part to his prince. The result was what might easily have been anticipated. A collision took place between this haughty potentate and the young sovereign whose commands he had so often defied. Douglas, naturally rash and fearless, had consented, under a safe-conduct bearing the royal signature, to visit James in the Castle of Stirling. After the royal feast, the king remonstrated with his guest; disclosed to him the proofs he possessed of his combinations against the government; reproached him for the frequent murders of his subjects committed by his order; and condescended to intreat him to forsake such dangerous courses, assuring him of his pardon and favor. Douglas, instead of embracing the offer, replied to it with haughtiness and insolence; and James, losing all command of himself, and braved to his face, drew his dagger and stabbed him to the heart. Falling at his feet, he was instantly dispatched by the nobles, who, hearing the commotion, rushed into the apartment.

This atrocious murder was followed by a struggle between the royal party and the friends and vassals of the unfortunate baron, in which the king was completely successful. Sir James Douglas, who succeeded his brother in the earldom, attempted to brave the monarch, renouncing his allegiance, and throwing himself into the arms of England; but his projects against his country were defeated. He was equally unfortunate in his



alliance with the Lord of the Isles, whose naval force he directed against the west of Scotland; and at length, in a fruitless effort to regain his lost power by invading the Merse along with the Earl of Northumberland, he was totally routed by the Earl of Angus, and driven a landless fugitive into England.

The remainder of this reign was employed by the king in an endeavor to complete the work which he had begun; by strengthening the power of the crown, and giving security to the persons and property of his subjects; by attaching to his party the great and influential body of the clergy, carrying into effect various parliamentary enactments for the defence of the borders against the attacks of England, and cultivating the warlike character of his people. Amid these kingly cares, he unwisely suffered himself to be entangled by the contests between the Yorkists and Lancastrians; and having espoused the party of Henry the Sixth, levied an army, and met his death by the bursting of one of his own guns at the siege of Roxburgh. He was succeeded by his son, James the Third, a boy in his eighth year.

The death of a sovereign thus cut off in the prime of his manhood and usefulness, leaving an infant successor, would have been a deep calamity at all times, but it was especially so at this moment. James the Second had, with uncommon vigor and judgment, reduced the overgrown power of his nobles; but he died before his plans were matured, leaving the nation at war with England, the seeds of civil disunion lurking in his kingdom and ready to spring up, and the more northern parts of the realm held by fierce chiefs, who were disposed, on the slightest provocation, to throw off their allegiance. With these island lords, Edward the Fourth entered into a strict alliance; and the banished Douglasses, now become English subjects, agreed to assist him in a confederacy, the object of which was nothing less than the conquest and partition of Scotland. It was to be expected that the favor shown by that

country to the expatriated monarch Henry the Sixth, should have deeply incensed his rival; but the facility with which he purchased his instruments, and found them in the ranks of the Scottish nobles, who became the vassals of England, is a mortifying fact.

From these general remarks it is easy to anticipate the history of this reign and the scenes which it presented. Into their minute details it is impossible to enter. For a while the energy of the queen-mother supported the government. On the news of the death of her husband, instead of giving herself up to unavailing grief, she repaired with all speed to the camp before Roxburgh, carrying with her her infant son, now king; him she presented to the nobles, and urged them, for him and his father's sake, to press forward the siege. She was obeyed, and Roxburgh was taken; but fatal disputes soon succeeded to this success, and it required all the vigor of the queen, with her chief minister, Bishop Kennedy, a man of high character and talent, to struggle against the difficulties which surrounded them. In the northern parts of the kingdom all was unsettled; and the Earl of Ross espousing the cause of Edward the Fourth, proclaimed himself king of the Hebrides, while the Earl of Angus, on whom, after the fall of the house of Douglas, a large share of their power had devolved, undertook to support the party of Henry the Sixth, contrary to the wishes of the queen and Bishop Kennedy. At this crisis, the young sovereign lost his mother, Mary of Gueldres; and, after a few years, Bishop Kennedy followed her to the grave; events which deprived the government of its best, or rather of its only support. Yet amid all these complicated dangers, it is remarkable that, for fifteen years, the interval occupied by the minority of this prince, the affairs of the country were prosperous.

On the death of Bishop Kennedy, the chief power in the government had fallen into the hands of William Lord Boyd, the High Justiciar a baron hitherto little known,

but whose power rose, in a few years, to a height which almost rivalled that of the once formidable Douglasses. He became governor of the king's person; filled every office with his dependents; married his eldest son, who was created Earl of Arran, to the king's sister; and acquired so much influence over the young king, rather, it would seem, by terror than by love, that he appeared completely subservient to his wishes. The decay of this family was as sudden as its rise. A marriage had been negotiated between the king and Margaret, Princess of Denmark, and scarcely was it concluded when a faction of the nobles, at the head of whom was the monarch himself, suddenly attacked the Boyds, arraigned them of high treason, seized and confiscated their large estates, and brought to the scaffold their principal leader. A divorce was instituted against the Earl of Arran and his wife, the Princess Mary, sister to the king; and she was compelled to give her hand to Lord Hamilton, a favorite of the young monarch. It was through this marriage that the family of Hamilton, which now rose into great power upon the ruin of the Boyds, became, in the subsequent reign of Mary, the nearest heirs to the crown.

James had now attained majority, and in assuming the full administration of the government, he found his kingdom more opulent, more secure and more powerful, than could have been anticipated from the struggles of his minority. The important isles of Orkney and Zetland had been acquired with the daughter of Denmark; the rich town of Berwick, and the border fortress of Roxburgh, had been occupied by the Scots; the earldom of Ross had been annexed to the crown; the independence and liberty of the Scottish Church established by the erection of St. Andrews into an archbishopric; and, lastly, a marriage treaty with England, by which the youngest daughter of Edward the Fourth was betrothed to the king's eldest son, seemed to promise security and peace in this formidable quarter. If

such had already been the success of this reign, it seemed not unreasonable to look forward to still greater prosperity in after years; and yet the history of the country, from the moment when the monarch attained his majority, presents a melancholy contrast to this beginning. This reverse we are inclined to ascribe partly to the personal qualities of the king, partly to some changes in the power and dispositions of the great body of the feudal nobles, which are discernible at this period, not in Scotland only, but in all the feudal kingdoms of Europe.

To return from such remarks to the events of this reign, the king now engaged in a contest with his two powerful brothers, Albany and Mar. To the first had been entrusted the wardenship of the east marches, the government of Berwick, and the castle of Dunbar, the principal key of the kingdom; and there seems no doubt that he had abused his high powers to an extent which bordered upon treason. Against Mar was brought a still more atrocious charge. He had plotted, it was said, to cause the king's death by magical arts; and being convicted by the evidence of his wizard accomplices, was imprisoned, and, according to one account, secretly executed. Another story ascribes his death to the consequences of a fever, for which having a vein opened, he in an excess of phrensy tore off his bandages and bled to death. Against Albany the king proceeded with unusual vigor. He attacked him in Dunbar, made himself master of the fortress, and would have seized his person, but the rebellious prince availed himself of the situation of the castle, which was open to the sea, and fled first to England, and afterwards to France.

At this moment, Louis the Eleventh was at war with Edward the Fourth, and he unfortunately possessed such influence over the Scottish king, that he brought about a rupture between James and Edward. It was a step signally impolitic. Albany, the king's brother, returning from France, threw himself into the arms of England; the nobility



were full of complaints against the government; the Lord of the Isles embraced the interests of Edward; and after a long interval of peace had softened the national animosity between the kingdoms, it was a miserable sight once more to witness the renewal of hostilities.

This contest led to some extraordinary scenes. Albany having openly avowed his purpose to dethrone his brother, assumed the title of Alexander, King of Scotland, and entered into a treaty with Edward, by which he basely consented to sacrifice the independence and dismember some of the finest portions of the kingdom. To effect his designs, he had the address not only to secure the co-operation of the banished Earl of Douglas, with the Lord of the Isles and his northern vassals, but he detached from James's service Angus, Gray, Huntly, Lennox, and many others of the leading nobility in Scotland. A conspiracy was formed against the monarch and his favorites; the conjuncture of his assembling his army, preparatory to his invasion of England, was deemed the most favorable moment for the execution of their purpose; and in the camp at Lauder its success was equally sudden and terrible. The nobles, led by Angus, seized Cochrane, James's favorite, who, from a mean station, had been promoted to high rank and enriched with the earldom of Mar; they then broke into the king's tent, made him prisoner, arrested the band of ignoble associates who shared his confidence, and proceeded to inflict summary vengeance on them all. Cochrane was hanged over the bridge of Lauder; Rogers, a musician, Hommel, Leonard, Preston and others shared his fate; and the unfortunate monarch, having been conveyed to the capital, was shut up in the castle of Edinburgh. The result of this success was what might have been expected. Albany, who all along had acted from motives of personal ambition, having once possessed himself of the king's person, ruled the government at his will.

But usurpation of the supreme power was

not the full extent of his treachery. He attached Edward the Fourth to his service by the sacrifice of the national independence. In a secret treaty, the English prince engaged to assist Albany, who hitherto had only assumed the title of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, in placing the crown on his own head; and as the base price of this assistance, the new king and his nobles agreed to withdraw their oaths from King James, and to live under the sole allegiance of the King of England. It may give us some idea of the low estate to which the nobles of Scotland had fallen, when we mention, that not only the Earl of Douglas, now banished and living in England, but the Earls of Angus, Buchan, Athole, and many others, were willing parties to this wanton sacrifice of their country.

The plot, however, was defeated, and happily a party yet remained among the nobles, who, though their vengeance had been directed against the king's favorites, were friends to the crown and to the country. They had joined Albany with the object of sacrificing Cochrane and his associates, but had been kept in ignorance of his ultimate intentions; and the moment these became apparent, they united with the king and overwhelmed the opposite faction. And here, in the manner in which Albany was treated, is to be found the cause of all the subsequent misfortunes of the king. His brother deserved punishment, and ought to have met with no pity. He had been guilty of open and repeated treasons, had levied war against his prince; had imprisoned his royal person, leagued himself with his enemies, sold the independence of his country, and assumed the title of king. His guilt and ambition had seduced from their allegiance a large party of the nobles; and if ever there was a time in which a great example was to be made, that time was now come. Yet, instead of this wholesome severity, the Duke of Albany was treated with a lenity for which it is impossible to account. On acknowledging his manifold treasons, and

laying down his office of lieutenant-general, he not only received a full pardon, but was permitted to retain not only his vast estates, but his wardenship of the marches, and was simply interdicted from coming within six miles of the court, or continuing his illegal combination with Angus, Athole, and Buchan.

Whether we are to ascribe this misplaced mercy to the king's attachment to his brother, or to a suspicion that he was not strong enough to inflict a more exemplary punishment, it is difficult to decide; but the result demonstrated what has been so often taught, the folly of a misplaced lenity. In a few weeks Albany was again in rebellion. At his invitation, an English army invaded Scotland; Dunbar, the most important castle in the kingdom, as the key of the eastern borders, was delivered up by this base person to the enemy, while he himself fled into England, and organized with Edward the Fourth the plan of a more formidable invasion. At this crisis occurred the death of the English monarch, and the seizure of the crown by Richard the Third; events which gave James an interval of rest, in which he acted with unusual firmness and energy. He assembled a Parliament at Edinburgh, in which the sentence of forfeiture was pronounced against the Duke of Albany and all his adherents; he entered into an intimate alliance with Charles the Eighth of France, and he concluded a truce with Richard the Third, who was too much occupied with his own complicated affairs, to have leisure or inclination to continue the war with Scotland. Thus strengthened, the king found it no difficult matter to resist the last effort of Albany and Douglas, who having once more invaded Scotland at the head of a small force, were completely defeated at Lochmaben; an event followed not long after by the death of Douglas, in the abbey of Lindores, where he had been confined, and of Albany who was slain in a tournament in France.

It might have been expected that James,

who was thus delivered from his most powerful enemies, would have been permitted to reign in peace. But he was destined to be unfortunate; and, although his nobles had refused to alter the succession in favor of his ambitious brother, they soon after appear to have entered into intrigues with England, for the purpose of placing the crown on the head of his son, the Prince of Scotland, who was then a youth in his sixteenth year. Much obscurity hangs over the origin of this conspiracy. Advances seem first to have been made by the faction of the prince to Richard the Third, who, although he was animated by an anxious desire to remain at peace with Scotland, did not scruple to hold out secret encouragement to James's enemies. To what extent such secret negotiations proceeded, it is not easy to discover; but after the death of Richard they were renewed, and his successor, Henry the Seventh, showed as little scruple as his predecessor in encouraging the malcontents.

The two parties of the king and the conspirators first tried their mutual strength in a parliament. It was proposed by the popular faction that an amicable adjustment of all disputes should take place between themselves and the sovereign, and that such barons as were still obnoxious to a charge of treason, should receive a full pardon. To this the party of the king peremptorily refused their consent. James, aware of the unworthy conduct of his son, the heir apparent, created his second son Duke of Ormond, and seemed to point him out as his successor. He at the same time rewarded the principal barons who had espoused his interest, and took decisive measures, by the appointment of vigorous officers, to have the laws against treason severely administered. These steps convinced his opponents that their proceedings had been discovered; and without giving the monarch time to assemble an army, or even take measures for his personal defence, they threw off the mask, broke out into open rebellion, declared that James the Third, by his crimes and oppres-



sions, had forfeited all title to the throne, and proclaimed his son, by the title of James the Fourth.

Even now, had not the king suffered himself to be misled by his paternal feelings, the conflict might have concluded in his favor; for it is evident that a large class of the nobility, and the whole body of the people, were against these nefarious proceedings. So strong was this feeling, that James, who, on the advance of the rebels to the capital, had taken refuge in the northern part of his kingdom, soon found himself at the head of a formidable army, and advanced instantly against the insurgents, whom he found stationed at Blackness, near Linlithgow.

It was now the time for action, the time for a determined execution of those laws which of late years had seen so constantly treated with contempt. But whether the affectionate heart of the monarch sickened at the sight of his subjects in mortal array against each other, or some symptoms of disaffection breaking out in his own force rendered him apprehensive of their fidelity, James not only consented to an accommodation, but offered terms to the prince and his associates, which were culpably lenient. He permitted the son who had usurped his kingly name and prerogative, and the subjects who had defied the authority of the crown and the laws, to negotiate with arms in their hands on a footing of equality. On the part of the misguided prince, now no longer a boy, no petition for forgiveness, no expression of penitence was suffered to escape. In the pacification at Blackness, the youth spoke throughout, not as a son conscious that he had offended, but as a sovereign transacting a treaty with his equal. The treaty, in truth, was a triumph to the discontented nobles. The prince and his friends who had encouraged him to resistance, agreed to become obedient subjects on receiving the king's forgiveness, while the monarch not only consented that their lives, honors, and estates, should be preserved, but that the household of the heir apparent should be maintained,

and his friends and adherents supported with due dignity. It required little penetration to foresee that the tranquillity which was established on such a foundation could not long subsist. It was a confession of weakness pronounced at a time when firmness at least, if not severity, was the only guide to the permanent settlement of the convulsions which agitated the kingdom.

The consequences which any person of ordinary judgment might have anticipated, were not long of occurring. James retired to his capital, his army was dismissed, the northern barons, whose valor had saved his crown, were permitted to return to their estates, and James, anticipating a continuance of tranquillity, proceeded to reward his friends and re-organize his court, when he received intelligence that his son, the prince, with the same fierce barons who had so lately sworn allegiance, were again in arms, and in more formidable numbers than before. In this emergency, indeed, the king acted with courage and promptitude; but having disbanded the strongest division of his army, which consisted of his northern barons and their vassals, the force which he mustered was much inferior to that of his opponents. It was therefore determined to await in the capital the arrival of the northern barons; but unfortunately this resolution was abandoned, and the monarch, with inferior numbers, attacked the insurgents, who were commanded by the prince, his son, at Sauchy Burn, within a mile of Bannockburn. The consequences proved most calamitous. The royal forces, after an obstinate struggle, gave way to their opponents; and James, flying from the field, was murdered by an unknown hand, at a little hamlet called Miltown, a few miles distant from the field of battle. He perished in the prime of life, and it is said his youthful successor was seized with overwhelming remorse on being informed of the miserable fate of his father. However this may be, he was immediately proclaimed king, and the homage of his barons, the early possession of a sceptre, and the

lustre of a court, soon stifled his repentant feelings.

When James the Fourth succeeded to the throne left vacant by the murder of his father, he was in his seventeenth year; but his character at that early age had vigorously developed itself, and although it has sometimes been asserted, there is no reason to believe that the prince had been an unwilling assistant, or a passive tool in the hands of the conspirators. Their first care was to hold at Scone the ceremony of the coronation; their next to conclude a three years' truce with England, then under the government of Henry the Seventh; their third, to assemble a parliament and provide for their own safety, by the forfeiture of their enemies and the rewards distributed to their friends.

The innocence of these barons was, however, far from being generally admitted; and the parliament had scarcely risen, when Lennox, Huntly, Marischal, and other powerful chiefs, rose in arms to avenge the death of their king. Lord Forbes, who had joined them, marched through the country, bearing the bloody shirt of the unfortunate prince suspended from a spear; and had it not been for the promptitude with which their opponents met the enterprise, the movements of Lennox, who advanced upon Stirling, might have delivered the country from their domination. But this chief, betrayed by some of his followers, was surprised and completely routed by Lord Drummond at Fallamoss; Dunbarton, Lennox's strongest hold, surrendered, and the defeat added new strength to the young king and his friends.

Tranquillity being restored, James as he approached manhood, exhibited signs of considerable ability, and energy in following up his purposes. Amid a love of pleasure which had never been restrained by early discipline, and often hurried him into foolish and criminal excesses, he did not so far forget himself as to neglect his higher duties. He cultivated amicable relations with England, renewed the league with France, enter-

ed into a commercial alliance with Denmark, and in a parliament held in the capital, directed his earnest endeavors to the establishment of good order, and the administration of equal justice throughout the kingdom. Happily the character of Henry the Seventh, his caution, sagacity, command of temper, and earnest desire for peace, were well calculated to check the ardor and impetuosity of the Scottish prince; and for twenty years, with the exception of a brief effort made by James in favor of Perkin Warbeck, the country enjoyed the blessing of repose.

This interval was wisely occupied by the monarch in reducing the northern portion of his dominions to obedience, and in an attempt, by the frequent convocation of his parliament, to promulgate useful laws, and, which proved a more difficult task, enforce their observance. It was evident, that as the king grew older, he became convinced of the fatal errors of his early years, and upbraided himself for having lent himself to a selfish and unprincipled faction, who, unless he consulted their wishes and gratified their ambition, might be disposed to treat him as they had treated his father. Aware that they were too powerful to be quelled, he prudently adopted a safer course, by gradually recalling to confidence and power the friends and ministers of his father. Among these, one of the ablest was Andrew Wood of Largo. This remarkable man, whose genius for naval adventure was combined with a powerful intellect in civil affairs, rose by degrees to be one of James's most confidential servants, and appears to have been almost exclusively trusted in his financial concerns. We find in him many qualities apparently inconsistent, when judged by modern notions. He was originally nothing more than an enterprising merchant; but at this time all merchant ships were armed, and generally acted on an emergency as ships of war. Wood, therefore, in the course of a life devoted to mercantile and commercial adventure, had become a skillful naval commander; and in the commencement of this



reign, when the English privateers infested the narrow seas and attacked the Scottish shipping, had signalized himself by the capture of five vessels, and the subsequent defeat of a second squadron, commanded by Stephen Bull, a London merchant. These successes endeared him to the king, who had a passion for naval enterprise, and lost no opportunity of encouraging such a taste in his nobles. The advice of such a councillor as Wood, was of essential service to James. His travels in different countries had enlarged his mind, and made him ready to adopt their improvements in various points in which Scotland was behind her neighbors. He had been an affectionate servant of the late king; and to his advice we are perhaps to trace the coldness and severity with which James now began to treat some of the leaders in the late rebellion. Yet, while the monarch endeavored to keep their power in check, he showed his prudence in abstaining from such severe measures as might have driven them into open opposition; and combining firmness with gentleness, he contrived to reconcile the opposite factions among his nobles, and to maintain his own authority over them all.

In the midst of these cares, the state of the Highlands occupied his special attention, and the principles of his policy were certainly wise and salutary. He endeavored by every means in his power to attach to his interests the principal chiefs of these remote districts; he contrived, through them, to overawe and subdue the petty island princes who affected independence; he carried into their territories, which had been hitherto too exclusively governed by their own capricious and often tyrannical institutions, a more regular and rapid administration of civil and criminal justice, making them obedient to the same laws which regulated his lowland dominions; and lastly, he repeatedly visited the Highlands in person. In 1490, on two different occasions, the king rode from Perth across the "Mount," a term applied to the chain of mountains which extends from the

Mearns to the head of Loch Rannoch, accompanied by his chief lords and councillors. In 1493, he twice penetrated into the Highlands, and in the succeeding year thrice visited the isles.

One of these voyages, undertaken in 1494, during the spring months, was conducted with great state. He was accompanied by his chief ministers, his household, and a considerable fleet, many of the vessels composing which were fitted out by the nobles at their own expense. The pomp of the armament was well calculated to impress upon such wild districts an idea of the wealth and military power of the prince; while the rapidity of his progress, the success with which he punished all who braved his power, his generosity to those who sued for mercy, his familiarity with the lower classes of his subjects, and his own gay manners, increased his popularity, and confirmed the ties of allegiance. On arriving in this voyage at Tarbert in Kentire, James repaired the fort originally built there by Bruce, established an emporium for his shipping, transported thither his artillery, and by such wise and energetic precautions, ensured peace to districts which formerly had derided the royal vengeance. The chiefs, aware that the king could carry hostilities at a short warning into the heart of their territories, submitted to a force which it would have been vain to resist. One only, the Lord of the Isles, had the folly to defy the royal vengeance, and soon repented his temerity. He was summoned to take his trial for treason, pronounced guilty, stripped of his almost regal power, and his lands and possessions forfeited to the crown.

We must now advert for a moment to a singular episode in the history of the country. Perkin Warbeck, whose mysterious story still offers some field for historical scepticism, after his first unsuccessful attempt upon the English crown, took refuge in Scotland in the year 1495. There seems strong ground for suspecting that James, at the request of the Duchess of Burgundy, had embraced the

interests of this adventurer at a much earlier period than is generally suspected; but whether he really believed him to be the prince whose name he assumed, or whether he was induced to espouse his cause as a means of weakening England, is not easily discoverable. It is certain, however, that in 1494, the Scottish king had projected an invasion of England in favor of the Duke of York, and that the plan miscarried by the treachery of Perkin's friends.

On the arrival of the mysterious stranger at his court, James at once received him with royal honors, gave him in marriage a lady connected with the royal family, collected an army, and attended by Warbeck, invaded Northumberland. But the proceeding was rash and impolitic; and its author found, within a short time, that the cause of Perkin was unpopular in England, and the war unacceptable to his own subjects. So deep was the national antipathy between the two nations, that the English no sooner saw the claimant of the crown invading their country at the head of a Scottish force, than they suddenly cooled in their enthusiasm; and the desolating fury with which James conducted hostilities, supported by a body of foreign mercenaries, completed their disgust. It was evident to the king that Henry the Seventh held his crown by a tenure too firm to be shaken by so feeble a hand as Perkin's; and having drawn back his army, he soon after concluded a truce with England, and refusing to deliver him to Henry, took measures for his quiet and amicable retreat from his dominions.

James now turned his principal attention to his navy. It is well known that at this moment the maritime enterprises of the Portuguese, and the discoveries of Columbus, had created a wonderful sensation throughout Europe. Even the cautious and calculating spirit of Henry the Seventh had caught fire at the triumphs of the naval enterprise; and an expedition which sailed from England under the command of John Cabot, a Venetian merchant, and his son Sebastian, was reward-

ed by the discovery of North America. These successes roused the adventurous spirit of the Scottish king, and as Scotland had hitherto been deficient in anything approaching to a navy, he became eager to supply the want, and maintain his place with other continental kingdoms. With this view, he paid great attention to his fisheries, and to foreign commerce, the best nurseries of seamen; and those enterprising merchants and hardy mariners who had hitherto speculated solely on their own capital, found themselves encouraged by the king and the government.

While we advert to these laudable exertions of the king, the labors of an enlightened prelate for the dissemination of useful learning, ought not to be passed over. Scotland, at this period, possessed only two universities, St. Andrews, founded in the beginning of the fifteenth century, and Glasgow, founded in 1453. To these Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen, now added a third. The papal bull was issued in 1494, but the buildings of King's College were not completed till about the year 1500. It supported professors of divinity; of the civil and canon law, of medicine, and of classical literature, in which its first principal, Hector Boece or Boyce, was no contemptible proficient. Soon after this, James married the princess Margaret of England, daughter of Henry the Seventh; a wise and politic alliance, although in the marriage treaty the diplomatic skill and penurious habits of her father seemed to have gained a victory over the Scottish commissioners.

From the public rejoicings that followed his nuptials, the king was called to repress a rebellion in the north, which appears to have been excited by an imprudent alteration in the policy hitherto pursued in these quarters. This had led to a confederation of the Highland chiefs, who determined to reinstate in his insular sovereignty the grandson of the last lord of the Isles; and so deep was the discontent, that it required the utmost efforts of the prince to restore these remote districts to tranquillity. In this he at last suc-



ceeded, divided them into new sheriffdoms, repaired and garrisoned the castles in the hands of the crown, and sent Wood and Barton, two of his best officers, with a small squadron to co-operate with Arran, his lieutenant-general, in reducing the insurgent chiefs. Having adopted these measures, which were soon followed by the complete re-establishment of tranquillity, James, at the head of a considerable force, visited the border districts, and, assisted by Lord Daere, the English warden, compelled the Armstrongs, Jardines, and other powerful septs, to forsake their habits of plunder, and respect the laws. He then proceeded by negotiations to strengthen his pacific relations with France and the Netherlands; while he prudently resisted the solicitations of Pope Julius the Second, who endeavored to detach him from his alliance with Louis, and to induce him to join the emperor and the Venetians in their attempt to check the successes of the French in Italy.

Not long after this, occurred the death of Henry the Seventh, an event unfavorable to Scotland. The proud, capricious, and tyrannical character of his son and successor, Henry the Eighth, rendered him little qualified to respect or preserve the pacific relations with that country, which had been wisely cultivated by his father; and it soon appeared that the Scottish prince, a spirited monarch, jealous of his own dignity, and little accustomed to dictation, was not disposed to submit to it from his brother-in-law.

Matters proceeded smoothly for some time; but when Henry the Eighth engaged in war with France, the ancient ally of Scotland, James at once warmly espoused the party of Louis, and although against the best interests of his kingdom, suffered himself to be drawn into the quarrel. The history of the war is well known. Julius the Second having, in conjunction with Ferdinand of Spain, gained all he wished, by the league of Cambray, became alarmed at the progress of the French in Italy, and to check their arms, prevailed upon Henry the Eighth, whose imagi-

nation had lately been dazzled by dreams of Edward the Third and Henry the Fifth, to invade France. Louis on the other hand, negotiated with James the Fourth, and to embarrass the King of England, induced him to declare war against Henry the Eighth. It was a fatal resolution; but the Scottish prince was beloved by his people, and so popular with the great body of his nobles, that his appeal to arms was answered by the muster of one of the most numerous and best equipped armies, and one of the most formidable fleets ever fitted out by the country.

The fleet amounted to twenty-three sail, of which thirteen were large ships, the rest small armed craft. Of this armament the destination was Ireland, but its command was entrusted to the Earl of Arran, an officer of no experience in naval affairs; and the result was its total dispersion and discomfiture. The land army, on the other hand, which was led by the king in person, amounted to a force little short of a hundred thousand strong, with which James invaded England, and after some slight successes, encamped in a strong position on the hill or rising ground of Flodden, one of the last and lowest eminences which detach themselves from the range of the Cheviots. It was a strong position, impregnable on each flank, and in front defended by the Till, a deep and sluggish stream, which is tributary to the Tweed.

Henry the Eighth, before passing with his army into France, had entrusted the defence of his kingdom to the Earl of Surrey, a brave and experienced officer, who lost no time in collecting a force with which, although it did not amount to half the number of the Scots, he did not hesitate to march against the king. But what he wanted in numbers, Surrey supplied by military experience and coolness; while James, blind, obstinate, and attending only to the dictates of his personal courage, threw away his advantages both in numbers and position. The result was one of the most calamitous defeats ever experienced before or since in Scotland. Surrey was permitted by the king to cross

the Till in the face of his army. Contrary to the remonstrances of his veteran officers, he would suffer no one to attack him; although the moment was so favorable that, if Angus, Lindsay, and Huntly had been allowed to charge with their men, nothing less than a miracle could have saved the English earl. To the entreaties of Borthwick, the master of his artillery, he was equally obstinate. Had the guns been brought to bear upon the enemy when crossing the bridge of the Till, they must either have been beaten back or thrown into such disorder as would have exposed them to immediate route; but this too the king would not suffer. With amazing folly he renounced the use of his artillery, that arm of war which, with so great care and expense, he had strengthened or rather created, at the very moment it became serviceable, and might have saved himself and his army. What James's motive was in this, unless the indulgence of some idle chivalrous punctilio, it is impossible to discover, but its consequences were grievous. Surrey completed his arrangements, passed the ford and the bridge, marshalled his army at leisure, and placing his entire line between James and his country, advanced by an easy ascent upon the rear of the Scottish army. Upon this the king set fire to the huts and temporary booths of his encampment, and descended the hill with the object of pre-occupying an eminence on which the village of Branksome is built. His army was divided into five battalions, some of which assumed the form of squares, some of wedges, all being drawn up in a line about a bow-shot distance from each other. The enemy were divided into two battalions, each of which had two wings. The English van was led by Lord Thomas and Lord Edmund Howard, Surrey himself commanded the centre of the host, Sir Edward Stanley and Lord Dacre the rear and the reserve. On the side of the Scots, Huntly and Hume led the advance, the king the centre, and the Earls of Lennox and Argyll the rear. The battle commenced at four in the afternoon, and after an obstinate contest,

which continued till nightfall, concluded in the total defeat of the Scots. Among the slain was the king himself, who, surrounded by a circle of his nobles, had fought with desperate courage, besides thirteen earls and fifteen lords and chiefs of clans. The loss of common soldiers was estimated at ten thousand men. Of the gentry it is impossible to say how many were slain. Scarcely a family of note could say that they had not lost one or more relatives, while some had to lament the death of all their sons. Whether we regard this miserable slaughter of the sovereign with the flower of his nobility and country, or look to the long and sickening train of national calamities which it entailed upon the kingdom, it is not too much to pronounce the battle of Flodden the greatest misfortune ever endured by Scotland.

The news of defeat always flies rapidly, and the full extent of the national calamity soon became known in the capital, which was seized with the utmost sorrow and terror. The magistrates, with the forces of the borough, had joined the king's army, and many of them shared his fate; but the merchants, to whom their powers had been deputed, acted with much firmness and spirit. They armed the townsmen, published a proclamation, enjoining the women who were seen waiting in the streets to cease their lamentations, and repair to the churches, where they might pray for their lords and husbands, and took all the necessary precautions to defend the city in the event of any immediate attack. Soon afterwards the welcome intelligence arrived that Surrey, having suffered severely in the battle, had disbanded his host, and a breathing interval was allowed. The infant king was crowned at Scone, the castle of Stirling appointed as his residence, the government of it entrusted to Lord Borthwick, and the Archbishop of Glasgow, with the Earls of Huntly and Angus, selected to be councillors of the queen-mother, till a parliament should assemble. At the same time suspicions seem to have arisen that too much influence in the government ought not to be



given to this princess, whose near connection with England might subject her to foreign influence; and a secret message was dispatched to France inviting the Duke of Albany, the next heir to the throne, to repair to Scotland and assume the office of regent.

It was necessary in the meantime to consider the best schemes for the restoration of tranquillity, and the preservation of order under the shock which a defeat so terrible had given to the country; and the prospect which presented itself, on taking a general view of the condition of the kingdom, was discouraging. The dignified clergy, a class of men who were undoubtedly the ablest and best educated in Scotland, from whose ranks the state had been accustomed to look for its wisest councillors, were divided into factions among themselves occasioned by the vacant benefices. The Archbishop of St. Andrews, the prelate of Caithness and the Isles, and other ecclesiastical dignitaries, had fallen in the field of Flodden; and the intrigues of the various claimants for these high prizes distracted the church and the council. There were evils also to be dreaded from the character and youth of the queen-mother. Margaret had been married at fourteen, and was now only twenty-four. Her talents were excellent, as we know from the testimony of such able judges as Surrey, Daere, and Wolsey; but in some points she too nearly resembled her brother Henry the Eighth. She was hasty in her resentment, headstrong, and often ready to sacrifice her calmer judgment to her passion or her pleasure; and in her thirst for power or personal gratification she sometimes cared as little for the purity of the means by which these objects were accomplished. Soon after the death of the late king this princess gave birth to a son, who was named Alexander, and created Duke of Ross; and in a parliament, which met after her recovery, she was confirmed in the office of regent, and was entrusted with the young king and his brother.

At this moment the most powerful nobles in Scotland were the Earls of Angus, Home,

Huntly, and Crawford. Angus wielded the whole strength of the house of Douglas; Home was chamberlain, and commanded the eastern borders; while Huntly and Crawford ruled the northern districts. The Earl of Arran, in the meantime, arrived from France along with the Sieur de la Bastie, who had been a favorite of the late king, and brought a message from the Duke of Albany. Arran was nearly related to the royal family, and entitled, by his high birth, and the office of Lord High Admiral which he held, to act a leading part in the government; but his talents were of an inferior order, and unable to compete with the trying circumstances in which the country was placed.

Scarcely had the queen recovered from her confinement when she married the Earl of Angus, a nobleman of great accomplishments and personal attractions, but, in the words of Lord Daere, "childish, young, and attended by no wise councillors." Had the princess entered into a second marriage after due consultation had been held with the council assigned to her by parliament, and after a decent interval, no one could have blamed her. She was yet in the bloom of her best years, and from her youth, as well as from her high rank and the important duties intrusted to her, she required the protection of a husband; but the precipitation with which she hurried into the match with Angus was scarcely decorous, and certainly unwise, nor was it long before she bitterly repented her choice.

The first effects of this unfortunate step was to increase the bitterness of the pre-existing feuds amongst the nobles. Home and Angus marshalled themselves and their vassals against each other; Arran, assisted by Lennox and Glencairn, aspired to the regency; Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, an intriguing prelate, supported the interests of Albany and the French factor; while Huntly, Lord Drummond, and the Earl Marischal gave their influence to Angus and the queen, who courted Henry the Eighth, and took the name of the English party. At this unfortu-

nate crisis the country received a new blow in the death of Elphinstone, who had been nominated archbishop of St. Andrews. For the vacant primacy there were three competitors; Gawin Douglas, uncle to the Earl of Angus, Hepburn, prior of St. Andrews, and Forman, Bishop of Moray, respectively nominated by the queen, the chapter and the pope. These ambitious ecclesiastics scrupled not to muster their armed vassals, and to vindicate their claims by an appeal to the sword, an indecent spectacle, which could not fail to lower the church in the eyes of the people.

It was under this deplorable state of things that Henry the Eighth carried to perfection a base system already begun by his father, that of keeping in pay a number of spies and pensioned supporters. He bribed the Scottish nobles, entertained a constant correspondence with the queen his sister, and even went so far as to propose her flight with the young king and his brother to the English court. It may give us some idea of the loose principles of some of the leading men, that Angus and his uncle, Gawin Douglas, who ranks higher as a poet than a politician, did not hesitate to give their countenance to a plan which amounted to nothing short of treason.

In the midst of these scenes the Duke of Albany arrived from France, and assumed the regency; but unfortunately his determined predilection for the French interests was as unacceptable to many of the wisest and best men in the country, as the queen and Angus's devotion to England. At this moment Scotland required an upright and vigorous governor, animated by a sincere love of his country, and who could hold the balance with judgment between contending parties. But Albany was ignorant of the constitution of the language, and of the manners of the country. His family also made him an object of suspicion, his father having traitorously attempted to seize the crown. He was the son of a French mother, had married a French woman, and having his chief estates in France, constantly styled the

French king his master; nor does it appear that either his talents or his temper were calculated to counterbalance such disadvantages.

On his assumption of the government the effects of all this were soon perceived. The queen refused to give up the custody of the infant monarch; Home, the chamberlain, threw himself into the arms of England; Angus, guided solely by selfishness and the ambition of becoming chief ruler, deserted his wife, the queen. France, instead of assisting her ancient ally to defeat the intrigues of Henry the Eighth, which were carried on by his able minister Lord Dacre, first betrayed strong symptoms of a change of policy, and at length refused to renew the alliance with Scotland; and although Albany, amid these difficulties, acted with considerable spirit and ability, it was impossible for him to compose the jarring elements, or restore tranquillity and order in the country.

Dissatisfied and dispirited, he retired for a few years to France, and returned to Scotland only to find the dangers which threatened the kingdom more imminent, and the task of encountering them more difficult. In his absence, De la Bastie, the person who enjoyed his chief confidence, and to whom he had entrusted the offices of warden of the marches and deputy governor, was murdered by the Homes in the most savage manner. The Highlands and Isles, long deprived of regular government, were torn by various factions, and exhibited scenes of the wildest excesses. And Angus, whose feudal power was far too great for a subject, had acted in open defiance of the laws, and domineered in the most tyrannical manner over all who dared to oppose his commands. The arrival of Albany compelled this chief to fly from the capital, and the regent exerted himself with the utmost vigor to put down the despotism of the Douglasses. He was forthwith reconciled to the queen, received from her the keys of the castle of Edinburgh, and with them the custody of the young king; he assembled a parliament, summoned the



Douglasses to answer a charge of treason, and, although thwarted in his administration by the intrigues of Lord Daere and the treachery and venality of the Scottish nobles, he compelled Angus, his principal enemy, to leave the kingdom.

It would be difficult, and if easy, uninteresting, to enter into the history of this period, when the country was torn by contending factions, and exposed to all the miseries incident to a feudal minority. Albany's worst enemies were Lord Daere and the Anglo-Scotian party which he kept in his pay. It was his policy to throw distrust and suspicions upon every measure of the regent and the queen; to represent the regent as avaricious and tyrannical, to accuse him of a design to seize the crown, and to insinuate that the king's life was not safe in his custody. All of these tales are to be found in his correspondence with his master, Henry the Eighth, and there can be little doubt that the greater portion of them were false, and the whole grossly exaggerated. So at least we must judge from the conduct of the Scottish Parliament, which treated a message, soon afterwards sent by Henry the Eighth, and founded upon these idle accusations, with a calm and resolute denial. This monarch, acting on the impulse of the moment, and thwarted by the politic measures of the regent, had dispatched a herald, who conveyed a severe reprimand to the queen, and, at the same time insisted that the Scottish nobles should instantly dismiss Albany. Their reply to this haughty communication was spirited and dignified. They derided the fears expressed for the life of the young king, declaring that Albany was a faithful servant of the country, and had been invited by themselves to assume the regency.

This answer was followed, on the part of Henry, by an immediate declaration of war. The Earl of Shrewsbury, at the head of the force of the northern counties, invaded Scotland on the side of the Merse and Teviotdale; an English fleet ravaged and laid waste the coasts of the Frith of Forth; and Albany

the regent retaliated by breaking into England at the head of a large army. He was driven to this solely by a desire to vindicate the national honor; for he seems to have been conscious of the disadvantages which attended a war with England, and he knew that the majority of the nobles were animated by the same feelings. Under these circumstances he wisely determined to follow Bruce's principles as to war with that country, to avoid any protracted invasion, not to hazard a general battle, and while he showed a determination to maintain the independence of the country, and to resist any foreign dictation, to evince at the same time his readiness to conclude an honorable peace.

The same disposition being evinced by Lord Daere, the minister to whom Henry entrusted the management of Scottish affairs, a truce was concluded; but Albany, on disbanding his army and resuming his civil duties, found himself surrounded with difficulties. Nothing indeed could be more complicated or irksome than the various contending interests which he had to understand and reconcile. His engagements with France prompted him to continue the war with England; his better judgment admonished him to remain at peace. Amid the universal corruption and selfishness which infected the body of the nobles, many of whom were in the pay of England, he looked in vain for any one to whom he could give confidence, or entrust with the execution of his designs, while the queen-mother, with whom he had hitherto acted, betrayed him, and corresponded with Daere.

The impossibility of overcoming these intricate evils without a more powerful military force than he could at present bring into the field, induced the regent once more to pass into France, for the purpose of holding a conference with Francis the First, on the best method of reducing the English faction. A council of regency was appointed, consisting of Huntly, Arran, Argyll, and Gonzolles, a French knight, in whom Albany placed great confidence; and after an absence

of some months, during which the war again broke out with great fury, he revisited Scotland, bringing with him a fleet of eighty-seven small vessels, in which he had embarked a fine body of six thousand foreign troops.

With this strong reinforcement he hoped to gain a preponderating influence over the nobility, and to decide the contest with England; but he was miserably disappointed. The presence of foreign troops, always unacceptable to a people jealous of their rights, was particularly so to the Scots, who were poor, and had to support the foreigners at a great expense. This rendered the war unpopular with the great body of the nation; the queen-dowager was devoted to England; and the nobles, although prepared to assemble an army for the defence of the borders, were opposed to any invasion of England upon a great scale, or to a war of continued aggression. As many of these barons, however, were at that moment receiving pensions from France, the payment of which any too decided demonstration might have interrupted, they artfully concealed their repugnance. An army of forty thousand men mustered on the Borough-moor beside Edinburgh, and Albany, taking the command in person, advanced to the borders, but on arriving at Melrose the mask was dropped, the leaders showed symptoms of insubordination, the soldiers catching the infection, murmured against the foreign mercenaries, and discontent gathering strength, at last broke out in an open refusal to advance. No entreaties or threats of the regent could overcome this resolution; and after a short season, news arrived that the Earl of Surrey, having assembled an army, was advancing against them. The intelligence of his speedy approach, strengthened the Scottish nobles in their determination not to risk a battle. So completely had the majority of them been corrupted by the money and intrigues of Dacre and the queen-dowager, that Albany did not venture to place them in the front, but formed his advance of the French auxil-

iaries and his artillery, the single portion of this army which had acted with spirit. To have attempted to fight Surrey with these alone, would have been the extremity of rashness, to have awaited the advance of the English earl with an army which refused to proceed against the enemy, might have rendered defeat inevitable. In these critical circumstances, Albany, who has been unjustly attacked by some ill-informed writers, adopted the only alternative which was safe or honorable. He disbanded the Scottish portion of his army, and he himself retreated with his French auxiliaries and his artillery to Eccles, from which, after a short season, he returned to the capital, and here he assembled the parliament.

Its proceedings, as might have been anticipated, were distracted and impeded by mutual accusations and complaints. The regent could not conceal his animosity to those leaders who had so recently deserted him almost in the presence of the enemy. The nobles recriminated; they blamed him for squandering the public treasure, and notwithstanding the inclement season of the year, insisted on his dismissing the foreign troops, whose residence had become burdensome. All this was calculated to disgust and mortify the governor; and he requested permission to retire once more to France, for the purpose of holding a conference with Francis the First, and inducing him to grant him further assistance against the designs of England. His request was complied with, on the condition that if he did not return to Scotland within a limited period, the league with France, and his own regency, should be considered at an end. In the mean season, the custody of the king's person was entrusted to the Lords Cassillis, Fleming, Borthwick, and Erskine, while the chief management of affairs was committed to a council, composed of the chancellor, the Bishop of Aberdeen, and the Earls of Huntly and Argyll. Having made these arrangements, the Duke of Albany quitted the kingdom, convinced, in all probability, of the impossibility of recon-



ciling the various factions and interests by which it was torn in pieces. Although he gave hopes that his absence should not exceed three months, there is strong reason for believing that when he embarked it was with the resolution, which he fulfilled, of never returning to Scotland.

On the departure of Albany, it soon became apparent that a secret understanding had for some time been maintained between two of the most powerful factions in the country, and that his leaving the kingdom was the signal for the breaking out of an important revolution. The chief actors were the Earl of Arran and the queen-mother, and their is ample evidence that their proceedings were agreeable to England. The young king was now in his thirteenth year, and his mother and Arran, having gained to their interest the peers to whom his person had been entrusted, carried him from Stirling to Edinburgh, proceeded to the Palace of Holyrood, declared in a council that he had assumed the government, and issued proclamations in his name. The peers of Margaret's party then tendered their allegiance, abjured their engagements lately made with Albany, declared his regency at an end, and promised to maintain henceforth the authority of their sovereign.

It was the evident object of the queen and Arran to obtain, by this revolution, the entire command of the government. The measure was remonstrated against, in the strongest manner, by the Bishops of St. Andrews and Aberdeen. They represented the utter folly of conferring the supreme power on a boy of twelve years old, and they stated, with truth, that Albany was still the regent; but Margaret, supported by her brother Henry the Eighth, who hoped, through her, to govern Scotland, proved too strong for these prelates, and for a while her schemes succeeded. It was, however, only for a short season. Jealousies arose between her and Arran, who, from his near relationship to the crown, aspired to the chief power. The queen, whose love for Angus, her husband,

had long since turned into hatred, fixed her affections on Henry Stewart, a son of Lord Evandale, raised him to the office of treasurer, and could she obtain a divorce, determined to marry him; and Henry the Eighth, who began to find her demands too importunate, and her obedience problematical, recalled the Earl of Angus from France, with the design of making him an instrument in his projects for the reduction of Scotland. This baron appears to have increased in experience and talent for intrigue, by his residence in that country, but not in public principle; and his first step was to sell himself to Henry in a secret treaty, by which he engaged to support the English interests in Scotland. In return, he and his brother Sir George Douglas hoped, by Henry's aid, to place themselves at the head of the government, and to be restored to the vast estates and power which they had lost.

The arrival of Angus in his native country, was the signal for immediate hostilities between him and the queen-mother, his wife, who had raised Henry Stewart to the office of chancellor, and detested her husband, in proportion to the progress of her avowed and indecent attachment to this favorite. Hitherto she and her supporters, Arran, Lennox, and the master of Kilmaurs, had been supported by pensions from the English court, and in return, had favored the views of Henry the Eighth; but the principles of this venal association were of course capricious and selfish, and the arrival of Angus, who now wielded the power of the Douglasses, threatened to break it to pieces.

Three factions struggled for the pre-eminence, and tore the country in pieces. The first was that of Albany, the late regent, which was supported by French influence, and conducted by the chancellor Beaton; the second had for its leaders the Earl of Arran and the queen-regent, who held the king's person, and possessed the chief executive power; at the head of the third were the Earl of Angus and his able brother George Douglas, who were wedded to the

interests of the English government. It is impossible, within our limits, and it would be unconstructive, to enter into a detail of the continued plots and intrigues which constitute the sickening history of this period. It soon became apparent that the party of the queen-mother was the weakest. Arran, a capricious man, deserted her; her private conduct rendered her disreputable in the eyes of the people; and soon afterwards a coalition between Beaton the chancellor and Angus, carried the whole power of Albany's party to a union with the house of Douglas. Margaret sunk under this, and consented to a negotiation. She resigned the custody of her son to a council of peers nominated by parliament, and, stripped of her power, consented to a reconciliation with Angus, her husband, in whom, along with the chancellor Beaton, the chief power in the government now centered. A feeble effort indeed was made by Arran to destroy the influence of the united factions; but the armed force with which he advanced to Linlithgow was dispersed by the prompt attack of Douglas, and the address of this politic baron soon afterwards prevailed on Arran to join his party.

The Earl of Angus had now gained a complete triumph over his enemies. He possessed the person of the young king, he was assisted by the talents and experience of the chancellor Beaton, he had witnessed the gradual decay of the faction of Albany and the French monarch, and he had been joined by Arran, who, although personally a weak man, from his high birth and great estates possessed much power. His first step was wise and temperate. A pacification for three years was concluded with England; and it was hoped that this might be followed by a marriage between the young king and Henry's daughter, the princess Mary, a measure which, if guarded so as to preserve the independence of Scotland, might have been attended with the happiest results.

The country, so long distracted by border war and internal anarchy, might now, under

a judicious administration, have looked forward to something like tranquillity. The French party in Scotland had completely sunk. Dr. Magnus, Henry's English minister, who, during his residence in Scotland, had been an object of great jealousy to the people, was recalled; and Lord Dacre, whose money and intrigues for so many years had corrupted the Scottish nobles, and introduced disunion and treachery into all their councils, was removed by death from the scenes of his mischievous activity. All these things were favorable; and the well affected, who sighed for the blessings of peace and good government, anticipated a period of repose.

It was a vain expectation, destroyed by the precipitate folly of the queen-mother, and the grasping ambition of Angus. That powerful baron had hitherto aimed at one great object, which he now deemed himself on the very point of attaining; to accomplish a reconciliation with his wife, the queen-mother, and possessing her estates, with the custody of the young king's person, to engross the whole power of the government. At this crisis Margaret, so far from becoming less hostile to Angus, gave herself up more inconsiderately than before, to her passion for Henry Stewart, and procuring a divorce from a husband whom she hated, espoused her paramour with a precipitation which disgusted the people.

This imprudent step determined Angus to change his ground, and a dread of some counter revolution threw him upon new and more violent courses. By a successful stroke of policy, he procured the passing of an act of parliament which annulled the authority of the secret council, the only power which stood between him and absolute dominion. At the same moment, the parliament declared that the minority of the young king was at an end, and that having completed his fourteenth year, he was to be considered as an independent sovereign. While the youthful monarch thus nominally assumed the government, that provision which entrusted the keeping of the royal person to



certain peers in rotation, remained in force; and as Angus had artfully summoned the parliament at that precise time, when it belonged to himself and the Archbishop of Glasgow to assume their periodical guardianship of the king, the consequence of this state manœuvre was to place the whole power of the government in their hands.

A new secret council was nominated, composed solely of the creatures of Angus; the great seal was soon after taken from Beaton, the young king was watched with the utmost jealousy, and compelled to give his consent to every thing proposed to him by his new masters. An attempt indeed was made for his deliverance, first by the Laird of Buccleugh, one of the most powerful of the border barons, and afterwards by the Earl of Lennox, who deserted the party of the Douglasses, and to whom the young monarch was much attached. But Buccleugh was routed with considerable loss, and Lennox defeated and slain.

Of his own position James, who had now entered his seventeenth year, was perfectly aware; and as every hour of his captivity made the Douglasses more hateful to him, his mind became intently occupied with projects for his escape. Nor was it long ere he effected it. With an address superior to his years, the king had either succeeded in lulling the suspicions of his keepers, or a continuance of unchecked power had made them careless. James was at Falkland. Angus, Douglas his brother, and Archibald his uncle, were absent on their private affairs; only Douglas of Pathhead, the captain of the royal guard, remained. The young monarch called for the park-keeper, and, as had been his wont, proposed to hunt next morning. Therefore, says a graphic old chronicler, he "caused him to warn all the whole tenants and gentlemen thereabouts who had the speediest dogs, that they would come to Falkland wood on the morn, to meet him at seven hours, for he was determined he would slay a fat buck or two for his pleasure; and to that effect caused warn the cooks and stewards to make

his supper ready, that he might go to his bed the sooner, and to have his *desjeune* (breakfast) ready by four o'clock, and commanded James Douglas of Pathhead to pass the sooner to his bed, and caused bring his collation, and drank to James Douglas, saying to him, that he should have good hunting on the morrow, bidding him be early astir. Then the king went to his bed; and James Douglas, seeing the king in his bed, wist that all things had been sure enough, and passed in like manner to his bed. When the watch was set," continues Pitcottie, "and all things in quietness, the king called on a yeoman of the stable, and desired him bring one of his suits of apparel, hose, cloak, coat, and bonnet, and putting them on, stept forth as a yeoman of the stable, and was unperceived of the watches, till he had passed to the stables, and caused saddle a horse for himself, and one led, and took two servants with him, namely, Jocky Hart, a yeoman of the stable, and another secret chamber boy, and leapt on horse, and spurred hastily his journey to Stirling, and won there by the breaking of the day, over the bridge, which he caused to be closed behind him, that none without licence might win that passage. After this he passed to the castle, and was received there by the captain, who was very glad of his coming, and prepared the castle with all things needful. Then he caused shut the gates, and let down the portcullis, and put the king in his bed to sleep, because he had ridden all that night."

Having thus regained his liberty, James's first act was to summon a council, and issue a proclamation, interdicting Angus and the Douglasses from all approach within six miles of the court, under pain of treason. Nor did they venture to disobey it. On discovering the flight of the king, Angus, Archibald, and Sir George had hastily assembled a few followers, thrown themselves on horseback, and were riding to Stirling, when they were met by the herald, who read the act, and commanded them in the king's name to halt. For a moment they hesitated, but

it was only for a moment. Their sovereign was free; the weapons which but a day before they had wielded with such irresistible force, were now ready to be employed against themselves. A single step forward, and they were guilty of treason, their property and their lives at the mercy of the crown. All this rose rapidly and fearfully before them; and aware how vain it would be at such a moment to meet the power of their enemies, they retreated to Linlithgow.

The monarch, who now took the government into his own hands, had not completed his seventeenth year; but he had been nursed in the school of difficulty, and his character consequently had acquired a consistency and vigor far superior to his age. The principles which regulated his future government sprung naturally from the circumstances of his early life. The sternest resentment against Angus and the house of Douglas, was combined with a determination to assert and regain the rights of the crown, and to abridge the power of an aristocracy, which had grown intolerable during a long minority. Towards his uncle, Henry the Eighth, it was impossible that his feelings could be any other than those of resentment and suspicion. It was by this prince that there had been introduced into Scotland an organized system of corruption, of which his able and unscrupulous minister, Lord Daere, had been the author. Many Scottish nobles had become the pensioned agents of the English government; paid informers swarmed in the court and through the country. All idea of conquering Scotland by force of arms had been long since abandoned; but a more insidious expedient was adopted, by which the English king, maintaining the Douglasses in their usurped dominion, received in return their homage and fidelity, and administered the government at his pleasure.

James's great objects, which we can trace through the whole remaining period of his reign, were to put an end to this system of foreign dictation; to restore its ancient and

constitutional prerogatives to the crown; to bridle the exorbitant power of the great nobles, raising up as a check upon them the large and influential body of his clergy; to encourage the mercantile and commercial classes of his people; and to facilitate the administration of the laws, and insure equal justice to the lowest orders of the community.

For the accomplishment of such ends, it was first necessary to exhibit a wholesome example of retributive justice upon those who had been the greatest delinquents. It was declared treason for any person to hold intercourse with Angus, and every Douglas was commanded to leave the capital on pain of death. Angus himself was commanded to remain beyond the waters of the Spey, and required to deliver his brother Sir George Douglas, and his uncle Archibald, as hostages, for his answering to his summons of treason. Having haughtily disobeyed these orders, a parliament assembled. He was proclaimed a traitor, and his lands nominally divided among those nobles to whom James owed his late success. It was easier, however, to promulgate than to execute such decrees against so powerful a baron; nor was it till after repeated attacks upon Tantallon, some of them led by the king in person, that the arch-offender was reduced, and compelled to seek an asylum in England.

James next directed his attention to the state of the borders; and in an expedition which was long remembered for the vigor, dispatch and severity of the royal vengeance, inflicted punishment upon the greatest offenders, among whom was the noted freebooter, Johnnie Armstrong, and reduced the district into a state of tranquillity. Scarcely was this accomplished, when the Orkneys were threatened to be torn from the crown by the rebellion of the Earl of Caithness; and the Isles became the scene of a fierce struggle between the Earl of Argyll and Alexander of Isla, one of the most powerful chiefs of that remote region. The judgment



and energy of the monarch were shown in the speedy re-establishment of peace in both quarters; and the people, aware that the sceptre was once more in a firm hand, readily and gratefully co-operated with their sovereign in all his labors.

England and France were now at peace, and Henry the Eighth and Francis the First united in a strict alliance, which had for its object to bridle the increasing power of the Emperor Charles the Fifth. Under these circumstances, Henry proposed a matrimonial alliance with Scotland, and the design was encouraged by France; while the emperor, jealous of the power which so near a connection with James might give to his enemies, offered in marriage to the young prince his sister, the Queen of Hungary, or his niece, the daughter of Christiern, King of Denmark, with Norway for her dowry.

For the present, however, all these offers were declined, and the monarch appeared wholly engrossed with the prosecution of his various plans for the melioration of his kingdom. Finding himself thwarted by the nobles, he was compelled to adopt decided measures, and to promote the clergy to those offices which had been filled by temporal barons. Argyll was thrown into prison, the Earl of Crawford stripped of a large part of his estates; the determination that no Douglas should ever bear sway in Scotland became a more stern and obstinate principle than before; and while the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Abbot of Holyrood and the Bishop of Dunkeld, were principally consulted in affairs of state, many of the nobles who had hitherto enjoyed the royal confidence saw themselves treated with coldness and distrust.

During these transactions, the Douglasses and their adherents were driven upon violent and discreditable courses, in proportion as their prospect of reconciliation to the king became more hopeless and remote. The Earl of Bothwell, also a powerful border baron, whose excesses James had severely punished, entered into a traitorous alliance

with Henry the Eighth, in which he engaged, if properly supported, to dethrone his sovereign, and to "crown the English king in the town of Edinburgh within a brief time;" while the Earl of Angus did not hesitate, in the extremity of his resentment, to sell himself to England; and in an original writing which yet remains, engaged to "make unto Henry the oath of allegiance, to recognize him as supreme lord of Scotland, as his prince and sovereign."

In consequence of these base engagements, war was once more kindled on the borders, and carried on by the Douglasses and Henry's captains with such desolating fury, that James was compelled to call out the whole body of the fighting men in the country. These he divided into four armies, to each of which, in rotation, the defence of the marches was entrusted. The measure effectually checked the power of the English, and there was little prospect of Bothwell fulfilling his threat of crowning Henry in the capital; but peace seemed more distant than ever, and nothing could be more deplorable than the picture presented by the country. The flames of villages and granges, the destruction of the fruits, and the cessation of the labor of the husbandman, the stoppage put to the enterprise of the merchant, the increase among the people of the spirit of national antipathy, the corruption of the nobles by the money of England, the loss among such pensioned adventurers of all affection for the sovereign, and the decay of the healthy feelings of national independence; all these lamentable consequences sprung out of the continuance of the war, and made the king desirous of securing peace, even if it should be at some sacrifice.

This he at length accomplished. James agreed that the Douglasses, by which was meant Angus, his brother George and his uncle Archibald, should remain unmolested in England, supported by Henry as his subjects, on condition that Edrington Castle, the only spot which they held in Scotland, should be surrendered, and reparation made

for any expedition which they or the English king might hereafter conduct against Scotland. On these conditions a pacification was concluded, for the period of the lives of Henry and James, and a year after the death of him who first deceased; and soon after its ratification, the young monarch, whose firmness and talent in the management of his government made him an object of respect to the European princes, received the Garter from England, the Order of St. Michael from France, and the Golden Fleece from the emperor.

James was now in his twenty-second year, and his marriage was earnestly desired by the country; but he had hitherto shown little inclination to gratify the wishes of his people. With all his good qualities, he unhappily inherited from his father an extreme devotedness to pleasure, which had been rather encouraged than restrained by the Douglasses; and his passions getting the better of his prudence and principle, sought their gratification in low intrigues, carried on in disguise, and in pursuit of which he not unfrequently exposed his life to the attacks and revenge of his rivals. It was now full time that he should renounce these disreputable excesses; and having evaded an offer made by the Spanish ambassador, of the hand of the Princess Mary of Portugal, and declined a similar proposal of Henry the Eighth, who pointed to his daughter the Princess Mary, he dispatched an embassy to France for the purpose of concluding a matrimonial alliance with that crown.

It now becomes necessary to attend to the rise of the Reformation in Scotland, the principles of which had been for some time silently progressing among the people, but which, from this period, exercised a marked and increasing influence over the history of the government and of the country. It was now nearly six years since Patrick Hamilton, Abbot of Ferne, the friend and disciple of Luther and Melancthon, having renounced the errors of the Roman Catholic Church, and embraced the doctrines of these leading

reformers, had been delated of heresy and condemned to the flames. The cruel sentence was carried into effect at St. Andrews in 1528, under the minority of James, and while the supreme power was in the hands of the Earl of Angus. On taking the government into his own hand, James, although decidedly inimical to the principles of Angus in all other things, unhappily followed his determination to persecute those whom he esteemed the enemies of the truth. David Straiton and Norman Gourlay, who were disciples of the Reformation, were tried for heresy, condemned, and brought to the stake, on the 27th of August, 1534; and the intolerant and cruel conduct of the king compelled some who had embraced the same opinions to fly for safety to England.

About this time Henry the Eighth exerted himself to the utmost to prevail upon the Scottish king to imitate his own conduct, and shake off the yoke of Rome. He endeavored to open his eyes to the tyranny of the pope's usurpations, sent to him the treatise entitled the "Doctrine of a Christian Man," and dispatched Dr. Barlow and Lord William Howard to request a conference with his royal nephew at York; but the remembrance of the injuries he had sustained, resentment for Henry's intrigues with his discontented subjects, and an attachment to the faith of his fathers, indisposed James to listen to these overtures; and when Paul the Third deputed his legate Campeggio to visit Scotland, the embassy found it no difficult matter to confirm the Scottish monarch in his attachment to the Catholic Church. At the same time he addressed him by the title of which Henry had proved himself unworthy, Defender of the Faith, and presented to him a cap and sword which had been consecrated by the pope upon the Feast of the Nativity.

War still continued between Francis the First and the emperor, a circumstance which induced the French king to continue an amicable correspondence with England; and being aware that Henry the Eighth was in



tent upon accomplishing a marriage with Scotland, Francis did not care to disgust this passionate monarch by any very speedy attention to James's desires to unite himself to a French princess. To obviate this, the Scottish king himself took a voyage to France, and landing at Dieppe, proceeded from thence in disguise to the palace of the Duke of Vendôme. Here, being received only as a noble stranger, he saw, for the first time, without being much pleased with her, however, his affianced bride, Marie de Bourbon, the duke's daughter, and transferred his affections to Madeleine, the youngest daughter of the French king, to whom he was soon after married in the church of Notre Dame. In the circumstances in which Scotland was then placed, the church of Rome was inclined to consider this union as one of great importance; and it has been noted that seven cardinals surrounded the altar. Nor were these anticipations disappointed. James remained for nine months in France, and having returned to his own kingdom, it was soon evident that some great changes were on the eve of taking place.

Francis the First, although still nominally at peace with Henry, had become alienated from him by the violent and dictatorial tone which he assumed. The pope, who considered his own existence as involved in the contest with England, had neglected no method by which he might first terminate the disputes between the emperor and the French king, and then unite them in a coalition against Henry, as the common enemy. We have already noticed the success of the court of Rome with James; and it appears that, in 1537, these intrigues were so far successful, that a pacification was concluded between Francis and the emperor. From this moment the cordiality between France and England was completely at an end, while every argument which could have weight in a young and ardent mind was addressed to James, to induce him to join the projected league against Henry.

Nor had the conduct of Henry, during James's absence in France, been calculated to allay those resentful feelings which already existed between them. He had sent into Scotland Sir Ralph Sadler, a crafty and able diplomatist, for the express purpose of completing the system of secret intelligence introduced, as we have seen, with pernicious success by Lord Dacre. This minister was instructed to gain an influence over the nobility, to attach the queen-mother to his interest, to sound the inclinations of the body of the people on the subject of peace or war, an adoption of the reformed opinions, or an adherence to the ancient faith. The Douglasses were still maintained with high favor in England. Their power, although nominally extinct, was far from being destroyed; their spies penetrated into every quarter, and even followed the young king to France, whence they gave information of his most private motions; finally, those feudal covenants, termed bonds of manrent, still bound to their interest many of the most potent of the nobles, whom the vigor of the king's government had disgusted or estranged.

In the meantime, scarcely had the rejoicings ceased for James's return to his dominions with his youthful queen, when it was apparent that she was sinking under a consumption, which in a short time carried her to the grave. Although depressed by this calamity, the king did not permit it to divert his mind from that system of policy on which he had resolved to act; and an embassy to France, was entrusted to David Beaton, afterwards the celebrated cardinal, who requested for his master the hand of Mary of Guise, the widow of the Duke of Longueville, and sister to the Cardinal of Lorraine. To this second union, the court of France joyfully assented and the marriage took place at St. Andrews, within a year after the death of the former queen. At this moment the life of the king was twice endangered by conspiracy; and although much obscurity hangs over the subject, both

plots were probably connected with the intrigues of the house of Douglas. At the head of the first was the master of Forbes, a brother-in-law of Angus. The chief actor in the second was the Lady Glamis, his sister, who, only two days after the execution of Forbes, was accused of an attempt to poison her sovereign, found guilty and condemned to be burned; a dreadful sentence, the execution of which she bore with the hereditary courage of her house.

An event now happened which drew after it important consequences. James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, died, and was succeeded in the primacy by his nephew, Cardinal Beaton; a man far his uncle's superior in talent, and still more devotedly attached to the interests of the Roman Catholic church. It was to him, as we have seen, that James had committed the negotiation for his second marriage; and so great appears to have been the influence which he acquired over the royal mind, that the king henceforth selected him as his principal adviser.

Beaton's accession to additional power was marked by a renewed persecution of the reformers; and it is worthy of observation, that most of the converts to the reformed faith belonged to the order of the inferior clergy. Keillor, Forret, Simson, and Beveridge, were arraigned before an ecclesiastical tribunal, and soon afterwards Kennedy and Russell, out of which number three, Kennedy, Forret, and Russell, suffered at the stake with great meekness and courage. There can be little doubt that such inhuman executions operated in favor, rather than against the progress of the reformation.

The coalition between Francis the First and the emperor was now completed under the auspices of the papal court; and Henry the Eighth, aware of the great efforts made to induce James to join the league against him, dispatched Sir Ralph Sadler into Scotland. The object of this able negotiator was to rouse James's jealousy against the increasing power of the clergy, to prevail upon

him to throw off his allegiance to the pope, to imitate his example by suppressing the monasteries, and to urge him to maintain the peace with England. To the last request the Scottish king replied, that if Henry's conduct was pacific, nothing should induce him to join any hostile league against him; but he assured Sadler that he found his clergy his most loyal and useful subjects; and although he would be anxious to see a reformation in the general morals of this body, he did not exactly see how that could best be effected by renouncing the authority of his holy father the pope, the terrestrial head of the church, and thus setting an example of rebellion and confusion.

James had for some time meditated an important enterprise, which he now executed; a voyage to the most northern parts of his dominions conducted by himself, and on a scale such as had not been attempted by any of his predecessors. His fleet consisted of twelve ships, fully armed and provisioned. He was attended by Beaton, and the Earls of Huntly, Arran, and Angus; and these barons bringing with them their armed vassals, formed a force which, united to the royal suite and attendants, was equal to a little army. Lindsay, a skilful hydrographer, accompanied the expedition, and his maps and charts, the first rude essays in this science ever attempted in Scotland, are preserved at the present day.

The effects of this royal progress were salutary and decisive. The force with which James was accompanied secured a prompt submission to his commands, and inspired these remote districts with a wholesome dread of the royal name.

This exhibition of increasing energy in the king only exposed him the more to the jealousy of those nobles whose power had been nourished by long intervals of license, and who now clearly perceived, that unless they were prepared to resign their rights, a struggle between them and their sovereign could hardly be averted. A proof of this was shown on James's return to court from his



northern voyage, when a conspiracy against his life was detected, the third which had occurred within no very long period. Like the rest it is involved in obscurity; but the proof was considered as sufficient, and its author, Sir James Hamilton, commonly called the bastard of Arran, was tried, convicted and executed. It is said that the king was thrown into a state of great despondency and gloom by the discovery of this plot; that it opened his eyes to the manifold dangers which surrounded a prince at variance with his nobles; and that he began to feel that he was engaged in a contest in which they might prove too strong for him.

Whatever credit we may attach to these reports, the conduct of James gave decided proofs that he was determined to continue the struggle; and in a parliament which soon afterwards assembled in the capital, he strengthened his own hands by annexing to the crown the whole of the Hebrides, by which we are to understand the isles north and south of the two Kintyres. But this was not all. To these new acquisitions were added the Orkney and Zetland isles, many extensive lordships, Jedburgh forest, and the demesnes of Angus, Glammis, Liddaldale, and Evandale.

At this crisis, the Scottish king evidently dreaded being prematurely hurried into war. He was in debt, he suspected the fidelity of his nobles, he was well aware that a feudal monarch at variance with his barons, the sinews of his strength, was likely to be dishonored and defeated. He had lately lost his only children, Arthur and James, and he believed that Beaton's anxiety for war was dictated by selfish motives, and influenced by his intrigues with Rome. Under these circumstances, public policy and personal feeling alike made him dread any immediate hostilities with England, and he endeavored by an embassy to avert the rupture; but Henry would listen to no message of conciliation. War was resolved on, the east and middle marches were put into a state of defence, Berwick inspected, masters raised in the

north, and soon afterwards Sir James Bowes, with the force of the east marches, marched across the border. The banished Angus, his brother Sir George Douglas, and a large body of the retainers of the Douglasses, had joined him; but they were encountered, and completely defeated by Huntly and Home.

This, however, was merely a preliminary outbreak; and as such border outrages had frequently occurred without drawing after them more serious consequences, James made a last effort to avert the storm, by sending commissioners first to York, and afterwards to meet the Duke of Norfolk, who, at the head of an army of forty thousand men had crossed the Tweed, and already given many of the granges and villages to the flames. It was in vain, however, to attempt negotiation; and aware that the crisis had arrived, the Scottish king commanded Huntly and Home, upon whose fidelity he had most reliance, to watch the progress of Norfolk, while he himself assembled the main force of his kingdom on the Borough-moor near Edinburgh.

With this army, which mustered thirty thousand strong, he advanced to Fala-moor, and when encamped there, received the welcome intelligence that Norfolk, compelled by the want of supplies and the severity of the winter, was in full retreat. It was now the time to retaliate, and James issued orders for an immediate invasion of England. But the nobles felt their own strength. They had long regarded the measures of the court with distrust, some even with indignation and a desire of revenge; they recalled to mind the proceedings of the monarch, the threatening attitude lately assumed by the crown towards the whole body of the aristocracy; and when commanded to cross the borders, they haughtily and unanimously refused. It was in vain that James, stung with such an indignity, threatened, remonstrated, and even entreated them, as they valued their own honor and his, to proceed against the English. The feeling of attachment to their

prince, or revenge against the enemy seemed to be completely extinguished in a resolution to assert their power, and procure a redress of their grievances; and the sovereign was at last compelled to disband the army, and return outbraved and defeated to his capital.

There can be no doubt that so mortifying a reverse sunk deep into the heart of James, but his pride, and the natural vigor of his character supported him. Though deserted by the majority, he had still some powerful friends among the nobles, the clergy were unanimously in his favor, and it was resolved to make a second effort to re-assemble the army for the invasion of England. Its success, though partial, once more gave a gleam of hope to the monarch. A force of ten thousand men was collected chiefly by the exertions of Lord Maxwell; with this it was resolved to break across the western marches, and the king took his station at Caerlaverock, where he eagerly awaited the result of the expedition. A distrust of his nobles, however, still haunted him; and secret orders were issued, that as soon as the army reached the river Esk, his favorite, Oliver Sinclair, should be intrusted with the chief command. Nothing could be more unwise than this resolution. It was received with murmurs of discontent; and when the new general exhibited himself to the camp, and a herald attempted to read the royal commission by which he was appointed, the whole army became agitated, disorderly, and almost mutinous. At this crisis, Dacre and Musgrave, two English officers, advanced to reconnoitre at the head of three hundred horse, and approaching near enough to perceive the condition of the Scots, boldly charged them. The effect of this surprise was instantaneous and fatal. Ten thousand Scots fled from three hundred English cavalry, with scarcely a momentary resistance. In the panic the greater number escaped, but a thousand prisoners were taken, and among them many of the leading nobles, Cassillis, Glencairn, Maxwell, Somerville, Gray, Oliphant and Fleming.

This second calamity completely over-

whelmed the king. He had eagerly awaited at Caerlaverock the first news from the army, and he anticipated a victory which should efface the late dishonor, and restore the feelings of cordiality between himself and his barons. In an instant the hope was blasted, and gave place to the most gloomy despondency. He became the victim of a low fever, and from a proud monarch, lately in the vigor of his strength and the prime of his age, he sunk into a state of silent melancholy. When in this hopeless condition, the news arrived that his queen had given birth to a daughter. He had already lost his two sons, and clung to the hope that his next child might be a boy. But here too he was met by disappointment; and wandering back in thought to the time when a daughter of Bruce brought to his ancestor, the Steward of Scotland, the dowry of the kingdom, he received the intelligence with the melancholy remark, "It cam wi' a lass, it will gang wi' a lass." "It came by a girl, and will go with a girl." As he said this, a few of the most faithful of his nobles and councillors stood round his bed; and as they strove to comfort him, he stretched out his hand for them to kiss, and regarding them with great affection, closed his eyes, and placidly expired. He died in the thirty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-ninth of his reign.

The rout at the Solway Moss, followed, as we have seen it, by the death of the king, gave an alarming advantage to Henry the Eighth. The Earl of Angus, Sir George Douglas, and the numerous supporters of this house, still powerful though in banishment, had been long devoted to his interests, in the support of which they saw the only sure hope of their own restoration. To these were added the prisoners of highest rank who were taken in the late disgraceful flight. To them the English monarch now proposed an alternative, trying indeed, but in the choice of which no citizen of a free country ought to have hesitated. On the one hand, they were threatened with imprisonment in the Tower, to which they had been conducted immedi-



ately after their being taken. On the other, they were promised freedom, and a return to their native country, but coupled with extraordinary conditions. A bond was drawn up which they were required to sign. By it they acknowledged Henry as lord superior of the kingdom of Scotland; they promised to exert their influence to procure for him the government of the kingdom, and the resignation into his hands of all its fortresses; they engaged to have their infant queen delivered to his keeping; and they solemnly stipulated, that if the parliament of Scotland resisted such demands, they would employ their whole feudal strength to co-operate with England in completing the conquest of the country. To this engagement they were required to swear fidelity; and if they failed in accomplishing the wishes of the king, the penalty was to be their immediate return to their prisons in England. It must have been apparent to the Scottish prisoners that such an engagement virtually annihilated the existence of their country as a separate kingdom; and yet it is mortifying to add that it was embraced by the Earls of Glencairn and Cassillis, with the Lords Maxwell, Somerville and Oliphant. These were among the chief prisoners taken in the rout of Solway Moss; the rest were of inferior rank, and remained in captivity, while Angus, Sir George Douglas and the strength of their house, cordially co-operated with Henry.

It was the policy of these lords on their return to Scotland, to conceal the full extent of their engagements, and to proceed with great caution. On their arrival they found the country divided into two factions. On the one side, was Cardinal Beaton the chancellor, supported by the queen-mother Mary of Guise, the whole body of the clergy, the Roman Catholic nobility, and the interest of France. On the other stood the Earl of Arran, nearest heir to the crown, a weak and indolent man, who leaned to the reformed opinions; all the nobles who had forsaken the ancient faith, the adherents of the house of Douglas, and many who, ignorant of the

unjust and degrading demands of Henry, considered a marriage with England, under due safeguards, as a wise and politic step.

Into the details of the struggles between these opposite factions, it belongs not to our plan to enter. We must touch only the great leading events; but these, even in their most general form, are full of interest. On the death of the king, Beaton produced a will which appointed him chief governor of the realm, and guardian to the infant queen; but the paper was thrown aside as a forged instrument; Arran, the nearest heir to the crown, was chosen governor; and the cardinal having contented himself with securing the interest and support of France, prepared for a determined struggle with his opponents. At this moment, the Douglasses and the Solway prisoners arrived, of which party Sir George Douglas, brother to Angus, and father of the celebrated Regent Morton, was the leader. Their first act was bold and successful. Beaton was arraigned of a treasonable correspondence with France, and hurried to prison; a parliament was summoned for the discussion of the proposed alliance with England; and as the governor, Arran, appeared to be completely under English influence, it was confidently expected that Henry's schemes of ambition were not far from their accomplishment. But they were defeated by his own violent and intolerant conduct. He insisted on having the cardinal delivered up to be imprisoned in England; he upbraided the Douglasses for their delay to surrender the fortresses of the kingdom; and instead of being contented with the proceedings of the parliament, which agreed to the marriage between the Scottish queen and his son, he expressed the most violent resentment, because the estates insisted that their country should preserve its liberties as a separate and independent kingdom.

Amidst these collisions the secret treachery of the Douglasses and the Solway lords began to transpire. Beaton nearly about the same time recovered his liberty, and after an ineffectual attempt to secure a matrimonial alli-

ance with England on just and equal grounds, he placed himself and the great party of which he became the leader in determined hostility to Henry. A last effort, however, was made, and a Scottish embassy sought the English court. In a personal interview, the ambassadors explained to the king the conditions on which the country would agree to the marriage of Mary with the Prince of Wales. To their astonishment, the monarch, overcome by passion, proclaimed himself lord paramount of Scotland, and insisted that the government of that kingdom, and the custody of its infant sovereign, belonged of right to him. This disclosure, which was made in a moment of passion, and against the earnest entreaties of the English faction, produced an instantaneous effect. It was received in Scotland, as had been predicted, with a universal burst of indignation. It gave the cardinal and the French party an immediate ascendancy; the governor, Arran, and his friends joined their ranks; and the people became so exasperated, that Sadler, the English ambassador, could not safely show himself in the capital.

To counteract all these effects, Sir George Douglas exerted himself with indefatigable activity. Henry was prevailed upon to renounce the most obnoxious part of his demands. Arran, with his characteristic caprice, deserted his new friends; and in a convention of the nobles, which was not attended by the opposite faction, the treaties of marriage and pacification with England were finally arranged.

To fulfil this treaty, however, was found no easy matter. It was averred by the opposite faction, that it had been carried through by private influence, unsanctioned by the highest nobles, unauthorized by any parliament, contrary to the wishes of the people; and at this very crisis the cardinal obtained possession of the person of the infant queen, who had hitherto been strictly guarded by the governor and the Hamiltons. To balance this success, Arran, whose character had hitherto been only weak, became

alarmed at the success of the cardinal; and, flattered by a proposal of the English king to make him sovereign of Scotland beyond the Forth, declared his readiness to co-operate with an English army for the entire subjugation of the country. In the meantime, he held a convention of the nobles in the abbey church of Holyrood, and in his character of governor of the realm, ratified the marriage treaty with England, unmindful of the protestations of Beaton and his party, that they were no parties to such a transaction, and would not hold themselves bound by a decision contrary to the opinion of the majority of the nobles and the wishes of the people.

Henry, who was thoroughly unprincipled, and cared not what means he used to rid himself of his opponents, attempted to remove the cardinal, by hiring Brunston, Grange, Rothes, and some of the opposite faction, to seize or assassinate him; but he once more failed in this nefarious project, and, foiled and irritated, let loose his vengeance in the shape of a naval invasion. An English fleet of 100 sail, under Lord Lisle, high admiral, appeared suddenly in the Forth, and disembarked a force which plundered Leith, sacked Edinburgh, which had been deserted by its inhabitants, ravaged the adjoining country with merciless cruelty, and left upon land a considerable force, which, in its retreat, was as remorseless in its devastations as the fleet had been in its attack. Such was Henry's mode of wooing, of which it was well observed by Lord Herbert, that he did too much for a suitor, and too little for a conqueror.

It was at this moment, when all was gloom and despondency, that the Earl of Angus, who, with his brother, had been lately restored to his estates, and absolved in parliament from the sentence of treason, encountered and totally defeated Sir Ralph Evre and Sir Brian Layton at Ancram Muir. These English leaders had procured from Henry a grant of all they could conquer in Teviotdale and the Merse, where Angus' es-



tates chiefly lay; and penetrating at the head of 5000 men to Melrose, they not only ravaged that district, but plundered the abbey, and wantonly defaced the tombs of the house of Douglas; an insult which Angus revenged in the most signal manner, by attacking the English in their retreat, dispersing their force, with the slaughter of 800 men, leaving Evre and Layton dead on the field, and making a capture of 1000 prisoners.

This victory, although resulting not from patriotic principle, but personal revenge, had a good effect in restoring confidence to the people; and it was followed up by the resolution of Francis the First to equip a fleet for the invasion of England, and to assist Scotland by an auxiliary force. Beaton, encouraged by this expected aid, having concentrated his party, prevailed upon the majority of the nobles, in a convention held in the capital, to refuse every advance of the English monarch, and to declare the treaty of peace and marriage at an end; while Henry, enraged to the utmost pitch by this success, eagerly encouraged a second plot of the Earls of Cassilis, Angus and Glencairn, for the murder of the cardinal. The king, however, enjoined Sir Ralph Sadler to propose the assassination, as coming from himself, and the conspirators at this moment would not act without Henry's direct approval.

In the midst of these dark plots, a French fleet arrived in Scotland with 3000 men. This led to decisive measures. A Scottish army was assembled; but torn as usual by internal dissensions, and betrayed by the Douglasses, who held a principal command, its operations were insignificant, and its retreat almost immediate. This was followed by a cruel invasion of the English, in which the Earl of Hertford, at the head of an army, whose numbers rendered opposition fruitless, invaded Scotland, and after a desolating progress, sent word to his master, that for three hundred years there had not been such ravages committed. Henry, at the same time, engaged the Earl of Lennox, and Donald,

Lord of the Isles, to attack Scotland on the west coasts; and, having heard that Beaton, his able and indefatigable enemy, meditated a visit to France for the purpose of subsidizing a large auxiliary force for the continuance of the war, he determined to make a last effort to cut him off, and with this view, resumed with the Laird of Brunston the plot for his assassination.

Into the details of this remarkable conspiracy, and the various parties whom Henry contrived to bring together for the execution of his sanguinary purpose, we cannot here enter. Fanaticism of the sternest kind, which had been worked up into action by the cardinal's cruel execution of George Wishart, commonly called the martyr, united itself to more mercenary motives with some of the conspirators, and with others, to the desire of private revenge; and on the morning of the 28th of May, a band of desperate men, who are now known to have been in the pay of England, and some of whom had been on former occasions urged by the English king to the commission of the murder, broke into the cardinal's apartments in the castle of St. Andrew's, beat down the barricades with which the miserable man had attempted to defend the door, and putting him instantly to death, hung out his naked mangled body over the window of his bed-chamber, in savage and brutal triumph. They then seized the castle, dismissed unharmed the household servants of the cardinal, sent off a messenger to the English court to inform Henry of their success; and, being soon afterward joined by John Knox, and a considerable band of his friends, who considered the death of Beaton as favorable to the reformation, they determined to defend the castle for Henry against any force which might be brought against them.

These confident anticipations were, for a time, overthrown by the death of Henry the Eighth, an event soon followed by that of his rival Francis the First; but the accession of Edward the Sixth in England, and that of Henry the Second in France, did not

materially alter the policy of either kingdom towards Scotland.

For nine years after the assassination of Beaton, the Earl of Arran continued at the head of the government; and during that period some events took place which drew after them important effects. The warlike preparations of Somerset induced the French government to anticipate his motions; and a French fleet of sixteen armed galleons having entered the Frith, bombarded and carried the castle of St. Andrew's, in which the conspirators against Beaton, and Knox the Scottish reformer, had deemed themselves secure.

Immediately after the siege of St. Andrew's, the protector, Somerset, invaded Scotland at the head of an army 14,000 strong, and supported by a fleet of thirty-four ships of war. He was met by Arran, the governor, at Musselburgh, or Pinkeycleugh, within about six miles distance from the capital, where an army considerably more than double the number of the English had encamped in so strong a position on the banks of the Esk, that with proper military skill on their part, any attempt to dislodge them might have brought ruin on their assailants. The inexperience and folly of Arran, the governor, threw away this advantage. He mistook a movement of Somerset, in which the English leader meant to possess himself of an adjoining height, for an intention to communicate with his fleet and re-embark his army; and, contrary to the remonstrances of his best officers, he gave orders for the whole army to strike their tents and cross the river on which he had encamped. The order was at first resisted, at last unwillingly and imperfectly obeyed; and in the midst of the confusion which ensued, the English attacked the Scottish divisions in detail, and after a sanguinary conflict, gained a complete victory. Fourteen thousand were slain in the battle and in the chase, while the English loss was comparatively trifling.

Since the fatal day of Flodden, Scotland

had sustained no defeat in the least degree approaching to this at Pinkey, and had it been followed up by the protector, the consequences must have been of the most serious kind, perhaps fatal to the liberty of the country. But happily Somerset, at the very moment of his victory, received accounts of a conspiracy which his enemies at the English court had organized against him; and impatient to confront them in person, his measures were hurried, confused and ill-digested. After a brief stay in the capital, he commenced his retreat through Teviotdale, and the fleet at the same time weighed anchor and returned to England.

The consequences of the defeat at Pinkey, and the effects of a subsequent and cruel inroad into Annandale by Lord Wharton and the Earl of Lennox, were to exasperate the feelings of national antipathy, and to throw the governor and the queen-mother more decidedly into the arms of France. A convention was held at Stirling, in which it was determined to request the immediate assistance of a French force, and to send Mary, the young Queen of Scots, to be educated at the court of Henry the Second. Soon afterwards, the Sieur Montalembert, commonly called Monsieur d'Esse, one of the ablest officers in the service of that country, arrived in Scotland with 6000 men. In a parliament held at Haddington, the marriage of the French dauphin to the Queen of Scots was finally determined; and the infant Mary, then in her sixth year, took her voyage to France, accompanied by Lords Erskine and Livingston, her governors, and arrived in safety at the court of St. Germain, in August, 1548.

It belongs not to an historical sketch of this kind, to enter into the details of that sanguinary and obstinate war which now took place between England and the united strength of France and Scotland. The slaughter at Pinkey, the burning of their sea-ports and shipping, and the pitiless severity with which the repeated invasions of their country were accompanied, had at length ani-



mated the Scots with a common feeling of revenge, which gave to the contest a character of peculiar ferocity, and manifested itself in shocking excesses. Happily the struggle did not continue long. The peace of Boulogne, between France and England, led, in 1550, to a cessation of hostilities in Scotland, where for some time before, the tide of success had run in favor of the governor and his foreign auxiliaries; and thus, after a war which had lasted for seven years, dating it from the year 1543, when Henry the Eighth determined to enforce the observation of the treaty, the English saw themselves obliged to abandon the extravagant project of compelling the Scots into a matrimonial alliance.

This war, for the accomplishment of the marriage, was not long afterwards followed by the still more important and eventful struggle for the establishment of the reformation. The queen-dowager, Mary of Guise, a woman, by the confession of her enemies, of good judgment, and sincere and upright principles, succeeded in procuring the retirement of Arran and her own nomination to the regency (April, 1554). She was enabled to accomplish this chiefly by the influence of France, then high in Scotland; but she was assisted also by the leaders of the Protestant party, whom she courted and attached to her interest. Her possession of the supreme power was soon followed by the death of Edward the Sixth and the accession of Mary, a princess, as is well known, sincerely devoted to the ancient faith; but these changes were not accompanied by any important political events. The queen-dowager, indeed, when she saw England and Spain engaged in Italy in a struggle with France and the pope, deemed it her duty to support her country and attack England; but, although the Scottish barons assembled an army, it was only to act on the defensive; they refused to cross the border, and the regent, hitherto on the most amicable terms with the nobles, dismissed them with undissembled resentment.

To make up for this disappointment, the

marriage between the young Queen of Scots and the dauphin was concluded with much solemnity at Notre Dame; and in a parliament held at Edinburgh, it was agreed that the youthful husband should bear the title of King of Scotland during the continuance of the marriage, that all letters in Scotland should run in the joint names of Francis and Mary, and that the arms of both kingdoms should be quartered in the great seal and the current coin of the realm. These transactions had not been long concluded, when Mary of England, broken-hearted by the loss of Calais and the neglect of Philip, sunk into the grave; and Elizabeth's accession to the throne was hailed with universal delight by the Protestant party in Europe.

When the English queen placed herself at the head of the Reformation, this great moral revolution had made no inconsiderable progress in Scotland. The return of Knox to his native country in 1555, and the influence which his fiery zeal and popular eloquence soon gained over the Congregation, determined them to make a formal separation from the Catholic Church; and, although the reformer was once more compelled, probably by fears for his life, to retreat to Geneva, the danger appears soon to have passed, and the leaders of the Congregation, conscious of increasing strength, entered into that memorable bond or covenant, by which they engaged to establish the word of God, to maintain the gospel of Christ, to labor to have faithful ministers, and to execute judgment upon what they termed the superstitions and abominations of the ancient faith.

The Roman Catholic clergy received such a denunciation of the national faith with alarm and indignation; and resorting once more to those weapons which had already so deeply injured their cause, they deemed it expedient to hold up an example which should strike terror into the new converts. Walter Mill, a priest who had embraced the reformation, was seized, tried, delivered over to the secular arm and burned at St. Andrews.

Against this cruel execution, the lords of the Congregation, Glencairn, Argyll, Morton, Erskine of Dun, and others, presented a remonstrance to the queen-dowager. This was soon after followed by a supplication to Parliament, in which they requested that all statutes by which churchmen were empowered to proceed against heretics, should be suspended until the controversies in religion were determined by a general council of the church.

This petition was received by the queen-regent with concealed dissatisfaction, by the great body of the Roman Catholic clergy with undisguised scorn and reprobation. It suited, however, the regent at this moment to dissemble. She required the aid of the Protestant lords to carry her favorite measures in this parliament, the obtaining the crown-matrimonial and the title of King of Scots for the dauphin; and entreating the lords of the Congregation to withdraw their petition and articles for a season, she promised them her protection, and a favorable consideration of their demands. To this they agreed, but under a protestation which was publicly read in parliament.

It was at this crisis, when the lords of the Congregation had taken their stand on the ground which they never afterwards deserted, and when the queen-regent, having obtained her wishes, considered herself independent of their support, that Elizabeth succeeded to the throne, and Knox, who soon after his first return had left Scotland, again arrived in his native country. Both events produced the most important events. It was one of the great principles of Elizabeth's policy to increase her own security by weakening her neighbors; to accomplish which, she invariably fomented a secret faction which opposed itself to the existing government. Of those nobles who had been ready, without any feelings of shame, to renounce their allegiance to their country, and to be bought over by England, many had embraced the principles of the reformation. To men so long accustomed to make their per-

sonal interest the measure of their duty, and to think and act as they pleased, a revolution which contended for liberty of conscience and the license of private judgment, must have warmly recommended itself; and when they considered the history of the English reformation, and the appropriation of the church lands by Henry and Edward, they could not, we may believe, be totally dead to the lesson. The church of Rome in Scotland was comparatively as rich as her sister had been across the border; and if the reformation was to be as complete in their own country as in England, it was not difficult for these shrewd barons to persuade themselves that they might imitate, perhaps improve the example.

Over an aristocracy of such a character, Elizabeth and her ministers at once perceived how easy it would be to acquire an influence. From the first moment of her accession, therefore, she favored the leaders of the Congregation, directed their measures, supported them with money, and received from them in return a respect and deference superior to that which they paid to their own sovereign.

But if the effects of the accession of Elizabeth upon the body of the Scottish nobles, were important in reference to the reformation, the consequences of Knox's re-appearance were not less momentous upon the character of the people. Hitherto the healthy patriotic feeling, the resolution to defend their independence as a separate kingdom from foreign domination and attack, had existed almost exclusively in the middle and lower orders, the commercial classes, and the laborers of the soil. But among these, the principles of the reformation had taken a deep root. They had adopted them, not like many of the nobles, from interest, but from conviction; and upon their minds the popular eloquence of Knox, his fiery zeal, his denunciations of superstition, his sarcastic attacks upon the ignorance and the vices of his opponents, produced a powerful impression.



Such were the feelings of the Scottish nobles, and the great body of the people, with reference to the momentous struggle between the reformation and the Roman Catholic faith, which was now about to convulse the country. Had the queen-dowager continued to act with the same judgment and caution which had distinguished the commencement of her government, it is possible that the struggle might have been for a time averted; but at this moment the powerful princes of the house of Guise deemed it expedient to join the league which had been concluded between the pope, the King of Spain and the emperor, for the destruction of the Protestant, and the re-establishment of the Catholic faith in Europe. They immediately communicated with their sister, the regent, in Scotland; and such was unfortunately their influence over her mind, that after a feeble resistance she joined the papal coalition.

This fatal step was followed, as might have been expected, by an immediate collision between the two parties. In a convention of the clergy which was held at Edinburgh, in March, 1559, the lords of the Congregation, in addition to the demands which they had already presented, insisted that bishops should not henceforward be elected without the consent of the gentlemen of the diocese, nor parish priests, except by the votes of the parishioners. These proposals were met by the queen with a determined refusal. A proclamation was issued, commanding all persons to resort daily to mass and confession. It was declared that no language but the Latin could be used in public prayers, without violating the most sacred decrees of the church; and the Protestant ministers who had acted in defiance of these injunctions, were summoned to appear at Stirling, and there answer to the accusations which should be brought against them.

They accordingly did appear; but it was with Knox at their head, and surrounded by crowds of their devoted followers, who were led by the principal barons of Angus and Mearns. On reaching Perth, however,

it was judged expedient to attempt a measure of conciliation; and Erskine of Dun, a gentleman of ancient family, and grave experience, leaving his brethren, proceeded to the court at Stirling, where he was admitted to an interview with the regent. He assured her that their single demand was to be allowed to worship God according to their conscience, and to secure liberty for their preachers. She replied, that if he would prevail on the Congregation to disperse, their preachers should be unmolested, the summons discharged, and their grievances redressed.

To this Erskine consented. He communicated the agreement to his brethren; the people were disbanded; and when the reformers looked for toleration and redress, the queen-dowager, with a perfidy which was as base as it was unwise, reiterated the summons, and on their failure to appear, denounced the ministers as rebels. Such conduct inflamed the resentment of the Congregation to the utmost degree; and, Knox having seized the moment to deliver a stern and impassioned sermon against idolatry, the people were wrought up to a state of high excitement. Observing a priest about to celebrate mass, after the preacher had retired, they burst in upon the altar, tore down its ornaments, shivered the shrines and relics, and speedily demolished every monument which seemed to savor of idolatry. From that moment the fate of the Roman Catholic church in Scotland was decided. Having once broken through restraint, and found their own strength, the multitude rushed to the religious houses of the Black and Grey friars, and inflicted on them an equally summary vengeance. They then attacked the charter-house or Carthusian monastery, which experienced a similar fate; and the infection of tumult and destruction spreading throughout the country, many excesses of the same kind were committed in the provincial towns. That Knox or his disciples directly advised such spoliation cannot be proved; that the principles which he

laid down, and his stern denunciations of his opponents as idolators, led to these excesses, is certain.

The effects of such scenes on the queen-dowager, were to rouse her to instant activity, and to array the two parties in determined opposition to each other; for, although some of the Protestant leaders, disclaiming all intentions of rebellion, disapproved of the late violence, and still acted with the regent, their neutrality was so short-lived that it scarcely demands attention. It had the effect, however, of producing a momentary spirit of conciliation. The Protestants presented an address to the queen, to the nobility, and to the Roman Catholic clergy. In the first they professed their loyalty, deprecated her injustice, and demanded liberty of conscience, and the right of hearing their own preachers. In the second they vindicated their conduct to their brethren of the Roman Catholic nobility from the charge of heresy and sedition, while they upbraided those who first espoused and now deserted their cause. The third epistle, to the Roman Catholic clergy, whom they broadly stigmatized as the generation of anti-christ, was a denunciation of war, composed in that spirit of coarse and abusive railing which unfortunately marks the style of the early reformers. Such accusations were little calculated to produce pacific feelings; but the queen-regent, who had assembled her army, finding it inferior in strength to the Congregation, proposed an armistice, which on certain conditions was accepted. The Congregation having bound themselves to each other in a new covenant, disbanded their forces, and for the second time, as they allege, were overreached by the treachery of the dowager, who, against a solemn stipulation, occupied Perth with a body of French soldiers, expelled the magistrates who favored the reformation, and garrisoned the town with troops in the pay of France, though in reality Scots.

This unwise and unjustifiable duplicity had the worst effect. The Lord James, af-

terwards the Regent Murray, a young man of great talents and ambition, who had hitherto adhered to the regent, though possessing reformed opinions, deserted her. Argyll, a powerful and influential nobleman, followed his example; and, faithful to their renewed covenant, the army of the Congregation assembled in strength at St. Andrews. Knox in the meantime, whose voice Sadler, the English ambassador, compares in his letters to the sound of a thousand trumpets, set out on a preaching tour through the country. Directing his powerful and popular eloquence against the evils of superstition, and the misery of the thralldom which, by means of foreign mercenaries, the house of Guise were attempting to fix upon their country, he so powerfully excited the people, that they determined to take the reformation into their own hands, and levelled with the ground the monasteries of the Franciscan and Dominican orders. It was in vain that the regent exerted herself to check these popular outrages. The phrensy gained strength; the nobles and leaders of the Congregation felt proportionally encouraged, and advancing with their forces upon Perth, they opened a cannonade, and in a short time made themselves masters of the town. Stimulated to a high pitch of excitement by such success, the multitude, contrary to the entreaties of Knox, attacked and destroyed the abbey church and palace of Seone; after which, a portion of the army of the Congregation, under Lord James and Argyll, made a rapid march upon Stirling, which they occupied, hastened afterwards to Linlithgow, and having in both towns pulled down the altars, destroyed the shrines, and, as they said, purged the places of idolatry, they compelled the regent to make a rapid retreat to Dunbar, and entered the capital in triumph, in June, 1559.

This last success, while it gave the highest courage to the party of the reformation, convinced the queen-regent that every hope to avoid a civil war must be abandoned, and that the crisis called for her most determined



exertions. She instantly communicated her dangerous situation to France, and received in return a large reinforcement of French troops, whose discipline, skill and equipment, being superior to the common feudal militia which the congregation brought into the field, at once gave her a superiority. The reformers, on the other hand, threw themselves upon the protection of England; and Elizabeth, although she scrupled to send them either money or troops, encouraged them with general promises of approval, and, in case of extreme danger, with some hopes of support. In addition to this, her minister, Cecil, hinted in his letters the expediency of using their present power to "strip the Romish Church of its pomp and wealth," and, as he termed it, "to apply good things to good uses;" while the terms in which the Congregation replied, seem to point to a more secret communication, in which this unscrupulous politician had advised the deposition of the regent, and a change of the government.

For the queen-dowager to have agreed to this would have been equivalent to the giving up of the whole question, and would have been to establish Protestantism on the ruins of what she esteemed the true church. She accordingly met the demands of the Congregation by a peremptory denial. In return they withdrew from their allegiance, and in the name of their sovereign, whose authority they unscrupulously assumed, suspended her from the high office which she had abused.

The war now broke out with a violence proportioned to the exasperated feelings of either faction. The Congregation, at first intimidated by the superiority in the discipline of the French troops, began to dread a calamitous result; but they soon saw themselves strengthened by the arrival of an English fleet, while a land force under the Duke of Norfolk advanced to Berwick, and after a negotiation with the reformed leaders, pushed forward into Scotland, and was joined at Preston by the army of the reformers.

It belongs not to this sketch to enter into details of hostilities, and happily for both countries the war was of brief duration. The queen-dowager, sinking under a broken constitution, died at Edinburgh, on the 10th of June, 1560. The Congregation, disheartened by some reverses, and weakened by disunion among their principal leaders, felt no inclination to prolong the struggle; and Elizabeth having offered her services as a mediatrix between the two parties, a meeting of the English, French and Scottish commissioners took place at Edinburgh, by whom a treaty of peace was concluded, having for its basis the withdrawal of the French troops from Scotland, and a recognition of the validity of the treaty of Berwick between Elizabeth and the party of the Congregation. Into this last proviso the French commissioners sent over by the young Queen of Scots and her husband the dauphin, were entrapped by the diplomatic skill of Sir William Cecil, one of the English commissioners, contrary to their express instructions; and its validity was never admitted by the Scottish queen; but in the meantime it greatly strengthened the hands of the Congregation. At the same moment the leaders of this party presented to the commissioners certain "articles" concerning religion; but Elizabeth had directed Cecil and Woolton to decline all discussion upon the subject; and the reformers, who looked to the convention of Estates for the settlement of the question; did not press the point.

A parliament accordingly assembled at Edinburgh, on the 10th of July, 1560. The lesser barons who had for some time suffered their rights of sitting in the convention of estates to fall into disuse, were mostly attached to the doctrines of the reformers, and looked with deep interest to the debates which were about to take place on the subject of religion. They accordingly met, claimed their right, and after some opposition, were allowed to take their place. This threw a preponderating weight into the party of the Congregation; and the "Confession of

Faith," together with a "Book of Discipline," which embodied the great principles of the reformed church, and protested against the errors, abuses and superstitions of the Roman Catholic faith, was submitted to Parliament. The Confession of Faith passed with little opposition.

Three acts followed the adoption of this Confession of Faith. The first abolished for ever in Scotland the power and jurisdiction of the pope; the second repealed all former statutes passed in favor of the Catholic Church; the third inflicted the highest penalties upon any who thenceforward should dare to say or to hear mass.

It was not to be expected that their youthful sovereign, educated in the bosom of the Roman Catholic church, and accustomed to look for direction and guidance to the advice of her uncles the Guises, could possibly ratify the extraordinary proceedings of this parliament. It had, by a few sweeping acts, abolished the national faith, confirmed the treaty which a faction of her subjects whom she had all along treated as rebels, had entered into with England; and by sending an embassy to Elizabeth, composed of men of higher rank and greater influence than Sandilands, who was deputed to wait upon their sovereign, it was intimated pretty significantly, that the Congregation were determined to treat the English princess with equal if not superior deference to that with which they regarded their own queen. She accordingly received the Scottish envoy with coldness, and peremptorily refused to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh.

At this moment Mary had the misfortune to lose her husband, Francis the Second, the young king of France; an event which made it necessary for her return to her own kingdom, and at once threw her from a condition of much contentment and prosperity into circumstances of extraordinary trial and embarrassment. She had been educated in the most brilliant and accomplished, but, it must be added, one of the most profligate courts in Europe. From her infancy, as

queen of Scotland, and presumptive queen of France, she had been flattered and caressed; and as she was extremely beautiful, possessed of amiable manners, highly accomplished, generous, and kind-hearted, she had received from every class of her French subjects the unaffected homage of their admiration and regard. All was now to be changed; and on turning her eyes from France to her own country a melancholy contrast soon presented itself.

As soon as the king's death was known in Scotland, a parliament assembled at Edinburgh, of which the proceedings appear to have been overruled by the Congregation. It was resolved to invite their sovereign to return to her kingdom, and for this purpose to send the Lord James to France, while the Roman Catholic party dispatched Lesley, afterwards the celebrated Bishop of Ross, on the same errand. The Lord James, afterwards the Regent Murray, was the natural son of James the Fifth by Lady Margaret Erskine, who afterwards married the Laird of Lochleven. From his earliest years he had exhibited marks of an extraordinary ambition, and a genius for affairs of state. His apparently blunt and careless manner, disposed men to treat him with confidence, and enabled him, when he was least suspected, to carry on the most deep-laid and ambitious designs. At this moment he was regarded as the leader of the reformed party; and it is a remarkable proof of his talents, that, on his arrival in France, although at first suspected by Mary, he acquired an extraordinary influence over her character.

It was the misfortune of the Queen of Scots, who was now only eighteen, that she was surrounded by difficulties which would have required to meet them a matured experience, and the most attached and faithful counsellors. Elizabeth, who saw her opportunity, and was determined not to lose it, dispatched the Earl of Bedford to demand the confirmation of the treaty of Edinburgh; and when this was refused, she exhibited her resentment by declaring that Mary, who had



at first intended to pass through England into her own realm, should receive no safe conduct; a circumstance which made her resolve to sail at once from Dieppe to Leith. But Elizabeth was at least an open opponent, and the young queen, aware of her enmity, could secure herself against it. Murray, on the other hand, to whom she too heedlessly gave her confidence, had already visited the English court on his passage to France, communicated his plans to Elizabeth, and received his instructions from Cecil, her prime minister. On his return from Paris he again passed through England, consulted with the English queen on the best methods of detaining Mary in France, and actually carried his double dealing so far as to devise means for intercepting her, should she persist in her determination to set sail. This she at last determined to do at all risks; and having had the good fortune to escape the English cruisers, which were directed to be on the look out, she arrived at Leith, and was received with the utmost enthusiasm by all classes of her subjects (August 19, 1561).

The first point on which the two queens came into collision was on the delicate subject of marriage. Mary's great object, at this moment, was to marry with Elizabeth's approbation, and to procure a declaration of her right of succession to the throne, failing Elizabeth's issue. She accordingly declared that she would regard her advice upon this subject as that of a mother, and consulted her sister of England with an openness and devotion which, if not perfectly prudent, appears to have been perfectly sincere.

In return for this confidence, the conduct of the Queen of England was marked by that insincerity, selfishness and want of truth which too frequently characterized her policy. In the course of these negotiations, after objecting to every foreign alliance, the English queen at last proposed her own favorite, Leicester, and held out as a bait to Mary, who justly deemed such an alliance beneath her rank, the promise that the issue, if any,

of this marriage should succeed to the English throne. Nothing can be more certain than that she had no such intention; but the farce was so well acted, that not only Mary and the Lord James, now Earl of Murray, but Randolph, the English ambassador at the Scottish court, were deceived; and when at last the bubble broke, and it was discovered that, from first to last, Elizabeth had been playing her usual dark and double game under the mask of friendship, the indignation of the sufferers was roused, as might have been expected, to the highest pitch.

Under these circumstances, and when agitated by such feelings, Mary saw the Lord Darnley, the eldest son of the Earl of Lennox, who, with his father, had lately returned to Scotland. This young nobleman could boast of a royal descent, his grandmother being a sister of Henry the Eighth, and he himself, next to Mary, the nearest heir to the English throne. He was now in his twenty-first year, and had not yet discovered that weak intellect and propensity to low vices which betrayed themselves soon after his marriage. It was the misfortune of the Scottish queen that she acted under impulses. She had been deceived by Elizabeth, and she determined to show her that she could choose for herself. Without giving herself time to study his disposition, and abstaining from any previous communication of her intentions to England, she selected Darnley as her future husband, and dispatched Lethington to Elizabeth, not, as before, to ask her counsel, but to inform her of her resolution.

The consequences of this step were extraordinary. Darnley and his father were strongly suspected of being Roman Catholics. Murray and Lethington saw in this alliance little else than the demolition of their own power; the party of Knox and the kirk anticipated the restoration of the ancient religion; and Elizabeth not only declared herself hostile to the alliance, but bitterly accused the Scottish queen, insisted that Lennox and

Darnley were English, not Scottish subjects, and sent them orders to repair instantly to her court. It was hardly to be expected that so ridiculous a command should be obeyed, and the opposition of England only rendered Mary more determined upon the marriage. A convention of her nobility was held at Stirling; it was numerously attended; the queen communicated to them her intention of marrying Darnley; the measure was approved without a dissentient voice; and, although Murray, and the faction with whom he acted, attempted to instigate the people to opposition and rebellion, the endeavor was signally unsuccessful, and the queen carried her wishes into effect. She was married to Darnley in the chapel of Holyrood, on the 29th of July, 1565.

Previously to the queen's marriage, Murray, Argyll, Lethington, and the party of the kirk had been encouraged by Elizabeth to rise against their sovereign; and had they received from the English queen the substantial assistance which she promised, the result might have led to the dethronement of her whom they represented as the oppressor of her nobility, and the bitter enemy of the truth. But their schemes were defeated by the energy and promptitude of the Scottish queen and the timid parsimony of her sister of England. It was in vain that Murray and his brother insurgents reminded Cecil of their desperate situation, and the necessity of speedy assistance both in money and in soldiers. Neither the one nor the other could be wrung from Elizabeth. They were proclaimed traitors, driven from one position to another by the Queen of Scots, who herself headed the forces which she led against them, and were at last compelled to fly to England and throw themselves upon the protection of Elizabeth. To their dismay she disowned and repulsed them; upbraided Murray as a traitor to his royal mistress; and, although herself the encourager of their revolt, compelled them publicly to declare that she knew nothing of the matter. They were then dismissed from the queen's presence,

and permitted to retire to Carlisle, where the Earl of Bedford received secret instructions to supply their wants during their banishment.

While such was the course of events in England, Mary's satisfaction in the triumph over her rebels was grievously diminished by discovering that her husband was weak and profligate, the dupe of every artful companion whom he met, and unworthy of the confidence and affection with which she had treated him in the first ardor of her passion. To entrust him with any responsible share in the government was impossible; and Murray's friends who remained at court, and watched the increasing estrangement between the queen and her husband, determined to turn it to their advantage.

It was the misfortune of the Scottish queen that she had few or no servants whom she could trust. Her secretary, Maitland of Lethington, had betrayed her interests to Elizabeth, and was in disgrace, and, in the meantime, the queen had availed herself of the services of Riccio, her foreign secretary. This person had entered her service at first as a singer in her band, but afterwards, by his skill and fidelity, he raised himself to this confidential employment, much to the annoyance of the young king, who regarded him with peculiar aversion; and, incredible as it may appear, Darnley having persuaded himself that he had stolen from him the affection of the young queen, resolved to assassinate him. Nor was it difficult, among a fierce and unscrupulous nobility, to find associates in his flagitious schemes. His father, the Earl of Lennox, Morton, the lord chancellor, Lethington, the ex-secretary, Murray and his friends who were in banishment, and many of the stern supporters of the reformation, who suspected Riccio of intriguing with the papal court, willingly joined in the conspiracy. The parliament was at hand in which it was intended to pronounce sentence against the banished lords; it had been reported that measures were in preparation for the establishment of the Roman



Catholic faith ; and it was determined to arrest both the one and the other by striking the blow against Riccio. Accordingly, when Mary, who was then six months gone with child, sat at supper in a small cabinet adjoining her bed-room in the palace of Holyrood, the king led the conspirators up a secret stair which communicated with the apartment, while the Earl of Morton with a band of armed soldiers seized the gates of the palace. The Countess of Argyll, Erskine, captain of her guard, the comptroller of her household, Riccio, her secretary, and one or two domestic servants formed the queen's party, some sitting at table and others being in attendance. Indeed, the little closet or cabinet was so small that three or four persons could with difficulty have seated themselves. But its narrow dimensions prevented escape and favored the ferocious purposes of the conspirators. Led by the king they burst into the cabinet, overturned the table, and threw themselves upon Riccio, who sprung for protection behind the queen. In a moment his fate was decided. One ruffian threatened Mary with his dagger, another held a pistol to her breast, a third, snatching the king's dagger, stabbed Riccio over her shoulder ; and at last tearing him from the closet, amidst the shrieks of the women, and the shouts and execrations of the conspirators, they dispatched him, or rather cut him to pieces in an adjoining apartment, with fifty-six wounds.

After this atrocious murder, which, considering the situation of the queen, might have caused her and her infant their lives, the conspirators detained her as a prisoner in her palace, permitted no one but the king and their own party to hold any communication with her ; and having been joined next morning by the Earl of Murray and the exiles from Carlisle, it was determined to make a complete change in the government. Darnley, weak and profligate as he was, they rewarded by placing at the head of their new system, being well aware that he would soon be their tool. The queen was

to be confined in Stirling till she should consent to the full establishment of the reformed religion ; and the Earl of Murray and his associates were to be restored to their former favor and power. In a single day all these intentions were overturned. Mary, left alone with her husband, regained her ascendancy over him ; she convinced him of the perfidy of Morton, Ruthven, and his associates, obtained from him a confession of all the secrets of the conspiracy, escaped with him to Dunbar, and being instantly joined by eight thousand men, advanced with such rapidity against the conspirators, that they fled in dismay to Berwick, and solicited the protection of Elizabeth.

Darnley, in his confessions to Mary, had betrayed his brother conspirators, whilst he solemnly asserted his own innocence ; but Morton and his associates produced in their own defence various bonds and letters, which were signed by the king, and fully established his guilt ; and Mary saw, to her inexpressible grief and disgust, that the cruel outrage was planned by her husband. From this moment this miserable prince became an object of contempt and aversion to all. His conduct had been a tissue of cowardice, cruelty, falsehood, and weakness ; to treat him with confidence, or to entrust to him any share in the government was impossible ; and the unhappy queen, without a stay to rest on, fell into a state of the deepest despondency. Under these complicated difficulties, the queen pursued the course which she deemed most likely to ensure success. She broke with none, pardoned some of the conspirators, affected to believe her husband, hoping even against hope, and restored Murray to some portion of the power of which he had been deprived. Such was the state of things when, the period of her confinement having arrived, she gave birth to a son in the castle of Edinburgh. The child was named James Charles, and on the death of Elizabeth succeeded to the English throne.

When her recovery permitted Mary to attend to the affairs of the country, it was ap

parent that unless immediate steps were taken to establish something like a strong government, the kingdom would fall to pieces; and yet, such was the weakness and treacherous nature of the king, that to admit him to a share in it was impossible. She next turned to her nobles. Of these the most powerful were Murray, Bothwell, Huntly, Argyll, Lennox, Morton, and Lethington; but there had long existed a feud between Murray and Bothwell, while Morton, Lethington, Lennox, and their partizans were still in disgrace for the murder of Riccio. It was necessary to make an effort, and the queen succeeded in reconciling Murray to Bothwell; Huntly was made chancellor, Lethington, was pardoned and restored to his office of secretary; while Murray, Argyll, his brother-in-law, and Bothwell, were entrusted with the chief management of affairs.

Enraged at his exclusion from power, the king sullenly retired from court, threatened to murder the Earl of Murray, and at last declared he would leave the kingdom. It was in vain that his father remonstrated against his resolution; in vain that the queen herself, leading him before her council, conjured him to detail his grievances, and if she had injured him in any respect, to accuse her without reserve. He declared she had herself given him no cause of complaint; but afterwards, in a letter, he complained that he had no power in the state, that he was neglected by the nobility, and would bear it no longer. Soon after this the unhappy princess was seized by a fever at Jedburgh, during which her life was despaired of. Her enemies ascribed it to the injurious effects of a rapid ride which she took from Jedburgh to visit Bothwell, who had been wounded in a skirmish with some border thieves; it had more probably its origin in that anxiety which followed the conduct of Darnley; but be this as it may, she recovered only to be the victim of more aggravated sufferings. Partial reconciliations were followed by no revival of affection or

confidence; and in the anguish of a wounded spirit, she sometimes lamented that she had not died at Jedburgh.

It was in this season of depression and despair that Murray and Maitland proposed to her a divorce from the king. They had previously confided their project to Huntly, Argyll, and Bothwell; and at first Mary seemed inclined to follow their advice, provided the divorce could be lawfully procured, and without prejudice to her child. But after weighing the whole matter, her opinion changed, and when Maitland urged that means could be found to free her of Darnley without injury to her son, declaring that Murray would look on and say nothing against it, she broke off the conference. "I will," she said, "that ye do nothing through which any spot may be laid to my honor or conscience; let the matter be in the state it is, abiding till God of his goodness put remedy thereto."

Having failed in this device, a conspiracy for the murder of the king was entered into by Maitland, Bothwell, Huntly, Argyll, and Sir James Balfour. It has been disputed whether Murray was, or was not, a party to this atrocious design. Such was the state of matters when the baptism of the young prince took place at Stirling. From this ceremony the king obstinately absented himself, alleging in excuse the neglect and rigor with which he was treated. Soon afterwards he left the court and retired to Glasgow, where he was seized with the small pox, and appeared in imminent danger. His situation appeared to awaken the tenderness of the queen, she sent her own physician to wait on him, and soon after visited him herself, and administered to his wants. When his convalescence permitted him to be removed, she returned with him to Edinburgh, and placed him, for the benefit of the air, in a house in the suburbs called the Kirk-of-Field. It was here that the conspirators determined to carry their dreadful purpose into effect. At the solicitation of Elizabeth and the French king, Morton had been pardoned and per



mitted to return; and in a secret interview between him, Maitland and Bothwell, the particulars of the murder were arranged. Bothwell undertook the chief part, and his men having obtained access to the cellars of the Kirk-of-Field, undermined the foundation, and placed gunpowder in the cavities which they had formed. According to another account, they deposited it in the queen's bed-chamber, which was immediately under that of the king. While all this had been secretly carrying into effect, Mary continued her attendance upon Darnley; their reconciliation appeared to be perfect, she often slept in the house, and on the evening of the 9th of February, when she took leave of him to attend a marriage of one of her servants, which was to be held at the palace, it was remarked that she embraced him tenderly, took a ring from her finger, and placed it on his. On that night, after she had retired to her chamber in the palace, a sudden and terrific explosion was heard, which shook the city, and it was soon discovered that the Kirk-of-Field was blown up. The dead bodies of the king and his page were found at a little distance in the garden. It is well known that this miserable catastrophe has given rise to a celebrated historical controversy, in which authors of great name and talents have taken different sides; some insisting that the queen was cognizant of the plot for the murder of her husband, and others as positively asserting the contrary. The limits of this historical sketch render it impossible that we should enter into its details. In the preceding narrative we have carefully avoided the introduction of a single controverted fact; in the sequel we shall as sedulously follow the same rule.

Scarcely were the citizens of the capital recovered from the horror and dismay which was incident to such a calamity, when bills appeared on the walls of the Tolbooth, which accused Bothwell of the murder, and added that the queen had assented to it. Soon afterwards, the Earl of Lennox, the unhappy father of the late king, earnestly required

the imprisonment of the persons named in the anonymous handbills, and Bothwell declaring his innocence, demanded an instant trial. It was granted, and Lennox received due notice of it; but on the day of trial Bothwell appeared surrounded by upwards of four thousand of his friends and adherents; and Lennox, intimidated by the array, or finding it impossible to collect sufficient proof, requested an adjournment. This, however, was peremptorily refused, and the accused was acquitted by the jury, who considered it established by sufficient evidence that Bothwell could not have been at the Kirk-of-Field when the explosion took place.

Soon after this acquittal the parliament assembled, and the majority of the nobility prevailed upon the queen to consent to an act by which all the grants of crown property which had been made during the present reign were confirmed, and herself and her successors deprived of all power of revocation. In the same assembly of the estates, the verdict passed upon Bothwell, which many accused as informal, was declared just and legal, and soon afterwards a bond was drawn up by twenty-four of the principal peers. It affirmed in solemn terms the innocence of this profligate baron, whom the public clamor still denounced as the murderer of the king; recommended him as a proper husband to the queen; and bound its authors, as they should answer to God, to defend him from all danger, and to promote this unhallowed marriage to the utmost of their power and ability. The tragedy now hurried on to its conclusion. Bothwell, at the head of a thousand men, intercepted the queen on her way from Stirling to Edinburgh, and carried her captive, with the slender suite by whom she was accompanied, to Dunbar castle. Among her attendants were Huntly, Maitland, and Melville, but the first two were in Bothwell's interest, and had signed the bond. The last was completely in his power, and so was the unfortunate queen. He proposed marriage, and on her refusal exhibited the bond signed by her nobles. She still, it is said, resisted

his request, and hoped for a rescue; but it was a vain expectation. He became more peremptory, and if we may trust the expressions of Mary, corroborated by Melville and her enemies, he compelled her by fear, force, and other unlawful means, to yield to his wishes, and admit him to her bed. From Dunbar he now carried his victim to Edinburgh. A divorce was procured from his wife on the ground of adultery, and the process having been hurried through the court, and the sentence passed, Bothwell was married to the queen at Holyrood, within a month after his acquittal of the murder of her husband, (May 15, 1567.)

Events of the deepest and most tragic interest now crowded on each other. The nobles who had advised the marriage, who had acquitted Bothwell, and abetted him in his career of ambition and outrage, at once dropped the mask, assembled their forces, and declared their determination to separate the queen from the murderer of her husband. As they advanced and occupied Edinburgh, the earl and the queen retired; but in a few days they found themselves strong enough to confront their enemy on Carberry hill, near Musselburgh. Both factions, however, seemed anxious to avoid a battle, and an extraordinary agreement took place. Bothwell, whom they had declared their determination to seize, and punish as the murderer of his sovereign, was permitted, without molestation, to ride off the field. The queen was assured of their unshaken fidelity; and so completely did she credit their asseverations, that she gave her hand to Grange, and suffering him to lead her to his associates, was conducted by them to the capital.

Within an hour she discovered that she had surrendered herself to her mortal enemies. On her entering the city, a furious mob assailed her with execrations, and displayed before her a broad banner bearing the figure of her murdered husband. Amidst these indignities she was carried to a house, where she was so strictly guarded, that not even her maids were allowed access. And on the succeeding

evening she was conveyed by the Lords Lindsay and Ruthven a prisoner to Lochleven, a strong castle in the middle of a lake, from which all escape seemed hopeless.

From those who had thus shamelessly broken their solemn engagement, little less could be looked for but additional indignity and outrage. Mary was soon visited in her prison by Lord Lindsay of the Byres, whose fierce temper and brutal manners peculiarly fitted him for the mission on which he was sent. He presented to her three written instruments. By the first she was made to resign the crown in favor of her son; by the second, the Earl of Murray was nominated regent during the king's minority; by the third, a temporary regency was appointed to act until Murray returned from the continent. When Lindsay threw those deeds on the table, he plainly informed the queen that no alternative was left, but either to sign them without delay, or prepare for death, as the murderer of her husband. We are not to wonder that, aware that her life was in the hands of her bitterest enemies, Mary instantly obeyed.

The king was now crowned, and Murray having arrived from France, assumed the regency, and entered upon the cares of the government. He had not, however for many months enjoyed the sweets of power, when the queen, by the assistance and ingenuity of a youth of sixteen, named Douglas, escaped in the night from Lochleven, and riding first to Seaton, and next day to Hamilton, soon found herself surrounded by a band of her nobles, and at the head of six thousand men. Mary was desirous to avoid war, and addressed repeated pacific proposals to the regent, who was then at Glasgow. She offered to call a free parliament; she was ready to deliver up to justice all whom he accused as guilty of the murder, provided those whom she arraigned of the same crime were also delivered up. This was peremptorily refused, her messengers were arrested, her adherents denounced as traitors; and the queen, aware that it must come to the deci-



sion of the sword, determined to await the arrival of additional forces, when she was hurried into an engagement with the regent, who threw himself in her way at Langside, as she was on her march from Hamilton to Dunbar. The result was calamitous. Her army was completely defeated, and she herself compelled to fly from the field with a slender train, who rode to Dundrennan, a distance of sixty miles, before they draw bridle.

Next day she intimated her resolution of throwing herself on the protection of Elizabeth. From this step her friends passionately dissuaded her; but she declared she would trust to the assurances which she had received from her good sister; and crossing the Solway, she proceeded through Cockermouth to Carlisle. The return for this act of generous confidence and devotedness is well known. Elizabeth refused to see her, gave orders that she should be detained, kept her in prison a miserable and heart-broken captive for fourteen years, and at last brought her to the scaffold.

The imprisonment of Mary left Murray the undisturbed possessor of the supreme power in Scotland; but the queen strenuously and indignantly asserted her innocence of the atrocious crimes of which she was accused; and as the English queen could bring forward no possible justification of her conduct in retaining Mary, except her alleged accession to the murder, it was evident that an investigation of the circumstances, if demanded by the accused party, could not in justice be refused. Mary offered to hear the accusation of her enemies in the presence of Elizabeth, and in the same presence to undertake her defence; but this was denied her. It was then proposed by the English ministers that she should consent to a public trial; but this she rejected as beneath the dignity of an independent sovereign. It was lastly suggested that her enemies should be summoned to produce their proofs before certain English and Scottish commissioners, and that the cause should be left to their decision.

A commission was accordingly held at York, but it led to political intrigues rather than judicial investigation. After some interval Murray was summoned to hold a private interview with Elizabeth at Westminster; and Mary again demanded to be admitted to the same presence, and confronted with her accuser. This was denied, while the English queen permitted Murray to bring forward his charge, and to attempt to substantiate it by letters, affirmed to be in the queen's hand-writing, addressed to Bothwell, and conclusive, as he contended, of her guilt. Again Mary demanded by her commissioners to be heard personally in her defence; and this being refused, they protested against further proceedings, and declared the conference at an end. Cecil, however, insisted that the inquiry should proceed; and having procured all the evidence which he judged necessary, he attempted to persuade the Scottish queen, as the only way of avoiding an ignominious exposure, to resign her crown. Her reply disconcerted him. "They have accused me," she said, "of the murder of my husband. It is a false and calumnious lie. It was themselves that counselled and contrived the murder, some of them were even its executioners. Give me what I am justly entitled to, copies of the letters they have produced; let me see and examine the originals, and I pledge myself, in presence of the queen, to convict them of the atrocious crime they have had the audacity to impute to me." This bold and unexpected tone embarrassed Elizabeth; and Mary having repeated her charge, insisted on having copies of the letters produced against her. The English queen evaded the request, and advised her to resign her crown. To this she declared that no persuasion would ever induce her; and under such circumstances the conferences were abruptly terminated. Murray, with his associates, received permission to return to Scotland. He carried away with him those alleged original letters, which the party whom they inculpated was never permitted, to examine; and he left behind him copies,

which were also concealed from Mary and her commissioners. It is from these copies which the accused was never permitted to compare with the originals, that future authors have been obliged to infer the guilt or innocence of the queen; and certainly, if the opinion of Elizabeth is entitled to weight, it is clear that she considered the proof as defective.

The subsequent career of Murray was bold and brief. He found himself called to contest with a party, headed by the Duke of Norfolk in England, and by Maitland and Grange in Scotland, whose object was, the restoration of the Scottish queen, and her marriage to Norfolk. The project had been encouraged by the regent, whether at first sincerely or for selfish and ambitious purposes, is not clear; but in the end he betrayed the plot to Elizabeth, and was the main instrument in bringing this unfortunate nobleman to the scaffold.

The principles on which his government was conducted were entirely Protestant and English; and Elizabeth, who knew well and valued so able an assistant, cordially co-operated with him to overwhelm the queen's friends, and to extinguish all hopes of the Roman Catholic party in either country. But the task was more difficult than had been anticipated. She succeeded indeed in extinguishing the great rebellion, led by the Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland; but Murray found it impossible to prevent the intrigues of such men as Maitland, Grange and their associates, who had known him long, and having assisted to raise him to the supreme power, were indignant to find themselves treated with severity or neglect. It was in the midst of this struggle between the regent and his former associates in ambition and guilt, that he was assassinated in the streets of Linlithgow, by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, who was incited to this act of revenge by a private injury, of which Murray was only the remote cause.

His death found Scotland divided between two parties. On the one side were the Pro-

testants who adhered to the young king, and regarded Elizabeth as their protector; on the other the queen's friends, who, being animated with the utmost rancor against their opponents, prepared instantly to appeal to the sword. Previously to this, however, they assembled a parliament at Edinburgh, and fulminated denunciations of treason against their enemies; while the Protestants in their turn having chosen the Earl of Lennox regent, convoked the estates at Stirling, and soon afterwards having made themselves masters of Dunbarton by a successful night attack, they took prisoner the Archbishop of St. Andrews, who had shut himself up in the fortress, and executed him on the instant, without even the semblance of a trial. This outrage led to retaliation, and a civil war, remarkable for its ferocity, began to spread havoc through the country.

Into the details of the contest we cannot enter; and indeed it had lasted but a short time, when Lennox was slain in a skirmish at Stirling, and the Earl of Mar, one of the most upright-minded and honorable noblemen in Scotland, was chosen to supply the vacant regency. To promote a reconciliation between the two factions, and to restore peace, order, and security of property, to a country distracted by intestine war, was the single purpose to which the new governor devoted himself; but he was thwarted by the ambition of Morton, and many of the higher nobles. These had so long been accustomed to derive individual advantage from public misery, that they labored as earnestly to increase the contentions of the two parties, as Mar to remove them; and the governor, at last worn out by the struggle, and hopeless of effecting a reconciliation, sank into the grave.

He was succeeded in the regency by the Earl of Morton, a man who has been justly described as possessing all the faults, some of the talents, but none of the good qualities of the regent Murray, of whom he was an old and tried ally. On his accession to the supreme power, the regent found the friends



of the imprisoned queen still able to make head against him. The Duke of Norfolk, who had been pardoned by Elizabeth, resumed his project of marrying Mary, and engaged in a correspondence with her. The Duke of Chastelherault, and the Earl of Huntly, Lord Claud Hamilton, the lairds of Buccleugh and Fernihirst, with the indefatigable Maitland, and Grange, who was reputed the best soldier in Scotland, still supported her cause. Morton, however, strong in his own resources, and supported by Elizabeth, continued the war with success, and at last triumphed over opposition. Norfolk was brought to the scaffold, and the Earl of Northumberland, treacherously delivered up by the Scottish regent, shared a similar fate. At last the castle of Edinburgh was invested by Sir William Drury, who joined the Scottish army with a formidable battering train. In this fortress, the single remaining hope of the Queen of Scots, Kirkaldy of Grange commanded; and he held it bravely till the walls were destroyed, his guns silenced, and his provisions exhausted. Under these circumstances he surrendered, with his companion Maitland. To this step, Drury had induced him by a promise of favorable terms; but the English queen disregarded the stipulation, and handed over the prisoners to Morton. Kirkaldy and his brother were immediately executed, and Maitland only escaped the same scaffold by taking poison.

Morton now deemed himself so strong as to be independent of all parties, and his avarice and spoliations knew no bounds. He oppressed the church, of whom he had formerly affected to be the steadiest patron; and treated the young king and the nobles with so much haughtiness and severity, that he soon became an object of universal dread and hatred. James was now twelve years old, and it was not difficult for a faction of the nobles, who detested the regent, to persuade the young monarch that he ought no longer to be treated as a child. Acting by their advice, he accordingly summoned a

parliament. It was numerous attended and Morton, to the astonishment of all, the moment he learned the king's wishes, declared his willingness to carry them into effect, and instantly resigned his regency. This ready and implicit submission was rewarded by the passing of an act of indemnity, which included a general pardon for any alleged transgressions, and ratified his whole conduct as regent. It is in his anxiety to procure this, that we are to find the secret of his sudden relinquishment of the supreme power; and scarcely was it procured when this extraordinary man, by means of a successful intrigue with a portion of the family of Mar, found means again to become master of the king's person, and re-emerged into as great power and ascendancy as before. His usurpation, however, was this time more short lived. Atholl, Argyll, and some of the most powerful nobles, assembled their forces, and declared their resolution to liberate the sovereign from his ignominious captivity. Instead of a battle, however, the opposite factions came to a compromise, by which the veteran tyrant was shorn of a large part of his power, and the young king recovered something of his independence.

James began now to show that strong propensity to favoritism which marked his future career; and the effects of this weakness were seen in the sudden rise into power of Esmé Stewart, Duke of Lennox, and Captain Stewart, second son of Lord Ochiltree, and afterwards the notorious Earl of Arran. Of these, the first was a high-born nobleman, of graceful address, amiable feelings, and commonplace understanding; but the second, of birth and connections much inferior to Lennox, was ambitious, intriguing, daring, and unprincipled, and soon managed to gain an influence over both the young king, and the duke his favorite. With these advantages, an overwhelming opposition was soon raised against Morton; and as his exactions and cruelty had made him universally odious, it was in vain that his steady friend, the English queen, interposed to save him.

Her interference indeed rather accelerated his fate, and the news that she meditated an invasion, roused the spirit of the young king and of his people to instant opposition. When Elizabeth, however, received intelligence that a Scottish army was assembled, she prudently withdrew from the contest; and Morton abandoned to his fate, was arraigned as an accomplice in the king's murder, at the instance of Captain Stewart, who had recently been created Earl of Arran. Of his guilt there can be little doubt, and he himself, after the jury brought in their verdict, and he had received sentence of death, acknowledged that he was privy to the intended murder. But his trial was conducted even in those days of prostituted justice, with a reckless disregard of every form of law; and all were aware that the jury, of whom many were his bitter enemies, would, under any circumstances, have found him guilty. He died as he had lived, boldly, expressing a calm contempt of death, and exhibiting all the outward marks of repentance.

The death of Morton was followed by the nominal accession of the young king to the supreme power, but by the actual transmission of that power into the hands of his favorites, Lennox and Arran. This last nobleman, owing to the weak and flexible character of Lennox, soon came to rule all, and his rapacity, profligacy, and open defiance of public opinion, completely disgusted the nation. The result was a conspiracy for his ruin, headed by the Earl of Gowrie. This nobleman and his associates having contrived to make themselves masters of the king's person, at the castle of Ruthven, and having removed Lennox and Arran from all authority in the state, directed the government as they judged best for their own interests. But the character of the king, although full of many strange contradictions, began now to exhibit a greater degree of talent and energy than his opponents were aware of; and although compelled to dissemble, and showing no symptoms of discontent with this

change of masters, James was really disgusted with the durance in which he was held by Gowrie and his faction. With an ability which proved the more successful, because his adversaries were unprepared for it, he contrived to organize a party, and free himself from his servitude; but it happened unfortunately that at this crisis the Earl of Arran regained his liberty, and returning to court, soon resumed his baneful influence over the fond and facile monarch. It was by his advice that the king, who had first been inclined to use his victory over the faction of Gowrie with moderation, exchanged this wise resolution for vindictive measures; and although Elizabeth strongly remonstrated against it, he brought Gowrie to the scaffold, and drove his associates into banishment.

Arran was now supremely powerful; but the venality, tyranny, and abuses of his government, soon became intolerable, and worked their own cure by producing a counter-revolution, in which the despotic favorite, after having first courted and then quarreled with the Scottish church, in vain attempted to recover his influence by means of the English queen, and was at last chased from court by the associated lords, who made themselves masters of the king's person. A government, upon a model which admitted the principal nobility to share in the councils of the state, was now established; and Arran, deserted by all parties, sank into insignificance.

It was impossible that Mary, who had been detained a captive by Elizabeth, contrary to every principle of honor and justice, should not have exerted herself to regain her freedom; and the Roman Catholic party in England were not only interested in her success, but regarded her as their best security against Elizabeth and the Protestant faith. This led to a succession of intrigues, which were discovered by the penetration and activity of Elizabeth's ministers, the discovery only serving to increase the rigor of her confinement. At last the Scottish queen having



been arraigned (unjustly as afterwards appeared) of an accession to the conspiracy of Babington, the object of which was the assassination of Elizabeth, and the restoration of the ancient religion, she was brought to trial before a commission, whose jurisdiction she at first peremptorily declined as an independent and sovereign princess. It was unfortunate for Mary that she did not continue in this resolution; but in the idea that a refusal might be construed into an admission of guilt she at last condescended to plead. The consequence was, what might have been expected from the nature of the evidence, the constitution of the court, and the supreme authority of Elizabeth. Mary was found guilty of having compassed divers matters tending to the death of the queen; and after many affected delays, and an atrocious attempt to induce her keeper, Paulet, to despatch her secretly, Elizabeth signed the warrant for her execution, which was carried into effect on the 7th of February, 1587. The meekness with which she received the intimation of her sentence, and the admirable and saintly fortitude with which she suffered, formed a striking contrast to the despair and agony which not long afterwards darkened the death-bed of the English queen.

It might have been expected that if anything could have roused the King of Scots, it would have been the cruelty and injustice to which his mother had fallen a sacrifice; and for a moment there was an ebullition of indignant feeling. But Elizabeth sent him an artful apology. The blame of the execution was laid upon Davison, her secretary, an innocent and upright man, who simply obeyed her orders, and with that unscrupulous falsehood which this princess seldom hesitated to employ when necessary to carry through her designs, the unfortunate statesman was sacrificed, that his royal mistress might escape. But the English queen had still a firmer hold over the young King of Scots. He regarded the succession to her throne as his undoubted right, and dreaded to irritate

her personal feelings, or alienate her Protestant subjects, by appearing to place himself at the head of the Roman Catholic party, who burned to avenge the death of their royal mistress. In vain, therefore, they looked to the king, who, after a short interval, relapsed into his usual pacific frame of mind, and celebrated his entrance upon majority, by an attempt to abolish those sanguinary feuds amongst his nobility, which had increased to an alarming height, and threatened to pull the country to pieces.

This laudable endeavor, which did not meet with the success it merited, was followed by James's marriage to the princess Anne of Denmark; an alliance which Elizabeth, with her usual jealous and capricious policy, endeavored to prevent. But the Scottish king, with unwonted spirit and energy, sought his bride in person in her father's court, and having solemnized his marriage at Upslo, returned with her to Scotland.

During his absence the kingdom had been unusually prosperous and happy; but it was soon afterwards embroiled by the intrigues and ambition of the Earl of Bothwell, who, leaguings with the Roman Catholic faction, attacked the palace of Holyrood with the design of seizing the king's person, and placing himself at the head of the government. A second attempt of the same kind at Falkland was not more successful; and yet such was at this time the impotent state of the law and the weakness of the royal authority, that these repeated treasons escaped unpunished, and Bothwell lived not only to defend but to repeat them.

These combined causes transformed the kingdom into a scene of almost perpetual tumult and bloodshed; but the monarch at last becoming convinced of the treasonable purposes of the Catholic earls, assembled an army, and reduced them to the last extremity of distress. Bothwell, too, was driven into exile, and the country began to breathe anew, when James found himself involved in a contest with the Protestant ministers. The cause of this dispute was the king's wish to







lean to the side of mercy in his conduct to the Catholic lords. It was reported that Huntly, their leader, had been admitted to a secret interview. The clergy, alarmed to the utmost, appealed to their congregations; they defended the conduct of Black, a minister who had openly attacked the court and the queen in a seditious harangue; they haughtily declined the authority of the privy council; and, by their violence, they excited a tumult in Edinburgh, which compelled the monarch to retire to Linlithgow. Under these trying circumstances, the king acted with extraordinary energy, and jealous of so bold an interference with his prerogative, restored tranquillity to the capital, punished the insurgent citizens, compelled the ministers to fly to England, and according to his original intentions, extended his forgiveness to the Catholic lords who made a recantation of their errors.

James, who had been alarmed at the late violence exhibited by the Presbyterian clergy, now became intent upon a plan for new-modelling the church; but when the monarch was thus employed, and his kingdom was enjoying a degree of tranquillity to which it had been long a stranger, the minds of the people were suddenly agitated by a mysterious attempt made at Perth upon the life of the king by the Earl of Gowrie and his brother Alexander Ruthven. These young men were the sons of the Earl of Gowrie who had been executed for treason, and it is probable that a desire to revenge their father's death led to their miserable and ill-concerted enterprise; but much obscurity hangs over the whole transaction. It is certain that Ruthven induced the king by a feigned

story, to accompany him with a slender train from Falkland to his brother's house at Perth. Here he contrived to separate James from his attendants, and leading him into a remote apartment, threw himself upon him, seized him by the throat, and drew his dagger. The king struggled to get to the window, and calling out "Treason," alarmed his nobles, who rushed into the room, stabbed Ruthven to the heart, and, when Gowrie attempted a rescue, put him also to death on the spot. Both these unfortunate men being slain, the utmost pains were taken to detect their associates, to unravel the plot, and to ascertain their precise object, but with so little success, that to this day the mystery is not solved.

The Queen of England, now in her seventieth year, began soon after this to droop, and her constitution, hitherto uncommonly vigorous and unimpaired, was evidently breaking up. Of all this James was well aware. He had secured the friendship and good offices of Sir Robert Cecil, her chief minister, who unknown to his mistress, carried on a secret correspondence with the Scottish king; and acting by his advice, he had employed every effort to conciliate the affections of the English people, and to acquire the support of the most powerful of the English nobility. These judicious precautions were attended with the wished-for result. James was Elizabeth's undoubted heir; and on the death of this princess, an event which took place on the 23d of March, 1603, he succeeded with the unanimous consent of the nation, to the throne of England. This great and auspicious event closes the history of Scotland as a separate kingdom.



## I R E L A N D

ACCORDING to the native historians, Partholan, the sixth in descent from Magog, Noah's second son, settled in Ireland at the head of a thousand men, and took possession of a country in which no one appeared to dispute his right of occupancy. But he did not enjoy his possession of it in tranquillity; for at the same time, or shortly afterwards, there arrived a band of lawless adventurers, of the stock of Nimrod, the descendant of Ham, who were distinguished by the name of Fomorians, or Fawmorries, a name still applied to strangers by the native Irish. With these took place a series of deadly hostilities, which terminated in a battle so bloody and so decisive, that not a single stranger was left alive; and the ground was so infected with the putrefying corpses, which the residue of the followers of Partholan were now too few and weak to inter that a plague broke out, which destroyed all the survivors, and left the country totally uninhabited for thirty years.

At the termination of this period, Nemedius, another descendant of Japhet, made a settlement on the island with a thousand men, from the borders of the Euxine. The tranquillity of his settlement was also disturbed by the incursions of tribes of Fomorians, here said to be African pirates, with whom his followers carried on an incessant warfare, but with different ultimate success; for the strangers, being reinforced with fresh supplies from their own countrymen, at length defeated the Nemedians with such slaugh-

ter, as to force the scanty remains of this second colony to return to the country whence they had originally emigrated. They took their departure in three companies. The first, under Breac, proceeded to Thrace, where they took the name of Belgæ; the second, under Jobath, proceeded no farther than Bœotia; and the third, under Bridtan, repaired to the neighboring island of Britain, where they formed the tribe of the Brigantes. From this Bridtan, the Psalter of Cashel, a record of great authority in the first and second ages of the Irish, traces the origin of the Welsh.

The Fomorians, when sole masters of the country, went to war amongst themselves, and carried their dissensions to such a height of animosity, that the island was a second time utterly depopulated, and continued so until some of the descendants of the Thracian Nemedians, to the number of about five thousand men, returned thither, under the command of the five sons of Dela. The Irish annalists distinguish this colony by the name of Fir-bolgs; a name said to be applied to tribes living in caves, whither the natives used to have recourse for shelter in cases of extremity. To this colony is attributed the division of the country into five principalities, which continued, though not without interruption, till the English invasion. The names of the states of the pentarchy were Leinster, Munster, Ulster, Connaught, and Meath. The principal chieftain of each division was honored with the title of king, a

name applied very liberally at all times to the petty dynasts who arrogated supreme authority over their own territories, however limited; but the ruler over Leinster was recognized as sovereign, to whom submission was tendered, and from whom protection was claimed, by the other members of the pen-tarchy in cases of danger. This system of government continued undisturbed for eighty years, through a succession of nine sovereign rulers, when it was broken in upon by the intrusion of another colony of the same stock, called by the Irish writers *Tuatha-na-Danans*; a name said by some to have been given them as being the descendants of the three sons of Danan, a profound adept in the art of magic, and by others, as being divided into the three tribes of *Tuatha* or commanders, *Dee*, druids or priests, and *Danan* or bards. The chronicles of the time state, that having been driven out of *Bœotia* by their inveterate enemies the *Fomorians*, after wandering through various countries, they settled in Norway, where they were hospitably received; whence they removed to Scotland, and, after a residence there of seven years, proceeded to Ireland, carrying with them several necromantic curiosities, the most remarkable of which was the fatal stone, or stone of destiny, to which tradition attached the belief that the sovereignty would remain with that nation whose king was crowned upon it. The tale would be unworthy of historical notice, were not an observance of the present day connected with the superstitious credence to which it owes its birth. The stone, after having been preserved for many generations in the line of the Irish Milesian monarchs, was taken to Scotland by a king of that family, by whom it was fraudulently detained, and used as the inauguration stone of the Scottish kings until the time of Edward I. of England, who, on his conquest of the country, transferred it, together with all the other appendages of royalty, to London, where it is still kept, under the name of Jacob's stone, and is used in the ceremonial of the coronation of the

kings of Great Britain. The Belgæ defended themselves for some time with great spirit, but they were at length totally defeated. Numbers of them withdrew to the neighboring islands and coasts of Scotland; and those who remained were reduced to a state of abject slavery, under which they remained during the whole time their enemies held the dominion, which the latter were enabled to do, without molestation from a foreign enemy, for a hundred and ninety-seven years, under a succession of nine sovereigns.

The dynasty of the *Tuatha-na-Danans* was terminated by an event similar to those which had extinguished the two previous colonies. An expedition from Spain, under the eight sons of Milesius, landed in the south-west of Ireland, and after encountering many perils, partly by the violence of a storm, by which five of the leaders were lost, partly by the resistance of the old settlers, they obtained possession of the entire country, which was divided between *Heremon* and *Heber*, two of the surviving sons of Milesius, *Emergin*, the third, having no share in the government, but acting rather as a councillor to both, a function which his literary acquirements entitled him to assume. The southern part fell to *Heber*; *Leinster* and *Connaught* to *Heremon*, who fixed his residence at *Teamor*, now called *Tarah*, in *Meath*. A war soon broke out between the brothers, which was terminated by the total defeat of *Heber*, the aggressor, who was killed in a battle fought at *Geisioil*, or *Geashil*, in the King's County. But his death did not put an end to the domestic dissensions of the family. A few years after *Heremon* put his remaining brother to death, and thus obtained the sole dominion, which he held for thirteen years, till his death. His time was chiefly employed in repelling invasions of the Britons and of the *Picts*. The government then continued through a race of twenty kings of the same family, of whom nothing worthy of mention is recorded: the annals of the period containing



merely the intestine dissensions of the chiefs of the several branches, and their wars with the Britons and Picts, until the crown descended to Ollav Fola, of the family of Ir, one of the sons of Milesius who had perished on the first landing in Ireland. During his reign, which commenced about 900 years before Christ, the Fez, or triennial meeting of the subordinate chieftains, priests, historiographers, and bards, was instituted at Teamor, or Tarah, in which, besides the regulation of all matters affecting the government and the enacting of laws, a minute investigation was entered into of the national monuments and records. Whatever was then deemed genuine and authentic, was inserted in a volume called the Psalter of Tarah. This legislator closed a reign of forty years, spent with benefit to his subjects and honor to himself, by a natural death, a circumstance very unusual in the annals of those times, and left the undisputed succession to his son, who enjoyed it for seventeen years, and also had the unusual good fortune to die in the same manner. The annals of the succeeding monarchs, for the space of 260 years, present nothing but a reiteration of war and mutual destruction, to such an extent, that out of thirty-one kings, who held the reins of government during that period, all but three are recorded to have fallen in battle, or by a violent death. The only occurrences worthy of notice that can be gleaned from the history of this barren period, are, the erection of a mint, the formation of a standing army by the allowance of a fixed pay to the soldiery, and the invention of the small boats, formed of wicker-work and covered with hides, now called corraghs.

Kimbath, who ascended the throne 460 years before Christ, has obtained an honorable celebrity by his efforts to revive and improve the institutions of Ollav Fola. He formed a national police, and regulated the artificers and tradesmen, whom he placed under the jurisdiction of a council of sixty of the nobles and learned men, without whose license no person was permitted to

practice any mechanic art. The foundation of the royal palace of Eamania, near Armagh, is attributed by some writers to him; whilst others give the credit of it to his widow, who succeeded him, and reigned seven years, when she was cut off by her successor, who in his turn fell by the hand of Hugony the Great, in revenge for the death of his foster mother. This last-named monarch, with whom the line of Heremon would have terminated had he died without issue, was married to the daughter of a king of France, and kept possession of the crown during a vigorous and active reign of thirty years. He obliged the Picts to pay tribute, and extended his dominion over the Western Isles. He also abolished the pentarchical form of government, dividing the country into twenty-five provinces, over each of which he placed one of his twenty-five sons, and causing the public revenues to be collected according to this arrangement. But neither his virtues nor his abilities were sufficient to save him from the usual fate of Irish monarchs, nor to prevent the recurrence of acts of slaughter amongst his posterity. He was slain, after a reign of thirty years, by his own brother, who fell by the hand of one of Hugony's sons, who in his turn perished by the treachery of his only brother. Amongst the successors of Hugony, Eochy, surnamed Feileagh, or the Melancholy, has made his reign memorable by founding the royal seat of Croghan, in Connaught. It is also celebrated as being the era of the red-branch knights of Ulster, who were said to have had a residence at the palace of Eamania. His successor Eochy introduced the custom of burying in graves instead of burning. Conary More, who reigned for thirty years, according to some writers, and sixty according to others, is famous for having enjoyed the longest, happiest, and most tranquil reign in Irish history. Such periods are not those which furnish most materials for the annalist. Of the particulars of his life, though so highly celebrated, little is recorded. He was killed in battle by the King of Wales,

though other accounts state that he was treacherously burned in his own palace of Teamor, which also became a prey to the flames. In the reign of Crimthan, one of his successors, who had married the daughter of a Pictish chieftain, the Irish were the auxiliaries of the Piets against the Romans. The information of the leader of a rival faction to this prince is said to have induced Agricola to entertain the idea of conquering the island with a single legion and some auxiliaries. Whatever might have been the result of such an invasion under a general of acknowledged military talents, it is certain that the Roman power in Britain declined so rapidly from this time, that the Irish made frequent irruptions into the Roman province, and returned to their own country loaded with spoil. Feredach, one of the successors of Crimthan, owes his title of the Just to his chief councillor Moran, whose rigid impartiality in the dispensation of justice is recorded, in the figurative language of the bards, under the allegory of a collar, invented and handed down by him to his successors in office, which had the supernatural effect of pressing upon the neck of the wearer in case his decision deviated from the strict rule of equity, so as to strangle him if he persevered in his iniquity. Feredach was killed after an unsettled reign of seven years, by an insurrection of the peasantry, to whom the name of Attacots was given; a name which afterwards was carried into North Britain, where, though at first applied to disturbers of the public peace, it ultimately became the distinguishing title of a tribe inhabiting the country adjoining the Roman wall. After a period of civil commotion, Tuathal, upon attaining the sovereign power, exerted himself to restore the ancient constitution of Ollav Fola, and the patriarchal division of the country. To him is attributed the appropriation of the central province of Meath, as a demesne or mensal land for the supreme monarch. Here, he restored the royal residence, and founded an edifice for the sacred fire, to which the Druids

and priests were to have recourse on the last day of October, to perform a solemn sacrifice, and to supply fire to all the people, who were bound to extinguish their usual fires at that time, and to relight them from this hallowed source. He built similar palaces and temples at Uisneacht in Connaught, at Flaodha in Munster, and at Tailtean in Ulster, where there was a fair, to which parents brought their grown-up children and contracted them in marriage. He also was the originator of the fine, afterwards known by the name of the Boromé, or Leinster tribute, imposed upon the king of that province for having caused the death of two daughters of Tuathal, whom he inveigled away under a treacherous promise of marriage. This monarch died in battle. The reign of Conn Keadcahagh, or Conn of the Hundred Battles, is best known by the division of Ireland which he was compelled to make with Mogha Nuod, King of Munster. The line of demarcation was fixed by a rampart and fosse, extending across Ireland from Dublin to Galway, the country to the south of which was called Leagh Mogha, or Mogha's share, that to the north Leagh Cuin, or Conn's share; names still familiar among the Irish. Cormac, the grandson of Conn of the Hundred Battles, signalized himself by his efforts to restore the ancient regulations of the monarchy; but having lost an eye in suppressing a rebellion excited by one of his own family, and being thus excluded from the throne through the prevalence of a prejudice which forbade a mutilated person to continue monarch, he closed his life in retirement, during which he drew up a treatise, yet extant, called the Book of Advice to Kings; a work extolled by the native writers as worthy to be written in letters of gold, a perfect standard of policy to all ages. In his reign flourished the celebrated Irish militia, known by the name of Fiana Erion, and commanded by Fein M'Cooil, commonly called Fingal. It was a military association into which admission was attainable only by convincing testimonies of great strength, ac-



tivity, and intelligence; besides which, an engagement was required on the part of the newly-admitted member to choose a wife solely for her merits, never to ill-treat a woman, and not to turn his back upon an enemy, even though nine times as numerous as the body to which he belonged. The regular number of this force was said to be nine thousand men, divided into three battalions. After a variety of exploits, which have furnished materials to much of the legendary romance of the time, the body was annihilated during the succeeding reign, at the battle of Gabra or Gawra, in Meath, where Oscar, the son of Ossian the poet, fell. Passing over a series of several kings known only by name, Nial of the Nine Hostages signalized himself by his military expeditions in Scotland, England and France. His career of conquest was cut short in the last-named country, where he died of the wound of an arrow treacherously discharged against him on the banks of the Loire. His immediate successor, Dahy, met with an untimely fate in the same country by lightning. He was the last pagan king of Ireland. In the third year of Logary, or Lac-ra, who succeeded Dahy, Palladius arrived in Ireland, being sent on a mission thither by Pope Celestine for the conversion of the natives. He was not, however, the first who had been thus employed. The names of St. Albe, Declan, Iber, and Kirian, are quoted as his predecessors in the pious work. But their labors were confined to particular districts, nor does it appear that they acted under the authority of the see of Rome. Either through ignorance of the language, or want of spirit to withstand the ferocious opposition of his pagan adversaries, Palladius was compelled, after having founded three churches, to relinquish the design, and to quit the country, in order to save his own life and those of his followers; but he was prevented by death from returning to Rome to give an account of his mission. The completion of the work so inauspiciously commenced was reserved for St. Patrick, whose success has acquired

for him the title of the Apostle of Ireland. He was a native of North Britain. When sixteen years old he was brought prisoner to Ireland by Nial of the Nine Hostages, during one of his foreign expeditions, and spent seven years in slavery in the country, where his employment was the herding of swine. The law of bondage at that time extended no longer than the seventh year, at the expiration of which time he returned to his native country; and, after having studied under his uncle, the Bishop of Tours, he found his way to Rome, where he was selected by the pope to renew the attempt which had already failed; an undertaking for which his knowledge of the language, acquired during his captivity, peculiarly qualified him. To Ireland, therefore, he proceeded with twenty disciples or assistants, which number was increased to thirty-four in England, where he touched during his voyage. His first reception on his landing at Wicklow was very discouraging. The report of his arrival had already reached the Pagan prince who had expelled his predecessor. The same spirit of hostility was directed against the new comer, and Patrick and his company were assailed and forced to take refuge on board their ships. But, though discouraged, he was not disheartened. Instead of relinquishing his purpose, he proceeded to the island afterwards named Holm-patrick, where, having refreshed himself by a short leisure, he proceeded to Ulster, and preached before the chieftain of the district so forcibly as to convert him and his family, and to obtain license to found a church there. In the second year of his mission he presented himself before the Fez, or council at Tarah, where he proved equally successful, Logary the king declaring himself a convert, and many of his subjects following his example. Nor does it appear that the subsequent progress of the apostle was checked by any untoward circumstance. The remainder of his life, which was protracted to an unusual length, was spent in traversing the country, spreading around a knowledge of the Chris-

tian doctrine, gaining over converts, and founding churches and monasteries. The chief of his religious foundations was at Armagh, which soon became a school of theology, so famous that students flocked to it from all quarters in such numbers, that at one time it was said to have communicated instruction to seven thousand students. The exertions of Patrick were not wholly confined to the preaching of the gospel. He gave his advice and assistance in the reformation of the government. At his suggestion, Logary summoned an assembly of the princes, historians, and antiquaries, to revise the records and chronicles of the country; and their amendments were deposited in the public archives, under the name of "The Great Antiquity." Fragments of copies taken from this work were to be met with for many centuries afterwards, under the names of the Book of Armagh, the Psalter of Cashel, the Book of Glandaloch, the Leabhar Gabala, and others, from which subsequent writers have derived much of their information respecting the ancient history of the country. Patrick did not retain the government of the bishopric erected by himself in Armagh; but having appointed Binen, or Benignus, his successor in the see, and having made a visit to Rome, he spent the remainder of his life chiefly at Saul, near Downpatrick, where he had founded a monastery, in which he closed a career of active and successful labors, in the hundred and twentieth year of his age, and was buried in the neighboring abbey of Downpatrick.

Although the exertions of St. Patrick produced an effect so great upon the public mind that, for many years after, the founding of religious institutions, and the lives and deaths of the ecclesiastics engaged in maintaining and extending the new faith, formed the chief subjects of history, it does not appear that the change of religion produced the beneficial alteration that might have been hoped for from it on the political aspect of affairs. The brief notices of the civil occurrences continue to exhibit little more than

a reiteration of the turbulence, crime, and desolation, that had marked the era of paganism. The only event of importance that diversifies the tissue of domestic and foreign warfare which forms the subject of the annals of those days, occurred during the reign of Hugh, the son of Aimmireagh, in which an assemblage was convened at Drumkeath, in Derry, for the express purpose of curbing the license of the bards, now become intolerable. The privileges annexed of old to this order, whose properties as well as persons were inviolable in all civil commotions, whose lands were freed from tribute, and whose houses were respected as sanctuaries, had rendered the numbers of the profession so great, and entailed such a burden on the state for their support, that they were several times before about to be banished from the country. At the assembly now held, they found a zealous and useful friend in the celebrated Columkill, who left his monastery of Iona to be present here, and prevailed so far as to procure a mitigation of their treatment, by changing the decree for their banishment into one for the diminution of their numbers. It was therefore resolved, that in future the king of Ireland, each provincial sovereign, and the lord of every subordinate territory was to maintain a bard to preserve the genealogies and record the acts of the respective families; and that a suitable salary was to be allowed him, in return for which he was also to instruct the youth in history, poetry, and antiquities. The whole body was placed under the control of an arch-poet, in whom was vested the power of admitting qualified persons. Thus restrained as to numbers and means of acquiring wealth, their properties were as hitherto exempted from taxation, and their persons privileged. Yet, during this gloomy period, in which the internal state of the country exhibits so little to cheer the inquirer, it became celebrated throughout Christendom, on account of the piety and learning of the inmates of its religious establishments. In the fifth century Sedulius made himself known as a poet, an orator



and a divine, and spread a knowledge of his acquirements, and the fame of the country in which he had imbibed them, through France, Italy, and the western regions of Asia. Columbkil, already transiently noticed as the founder of the monastery of Iona or Hy, the burial-place of the Scottish kings, adorned the sixth century. So also did Congall, the founder of the monastery of Bangor, famed for the multitude of religious men whom its learning and the strictness of its rules led to it. In the seventh century flourished Columba, the founder of several monastic institutions in France and Italy; Aidan, to whom the conversion of the Northumbrians is attributed; Finan, who followed him in the same field of missionary labor; Argobast, who preached in Alsace, and was thence raised to the see of Strasbourg; Adamnanus, who visited the court of Alfred, King of Northumberland; and Cuthbert, the son of one of the petty kings of Ireland, who, after having been prevailed on with much difficulty to take charge of the bishopric of Holy Island, in the same part of England, resigned it for a life of studious retirement in the Isle of Farn, where he closed his life. In the eighth century lived Sedulius the younger, who assisted at a council held at Rome by Gregory II., and was afterwards a bishop in Spain; also Vergilius, a philosopher as well as a divine, as appears by a treatise of his on the Antipodes written against the then received opinion of the shape of the earth, which he proved to be a globe, and not a plain surrounded by the heavens at its verge. He spent some time in France at the court of King Pepin, by whom he was highly esteemed.

The state of Ireland was now destined to suffer from another element of convulsion. About the commencement of the ninth century, the Danes began to extend to it their predatory ravages. Their first attacks were trifling and occasional, more of the nature of piratical incursions than preconcerted invasion. But in proportion as the success of their first assaults rendered them more daring, and their more extended knowledge of the country

made them better acquainted with its fertility, their bands became more numerous, and better prepared for continued hostilities; whilst at the same time the unsettled state of the country, caused by the intestine wars of the native princes, carried on either for the purpose of attaining the supremacy, or for exacting tribute from their inferiors, prevented that combination of defence which alone could ensure success against the foreign enemy. In the middle of the same century, Turgesius, King of Norway, had virtually rendered himself monarch over the greater part of the island. He maintained himself in it with all the cruelty and arrogance of an usurper. Danes were placed in all the subordinate kingdoms. Every district had a Danish officer placed over it, and even every house was required to maintain a Danish soldier. The use of arms was prohibited to the Irish. The country had groaned for thirteen years under this complication of insult and injury, until it was at length roused to shake off the degrading yoke. Turgesius had erected a rath for his residence in the neighborhood of Tarah, where lived Malachy, who still retained the title of king among the Irish. Turgesius claimed his daughter. Malachy, conscious of his inability to resist the demand openly, yet unwilling to sacrifice his only child without an effort, sent along with her a number of young men disguised as her female attendants, who fell upon the Danes in the rath, slaughtered them, seized Turgesius, and handed him over bound to Malachy, who had advanced with a band of armed men to their aid. The captivity of the tyrant was the signal for a general insurrection of the Irish, by which the Danes were forced either to fly aboard their shipping, or to take refuge in the maritime towns that acknowledged their authority. Turgesius, after being kept some time in prison, was drowned in Lough Innel. On the expulsion of the Danes, the country reverted to its former state of internal dissension. Cormac McCuillenan, King of Munster, and Bishop of Cashel, a union of civil and spiritual

jurisdiction then not uncommon, claimed a tribute from the King of Leinster, which on refusal of payment, he proceeded to enforce by the power of his arms. But on entering his adversary's territory, he found him strengthened by the support of the King of Ireland. The unexpected intelligence threw such a damp upon the spirits of his troops, that many deserted him before the battle: those who stood firm were soon routed, and Cormac himself was killed by a fall from his horse, whilst endeavoring to escape among the fugitives.

The internal dissensions of the country encouraged the Danes to make another effort for subjugating the island. A large force landed in Leinster, under the command of Setrick, said by some writers to have been a son of Turgesius, by whom Dublin was taken, and the possession of it secured by a signal victory obtained over the combined forces of the Irish, in which Nial, King of Ireland, and many of his generals, fell. The distractions of the country, thus augmented by the presence of a foreign enemy, obtained a temporary intermission by the accession of Brian Boree to the sovereignty. This prince, the great hero of the Irish, was brother to the King of Munster, on whose death he succeeded to the throne of that province, from which he not only expelled the Danes, who had made a settlement in Limerick, but extended his dominion over the whole southern division of Ireland. The brilliancy of his achievements against the common enemy induced the rest of the subordinate chieftains to unite in a confederacy for deposing Malachy, the reigning monarch, and raising Brian into his place. The object was effected with little difficulty, and, what was more unusual in the revolutions of the country, with no bloodshed. Malachy was of a mild and undecided character. After a feeble effort to revive the spirit of loyalty among the subordinate princes of the northern division, to the chief of whom, O'Neill, he offered a large portion of his dominions, he resigned the crown without a struggle. The new monarch was publicly

proclaimed and inaugurated at Tarah. After receiving the submissions of the kings of Ulster and Connaught, and reducing some refractory chieftains who disputed his authority, he directed the combined energies of all the states against the Danes, whom he expelled from the island, with the exception of such as consented to embrace Christianity. These he located in the great sea-ports of Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Limerick, and Cork. Having thus removed the obstacles arising from a foreign enemy, he directed his attention to the general civilization of the kingdom, by founding or restoring the places of worship and seminaries of education, building bridges, opening passes, erecting fortresses, and fitting out a fleet to oppose the Danes on their own element, before they could effect a landing. In the accomplishing of these objects, he spent the latter part of a long and glorious reign. But its termination was marked by a circumstance that vuidid all his labors. The subordinate King of Leinster irritated at an insult offered to him in the court of Brian, made overtures to the King of Denmark for a union to expel him from the throne. These were gladly accepted. A large fleet was sent from Denmark, which landed a body of troops near Dublin, where they were joined by those of the King of Leinster. Brian was not negligent in discovering, or tardy in adopting measures to resist, this new combination. At the head of a numerous and well-appointed army, collected from all other provinces, he marched to meet the enemy. The battle was fought on the plains of Clontarf. It was bloody and desperate, but decisive; the Danes were utterly defeated, and forced to fly to their ships. The Leinster men, abandoned by their foreign friends, were cut to pieces without mercy. The exultation of triumph would have been as unmixed as the victory was glorious, had it not been clouded by the death of the monarch, who, though too far advanced in years to take part in the engagement, led the army to the field, and was killed in his tent, whither he had remained during the conflict,



by a party of straggling Danes, as they were flying. His eldest son, Mortogh, fell in the battle. Malachy, the deposed monarch, seized the opportunity of reviving his claim to the vacant throne. His conduct during the late crisis had been more than dubious. He had made a show of assisting the Irish with the forces of Meath, which province he had been allowed to retain, but on the commencement of the battle, withdrew his men to a neighboring eminence, where he continued an inactive spectator of the struggle. His claim was acquiesced in. But his resumption of the reins of authority proved only the signal for the renewal of those scenes of turbulence and anarchy which the commanding talents of his predecessor had kept under control. The apprehensions of subjugation to a foreign power were indeed removed. The victory of Clontarf discouraged any further effort of the Danes, whom alone the native rulers dreaded. These were left to carry on undisturbed their schemes of self-aggrandizement and mutual contention. The only event to diversify the gloomy monotony of incessant civil discord, was a synod of the clergy at Kells, held in 1152, under Cardinal Papiron, the Pope's legate. Heretofore the connection of the Irish Church with the see of Rome had been very slight, and altogether voluntary. It was governed by the two archbishops of Armagh and Cashel, and a number of bishops, whose system of control was regulated by domestic synods. At the assemblage now spoken of, the supremacy of the see of Rome was acknowledged, and four pallis were given to the Archbishops of Armagh, Cashel, Dublin and Tuam.

Things continued in this state till the time of Roderic Connor, whose reign forms the commencement of a new era, which overthrew all the ancient forms and constitutions of government, and gave to the tide of political events a new turn, by which they have been influenced to the present time.

Dermot McMurrough, King of Leinster, had incurred the hatred of his own subjects, and of the other princes, by his tyranny. His

breach of the laws of hospitality in carrying off the wife of O'Ruark, King of Breffney, gave particular offence to Roderic, by whom he was consequently driven from his dominions. In his distress, he had recourse to Henry II. of England, under whom he offered to hold his crown as a tributary if restored by that monarch's exertions. The offer was very grateful to Henry. He had long before turned his thoughts to the acquisition of Ireland. As early as the year 1154, he had procured a bull from Adrian, who owed his elevation to the papacy to Henry's influence, conferring on him the sovereignty of the island, in order to its civilization, upon payment of the tribute of Peter's pence to the court of Rome. But his domestic difficulties and continental engagements had hitherto obliged him to postpone any active measures to accomplish his object. He was now in Guienne, embarrassed by rebellion amongst his French subjects, and by his disputes with the papal see; and, therefore, was forced to confine himself to general expressions of assent, confirmed by a permission to all his English subjects to assist in the restoration of his new ally. Supported by this authority, Dermot turned homewards; and, after vainly attempting to engage adventurers in Bristol, he at last formed a treaty with Richard Clare, Earl of Pembroke, better known by the name of Strongbow, a Welsh baron, who, having impaired his patrimony, was easily engaged to take part in a desperate enterprise, on the uncertain expectation of inheriting the kingdom of Leinster after Dermot's death, by a marriage with his only daughter, which was to be the reward of his exertions, if successful. Through Strongbow's influence, he also engaged the assistance of Robert Fitzstephens, constable of Abertivi, and of Maurice Fitzgerald, a Welsh chieftain. Having secured these auxiliaries, Dermot returned to Ireland, where he lived concealed in the monastery of Ferns, the confidence of whose inmates he had gained by liberal donations to their house, until the arrival of his new friends warranted him in asserting his

former station, and endeavoring to regain it by their aid.

Fitzstephens was the first to fulfil his engagement. He landed at the headland of Bag-and-Bon, in the estuary of the Bannow, with a following of but thirty knights, fifty gentlemen, and three hundred archers. Small as the number was, their discipline and superiority in military equipment justified Dermot in throwing off the veil on their appearance. The first movement of the combined force was upon the town of Wexford, a Danish dependency of the crown of Leinster, which surrendered on the first appearance of the enemy, and was, with the two adjoining cantreds of Forth and Bargie, given to Fitzstephens by Dermot, as a foretaste of what was to be hoped for in his service. The next movement was against the King of Ossory, in the Queen's County, who, after a gallant struggle was also forced to acknowledge the superiority of the Norman mode of warfare. After a hard-fought contest of three days, the passes of his borders were forced and himself compelled to fly. The news of these successes soon compelled Roderic to take the most decisive measures. At the head of an army collected from all the subordinate provinces, he advanced to drive the rebel king and his foreign auxiliaries into the sea; but the interference of the clergy prevented the appeal to arms. A treaty was concluded by which Dermot was restored to his former rank on condition of dismissing his foreign forces, and paying a fine for his outrage against O'Ruark. His son was delivered to Roderic as a hostage along with others for the fulfilment of the terms.

The arrival of Maurice Fitzgerald, who landed at Wexford with ten knights, thirty gentlemen, and one hundred archers, gave a new turn to affairs. Fitzstephens, who was then engaged in erecting a fortified post at Carrig, which commanded a pass on the Slaney, near Wexford, resolved to maintain his position. Little influence was necessary to induce Dermot to aid an effort as profitable in expectation as perfidious in act. Encour-

aged by the hope that this new supply would be the prelude to the influx of fresh bands of well-trained warriors, he indulged in the prospect of gratifying his revenge on the causes of his degradation, and even of seating himself on the throne of supreme sovereignty, through the powerful aid of his English allies. For this purpose, after having reduced the city of Dublin to submission by the devastation of the neighboring district of Fingal, thus establishing his rule over the whole of his former dominions, he sent to urge Strongbow to hasten his arrival.

This nobleman, not satisfied with the general permission already given by Henry, went to that prince, then in Normandy, and having obtained a vague and equivocal assent, prepared for the vigorous prosecution of his enterprise. He first sent over Raymond le Gros, with a detachment of ten knights, and seventy archers; who, landing near Waterford, defeated a body of three thousand Irish, collected from the neighboring country on the spur of the moment, and maintained his position in an intrenched camp until supported by Strongbow himself, who brought to his relief a body of two hundred horse and upwards of a thousand archers. He then, aided by the junction with Dermot, who had hastened to the place, made himself master of Waterford, and thence proceeded to Dublin, which was taken by assault. Roderic, alarmed at the success of the English, after having called in vain on Dermot to abide by the late treaty, and having, according to some accounts, beheaded that king's son, in consequence of his father's refusal to fulfill the terms of it, collected another army to oppose the invaders. Dermot's death at this juncture gave a new character to the contest. Strongbow, by his marriage with that prince's only daughter, had succeeded to his royal rights; but being unsupported by any of the Irish chieftains, who viewed with apprehension and envy this intrusion of a stranger, he found himself cooped up in the city of Dublin, with his small band of Englishmen, to stand the brunt of the entire Irish army.



with which Roderic had invested the city. But he was delivered from this critical situation by one of those exertions by which a vigorous mind surmounts difficulties. He had been reduced to the necessity of proposing a capitulation. The only terms offered him were the immediate evacuation of the country. Such a surrender of all their brilliant prospects was to these daring adventurers a prospect worse than death. Mito de Cogan, by whose valor in leading the assault the city had been taken, now proposed a sally. His advice was followed. Strongbow, at the head of a select body of ninety knights, attacked the Irish camp. The assault was so sudden and unexpected, that Roderic had scarcely time to escape from the bath, where he was then refreshing himself. The panic spread through all parts; and this great army was dissipated almost without a blow. The English followed up their good fortune by marching on Wexford to relieve Fitzstephens, who was blocked up by the Irish in his Castle of Carrig. In the passage thither, the army had to force its way through the passes of Idrone, where O'Ryan, the dynast of the territory, disputed the ground with it successfully, until his death turned the fate of the day. It is said that the English were so severely pressed in the engagement, that Strongbow's son, a lad rising into manhood, fled from the fight, for which he was hewn in two by his indignant father. A mutilated figure on a small monument placed by the side of Strongbow's tomb in Christ Church, Dublin, is still adduced as evidence of the truth of this extraordinary event.

The successes of Strongbow excited the jealousy of Henry, who began to apprehend in them, not the enriching of a subject, whence the monarch might derive honor, but the aggrandizement of a rival in power. He forbade any of his subjects going to the assistance of the English in Ireland, and commanded the immediate return of all those already there. He was, however, appeased by the appearance of Strongbow himself, who surrendered all his possessions in Ireland

to the king, to be holden at his good pleasure. He was restored to favor, and appointed seneschal of this new lordship, with the exception of Dublin and other fortified cities, which the king retained in his own hands. Henry soon afterwards went over to Ireland with a train of 500 knights, and a large body of soldiers. Landing at Waterford, he proceeded without molestation to Dublin, where he received the homage of a numerous assemblage of the native chieftains, whom he entertained in a pavilion hastily constructed of wicker-work without the walls, as the city then contained no building suitable for their accommodation. He also held a great council or parliament at Lismore, in which the English laws were received and sworn to. At the same time a synod of the clergy at Cashel adopted the rules of doctrine and discipline of the English church for their future regulation. After spending the Christmas in Dublin, and dividing the districts that acknowledged his authority among the chief leaders of the adventurers by whose valor they had been acquired, he returned to England early in spring, to allay the commotions which threatened to break out there.

His absence gave rise to dissensions amongst the English leaders, which led to revolt amongst the natives, who had so lately submitted. To aid the efforts of the Irish, Roderic made another attempt to regain his lost dominions, and to expel the strangers. He invaded Meath, which had been given by Henry to an English baron of the name of De Lacy, with such fury, that Raymond de Gros, the favorite general of the English, who was then celebrating his marriage with the sister of Strongbow, was forced to quit Wexford in the morning after his nuptials, in order to make head against the Irish. But they, content with the devastation committed in Meath, had already retired across the Shannon, and Raymond turned his arms against Limerick, which city he took by storm with little difficulty. Roderick, convinced of his inability to cope with success against the superior power of England, sent deputies

to the king, proposing to do homage, and pay a stipulated tribute, in return for which he was to hold the kingdom of Connaught, and all his other lands and sovereignties, as fully, in other respects, as before the arrival of the English.

On the death of Strongbow, who died and was buried in Dublin, leaving behind him an only daughter, the heiress of his princely dominions, the government of Ireland was committed to William Fitz-Andelm, a nobleman allied to Henry by blood; but the complaints arising from his indolent and corrupt administration became at length too loud to remain unnoticed. He was therefore removed, and John, the king's favorite son, was appointed Lord of Ireland, at the early age of twelve years. On his arrival at Waterford, at the head of a train of young and arrogant noblemen, the native chieftains hastened to pay their respects and to do him homage; but when they approached to testify their alliance according to the custom of the country, by saluting him with the lip, the prince's English attendants repelled them with insolence, plucked them by their beards, and treated them with every mark of studied indignity. The high-minded natives quitted the court, and their cause was espoused by all who heard their tale. The alarm of war was spread throughout every part of the country. The castles already built by the English on their newly-acquired territories in Meath were stormed and razed, some of their owners killed, and others driven from their settlements. John was recalled, and the government entrusted to De Lacy, who was soon afterwards assassinated by one of the natives whilst superintending the erection of a fortress which he was building, sacrilegiously, according to the opinion of the times, on the ruins of an abbey dedicated to Columbkil at Durrow. He was succeeded in the government by De Courcy, a nobleman celebrated for his gigantic size and prowess. He had been given such parts of Ulster as he could conquer; and having established his headquarters at Down, he maintained him-

self there for some time in a kind of subordinate sovereignty, against all the efforts of the neighboring princes, and even made an attempt to extend his conquests into Connaught, in doing which, though he failed in the main object of his ambition, he established his power in the neighborhood of Armagh. The death of Henry II. made no change in the government of Ireland. Richard, intent on his schemes of foreign conquest, permitted John to retain the title and authority conferred on him by his father. The only event which varied the scene of intestine commotion in Ireland during this reign, was the death of Roderic, the last sovereign of all Ireland. The latter years of his life were embittered, in addition to the loss of his independence, by the rebellious conduct of his own sons, which at last compelled him to seek in the retirement of monastic seclusion, the tranquillity he had vainly sought for on a throne. He died in the monastery of Cong, in 1198, in extreme old age.

John, in the early part of his reign, paid little attention to the affairs of Ireland, which was now much distracted by the feuds carried on between De Lacy, son of him who had been killed at Durrow, and De Courcy. In this struggle the artful management of the former gained him the advantage over De Courcy's blunt and boisterous ferocity. He accused him of having imputed to John the murder of his nephew Arthur, in consequence of which, De Courcy was summoned to the court in London; and when he treated the mandate with contempt, he was treacherously seized by his enemy De Lacy, while performing his religious penance unarmed in the church of Down, and sent prisoner to England, where he was long kept in confinement. A proceeding as unworthy as this which exposed De Courcy to the royal indignation, brought John a second time to Ireland. The lady of William de Braosa, who had received a large grant of land in Thomond, or North Munster, on being required to send her children to the English court as hostages for her husband's allegiance, refused to obey; alleg-



ing as a reason, that she would not intrust her children to the care of the murderer of his own nephew. The insult was unpardonable, and John went over in person to avenge it. Upon his arrival in Dublin, upwards of twenty chieftains attended to the homage; but he performed no military act worthy of notice. The unfortunate De Braosa was forced to fly to France, leaving his wife and family behind, who were seized by the tyrant and sent to England, where they died of the severity of their treatment in prison. During his short stay, John paid much attention to the internal management of the country. He ordained that the laws of England should be introduced, with all their judicial forms, a copy of them being left under his great seal, in the exchequer of Dublin. He also divided the districts which acknowledged his authority, and which were afterwards distinguished by the name of the Pale, into the twelve counties of Dublin, Meath, Kildare, Louth, Carlow, Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Kerry, Tipperary, and Limerick. In the remainder, which comprehended two thirds of the island, the king's supremacy was nearly nominal. Connaught, which Roderic in his treaty with Henry had specially reserved to himself, after suffering dreadfully by the contentions of that monarch's sons, and by the irruptions of the English leaders, who endeavored, by their interference in these family quarrels, to obtain some footing in it for themselves, fell ultimately into the hands of Cathal, surnamed Croove-derg, or the Bloody-handed. But the influence of the De Burghos, a branch of the family of Fitz-Andelm, proved too powerful for him. After many a desperate struggle with the intruders, in which undisciplined valor enabled him to cope at times successfully with the well-marshalled followers of the English chieftain, he was compelled to surrender two parts of the country to the King of England, in order to secure to himself the peaceable possession of the remainder; at the same time acknowledging himself a vassal, and binding himself to a yearly tribute

of a hundred merks. On the departure of John, who continued but a short time in the country, the government was intrusted to John de Grey, Bishop of Norwich, who, conducted it with prudence and vigor; and afterwards by Henry de Loundres, Archbishop of Dublin, the most remarkable act of whose administration was the erection of a castle in Dublin, now the acknowledged capital of the English territory.

Immediately after the accession of Henry III. the Irish transmitted to England a list of the encroachments made on their rights in the preceding reign, with a petition to be taken under the royal protection. Henry sent them in answer a copy of the Magna Charta, whereby they were to be placed on the same footing as English subjects. This charter was confirmed by others of similar tendency, transmitted by the same monarch. He also gave O'Brien, King of Thomond, a grant of that territory, to be held by English law, in lieu of the Irish tenure by which he had hitherto possessed it. The change was considered of such value as to be worth the payment of a thousand merks, and an annual sum of a hundred and thirty. But the king's promise of impartial protection to the Irish was grossly violated in the instance of Cathal Croove-derg, who was now deprived of the third part of his kingdom that had been allowed to remain with him by John, this portion being granted, together with all the rest of Connaught, to Richard de Burgho. Cathal died soon after this unjust deprivation of his property. His subjects, assisted by O'Neill, Prince of Tyrowen, placed his brother Tirlagh on the throne; but he was removed by the lord-deputy, and Aedh, a son of Cathal, substituted in his place. Aedh being shortly afterwards killed in a skirmish, the lord-deputy again removed Tirlagh, whom the people of Connaught had reinstated, and placed Feidlim, another son of Cathal, upon the throne. But a title held under a tenure so precarious and degrading could not be satisfactory. Feidlim, therefore, crossed over to England, and threw himself on the pro-

tection of the king, by whom he received a special assurance of security in the possession of his territories, which enabled him to retain them unmolested till his death.

Towards the conclusion of his reign Henry made a grant of Ireland to the eldest son of Edward; with a proviso, however, that it was to be always connected with and dependent upon the crown of England. The country derived no benefit from the arrangement. Edward was drawn away to pursue schemes of more brilliant promise in the Holy Land, and Ireland was suffered to continue under the management of subordinate officers. Its state at this time was truly miserable. In addition to the struggles of the Irish chieftains to regain their patrimonial rights of property and independence, the districts which acknowledged the English rule were torn to pieces by the hostilities of rival barons. To such a pitch did this state of anarchy increase, that in a contest between the De Burghos and the Fitzgeralds, the latter faction seized upon Richard de Rupella, the lord-justice of Ireland, and threw him with several of his adherents, into prison, from which it required the authority of parliament to liberate him.

The neglected state of the country during the reign of Edward I., whose attention was absorbed by the nearer and more pressing affairs of Scotland and Wales, increased the turbulence and audacity of the English barons. A dispute between Sir William de Vesci, the lord-justice, who had married an heiress of the Pembroke family, and John Fitzthomas, one of the heads of the Fitzgeralds, was carried to such a pitch, that each accused the other of high treason; and the affair was brought before the king in person, to be decided by the law of duel. On the day appointed for the combat, Vesci was not forthcoming. He had fled to France. The king transferred his lands in Ireland to his accuser, which contributed considerably to the future aggrandizement of the Fitzgerald family. So grievously was the great body of the Irish pressed down by the arrogant tyranny of these feudal lords, that they of-

fered the king six thousand marks for a charter from him to be governed by the laws of England. This reasonable request, which implied nothing more than the enforcing of the previous charters of John and Henry to the same effect, was neutralized by the opposition of the barons, whose oppressions it was meant to curb. A second application of a similar nature during this reign met with a similar fate. The conduct of Edward to one of the lord-justices, De Ufford, whom he called over to explain why such quarrels were permitted during his administration, proves that the king was not over anxious to probe this malady to the bottom. De Ufford's defence of himself was, that "he deemed it expedient to suffer one knave to destroy another, to save expense to the king." Edward was satisfied with this evasive answer, and sent him back to his government. The wars of the barons were still tolerated; and the Irish, who wished for the protection of English law against their tyranny, were still forced to purchase it by special charters of denization, by the fees of which the officers of the court were enriched. These charters were mostly the consequence of intermarriages with some of the great English families.

The accession of Edward II. afforded a prospect of the restoration of the royal authority, and the suppression of the exorbitant power of the English barons. The king, compelled to part with his favorite Gaveston, sent him into Ireland as lord-lieutenant, as into a kind of honorable exile. On his arrival, Gaveston obtained some advantages over the Irish septs in the neighborhood of Dublin; but, however flattering the appearances arising from this change of administration, they proved delusive. Edward, unable to endure longer his favorite's absence, recalled him, and the country fell back into the anarchical sway of the barons. The royal mandates were set at naught, and private wars were carried on without restraint or control. Frightful as were the state and prospects of the country, a fresh element of misery was now thrown in. Robert Bruce, King of Scot-



land, elated with the victory of Bannockburn, resolved on a measure which, if successful, would have added considerably to the security of his own kingdom, and to the weakening of his most formidable enemy. He proposed to detach Ireland from England, and to connect it with Scotland, either as an ally or a dependency. With this view, and also to give employment abroad to an ambitious and ardent relative, he proposed to his brother Edward the conquest of the country. The offer was accepted. The first attempt on the northern province failed, because the means were insufficient for the magnitude of the object. But Bruce was not to be discouraged by a single check. The attempt was soon afterwards renewed with enlarged resources. In the summer of 1315, Edward Bruce landed in the north of Ireland, at the head of six thousand men, where he was joined by numbers of the discontented Irish. De Burgho, Earl of Ulster, aroused by the danger which threatened his possessions, aided by Feidlim, King of Connaught, marched to oppose the invader. Their combined force was defeated at Coleraine, and Bruce, following up his victory, reduced Carrickfergus; penetrated into Meath, where he defeated, at Kenlis or Kells, a second army sent to oppose him; advanced still further to Skerries, where he encountered and routed Sir Edmund Butler, the lord-justice; and returning to Dundalk, through want of provisions, was there crowned king of Ireland. His affairs were now singularly prosperous. His brother came to his assistance from Scotland, but was forced, through the scarcity of provisions, to return, leaving with him a part of his troops. Feidlim joined his party, and was followed by O'Brien of Thomond, and several lesser chieftains. The English barons now began to be sensible that the tenure of their possessions was at stake. They collected a numerous body of troops, which were sent, in the first instance into Connaught, to put down Feidlim. A sanguinary battle ensued at Athenree, in which the Irish prince was slain, and with him terminated the last hope

of the restoration of the monarchy of Ireland. Bruce, after refreshing his troops, marched to Dublin. To guard against his assaults, the citizens set fire to their suburbs, with such precipitation, that one of the churches was involved in the conflagration; and intrenching themselves within the walls, they presented such a face as deterred the besiegers from continuing the siege. Bruce therefore proceeded to Kildare, which he ravaged, and thence penetrated through the passes of Ossory into Munster, spreading havoc and desolation on all sides. Want of provisions, and the intelligence, on one hand, of another army having been collected against him, under the command of Roger Mortimer, sent from England as lord-justice, and on the other, of new supplies from home, led by his brother in person, induced him to retrace his steps towards Ulster. By forced marches he retreated unmolested into Meath. He was followed by the English, now under the command of Sir John Bermingham. Both armies met at Faughar, near Dundalk. The Scotch army was the more numerous, but it was much exhausted by fatigue and famine; the English were well equipped and armed, and in a high state of organization. It is said that Edward Bruce, on hearing that his brother was advancing, pressed on the engagement, in the hope of securing to himself the undivided honor of victory. The result was deserving of the arrogance which led to an act so ill advised and precipitate. After a sanguinary struggle, the Scottish army was totally defeated. The body of Bruce was found, after the engagement, in the midst of heaps of slain, lying under that of an English knight of the name of Maupas, who had pressed forward to the honor of being captor of the Scottish general, Robert Bruce, on hearing of the result, immediately returned home, and made no further attempt upon the country.

The expulsion of the Scotch gave little relief to the people, who still continued to groan under the feudal oppressions and interminable quarrels of their rulers. On the accession of Edward III., they addressed them-

selves again to the throne, in order to procure a general charter of admission to the rights of British subjects. The petition was favorably received; but being referred, like former applications of the same kind, to the Irish parliament, through the lord-justice, it was, like these, rejected. The Irish, disappointed in their hopes of good government, broke out into acts of insurrection. The king, unable to restore tranquillity by energetic measures, had recourse to others, the evil effects of which were long felt. The greater part of Leinster had been parcelled out into five palatinates, in favor of the five grand-daughters of Strongbow, on whom this princely inheritance had devolved in failure of male issue. Meath and Ulster had also been granted in like manner. The number of these exempt jurisdictions, in which the superior lord exercised most of the prerogatives of royalty, was now increased, by erecting the county of Desmond, or South Munster, into a palatinate in favor of Maurice Fitzthomas, a branch of the Fitzgerald family; and another was shortly after erected in Tipperary, for James Butler, created Earl of Ormond. In consequence of the great privileges bestowed on these noblemen, the king's authority was proportionally contracted, and a few powerful chieftains were enabled, under color of asserting their rights, to overawe or control, by their combination, the wholesome exercise of the powers of the constitution, or to convulse the country to its centre, by their mutual contests for superiority. This ruinous system was carried still further. The chief governor, unable to collect men in numbers sufficient to cope with the insurgent Irish, applied for military aid to the Earl of Desmond. The request was readily acceded to, and ten thousand men were sent him; but as the deputy was deficient in the means of paying or feeding such a body, the troops were allowed to live on the country at free quarters, or, as it was then called, on coygne and livery, which consisted in the taking of man's meat, horse's meat, and money, of all the

inhabitants, at the will and pleasure of the soldier, who had no other means of subsistence. This extortion was originally Irish, for they used to lay Bonaught, as they called it, upon the people, and never gave their soldiers any other pay. But under the English it was still more intolerable, as with them the oppression was not temporary or limited either in time or place, but, because there was everywhere a continual war, either offensive or defensive, and every lord of a country, and every marcher, made war and peace at his good pleasure, it became universal and perpetual, and was, indeed, the heaviest oppression that ever was inflicted on any kingdom, Christian or heathen.

The effects of this feeble policy proved the reverse of what its devisers may be supposed to have expected. Internal turbulence and discord increased. To heighten the confusion, William de Burgho, who united in his own person the government of the two palatinates of Meath and Ulster, and had also the greater part of Connaught, was assassinated at Carrickfergus by his own domestics. His only daughter was carried to England for protection. O'Neill of Tyrowen, to whose family the northern palatinate of De Burgho had formerly belonged, seized on the opportunity to recover by force a considerable portion of the inheritance of his forefathers. The estate in Connaught was also seized on by two of the younger branches of the De Burgho family, who, conscious of the illegality of their claim according to the rules of English law, renounced their allegiance, assumed the Irish name of M'William distinguishing themselves from each other by the surnames of Eighter and Oughter, or the Hither and Further M'William; the former holding the lands in Galway, the latter those in Mayo, and both conforming to the laws and tenures of the Irish, set the authority of the king's justice at defiance. But the act which tended most to destroy the English power, by unhinging the connection between the parent country and the colony that had sprung from it, was an order



that all public officers whose property existed wholly in Ireland should be displaced, and their places supplied by persons born in England, and having lands in that country. This act gave rise to the distinction between the English by blood and the English by birth, causing those of the former class, through irritation at the insulting degradation by which they were deprived of their fair share of the honors and emoluments earned by the blood of their ancestors, not only to attach themselves to the native Irish by the ties of marriage and community of interests, but to exceed them in intensity of hatred to the new intruders; and hence they were said to be more Irish than the Irish themselves. The effects of this unjust and impolitic ordinance were not long in showing themselves. A common interest united the descendants of the old settlers into a general combination. Alarmed at the spirit which they indicated, the lord-justice, Sir John Morris, deemed it expedient to assemble a parliament at Dublin, whereby a less dangerous vent might be afforded to the expression of the grievances of the discontented. But the injured party adopted another and a more spirited course. Not content with absenting themselves from parliament, they held another assembly, totally independent of it, at Kilkenny, under the auspices of the Earl of Desmond, in which they drew up a remonstrance, to be presented to the king, which exhibited a striking view of the aggressions of the government, and the grievances which had excited general discontent. The king's answer was gracious and condescending. Assurance was given them of immediate relief from the more gross grievances, and of inquiry into all. His anxiety to procure aid for his continental expeditions appears to have been one cause of the readiness with which these concessions were granted; for we are informed that the Earls of Desmond and Kildare attended him with numerous followers into France, and the latter distinguished himself greatly at the siege of Calais. But the spirit of self-interested

monopoly which gave birth to this distinction, though repressed, was not extinguished; and fresh occasion was soon given it to blaze forth from a quarter whence it might least have been apprehended. Lionel, afterwards Duke of Clarence, Edward's second son, had married the heiress of the late Earl of Ulster, and thus became entitled to the lordships of Ulster and Connaught. To add weight to the enforcement of his claim, which he was about to assert in person, the king invested him with the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland. But, born and educated in England, he carried over with him all his English prejudices and prepossessions. Surrounded by men of English birth, and taught by them to look on the ancient settlers, not only as unworthy of his confidence, but as disaffected to his government, he forbade, by proclamation, any of the old English, or of the king's subjects of Irish birth, to approach his camp. This imprudent measure deprived him of the only aid which could render his operations against the common enemy of the English government effectual. Left, amongst strangers to the country, to traverse unknown districts, and to contend against an enemy of whose movements and mode of action he was wholly ignorant, he found himself enclosed in a position in which advance was impossible and retreat perilous, and from which he was extricated solely by an appeal to those whose services he had at his first landing so haughtily and unwisely rejected. After a short stay he was recalled, but returned in a few years, improved in the knowledge of the science of governing a country of habits dissimilar to those of his own. On his second visit he directed his attention to the general reformation of the parts of the island that yielded a willing obedience to the royal authority. A parliament was summoned at Kilkenny, the result of whose deliberations was an ordinance, since known by the name of the Statute of Kilkenny, which forms one of the great political epochs in the history of the country.

By this statute it was enacted, that mar-

riage, fostering, or gossiped with the Irish, should be deemed treasonable; and conformity to the rules of Irish law was subjected to a similar penalty. The use of Irish names, language, or apparel, by any person of English birth or descent, was punishable by forfeiture of lands or imprisonment. Penalties were also imposed on those who permitted their Irish neighbors to graze on their lands, who presented them to ecclesiastical benefices, who admitted them into religious houses as members, or who gave encouragement to the Irish bards, musicians or story-tellers. The execution of this statute was enforced by the anathemas of the church against its violators. Whatever might have been the effects of an enactment so rigorous towards uniting the English settlers more closely among themselves, it is evident that it severed completely any links of the bonds of mutual charity and community of interests that existed between them and the Irish. The presence of an English nobleman of royal birth, connected by marriage with the descendant and representative of a family now nearly Irish through length of residence, might have led to the introduction of a system of generous equity towards the natives of the country, the former rightful possessors of the soil. But the wording of this statute pronounced the Irish to be irreclaimable. The opportunity for the amalgamation of conflicting interests was lost; and ages passed over without another such presenting itself for a renewal of the experiment. The Duke of Clarence was again recalled, and the administration of the government left, as before, to deputies. The low condition to which the country was now reduced may be inferred from the fact related as to Sir Richard Pembridge, warden of the Cinque Ports, who, being appointed to the lieutenancy, refused to undertake the office, in consequence of the distracted state of the country; and it was adjudged that his refusal was strictly legal, inasmuch as residence in Ireland, even in the elevated station assigned to him, was looked upon as but an honorable exile, to

which no freeman was to be subjected, except in case of abjuration for felony, or by act of parliament. So far was the English power reduced towards the close of this reign, that, as the authority of the English law had extended during the time of John over the twelve counties already named, and over the greater part of Connaught, it was confined, in the thirtieth year of the present reign, to the four counties of Meath, Louth, Dublin and Carlow; and of these the greater part was border-land, governed by march law, which was little more than another word for the arbitrary will of the lord of the marches. The last effort made by Edward to restore the English government, was a mandate directing a stated number of bishops, knights and burgesses to attend the king in his parliament in England, to assist in enacting laws for Ireland. The proceedings of this parliament are lost, but the existence of writs to the several counties, cities and boroughs, directing them to defray the expenses of the persons sent over, proves that it had assembled. About the same time the trade with Portugal was thrown open to the Irish, but the disorders of the country were too deeply rooted to admit of the people availing themselves of the privilege.

In the beginning of the reign of Richard II., Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland by the joint consent of the king and the English nobility; the latter party wishing thus to break the connection of favoritism that bound him to the former. But after an equipment, fitted out on a princely scale, the project failed. He had proceeded as far as Wales, when Richard, who had accompanied him to the water's edge, found his attachment too violent to bear the separation, and he brought him back to London. Commissioners were afterwards deputed to inquire into the state of the country, but with no beneficial result. At length Richard resolved to visit this part of his dominions in person. He landed at Waterford with an army of 4000 men-at-arms and 30,000 archers; but



after nine months spent in an empty display of regal pageantry, during which he received the submission of seventy-five native Irish or degenerate English chieftains, and granted pardons to others, whom an apprehension of ill treatment kept at a distance, he returned to England. The only stipulation for restoring tranquillity made during his visit was, that the province of Leinster should be evacuated by the Irish; but when the condition was to be enforced, after the removal of the terrors of a royal army, the requisitions of the government were followed only by excuses and delays, and ultimately by insurrection, in the course of which Roger Mortimer, Earl of Marche, whom Richard had left behind him as his lieutenant, was killed at Kenlis, in a skirmish against the O'Byrnes, whom he had driven from their mountain fastnesses in Wicklow.

Mortified and irritated by a result so contrary to the anticipations entertained from his expensive armament and pompous reception in Ireland, Richard undertook a second military expedition thither. He landed again in Waterford, and after spending some time there and at Kilkenny, in an idle display of royalty, he proceeded to Dublin, in the full confidence that now, as previously, his journey thither would be but a progress of pacific parade. In this expectation he was buoyed up by the appearance of several of the Irish lords, who, presenting themselves with halters round their necks, fell at his feet and implored forgiveness with the most abject humility. But on entering into the woods and defiles of the marches of Leinster, his reception was very different. M'Murchad, the principal chieftain of the province, who, notwithstanding the pensions he had received, and the submissions he had entered into, was still the inveterate enemy of the English, rushed out unexpectedly from the cover of his woods, at the head of 3000 chosen men so well appointed, and with such a display of valor, as to stop the advance of the royal army for some time; and though it ultimately forced its way to the capital, such were the losses

sustained by famine, hardship and battle, that Richard had to wait for a reinforcement from England before he could resume hostilities. In the meantime the news of the successes of the Duke of Lancaster compelled him to hasten his departure, in order to oppose this new enemy. The unfortunate and disgraceful termination of his reign belongs to English history.

The intestine commotions in Ireland were aggravated in the reign of Henry IV. by invasions of the Scotch, who assisted the Irish of Ulster in driving the English from this province, and acquired some settlements there, whence they were never afterwards wholly removed. Henry's second son, Thomas, Duke of Lancaster, was sent over as lord-lieutenant. His government was vigorous, and in some degree effective. The native Irish of Wicklow were checked; the degenerate English in Meath and Uriel were compelled to submit; and M'Murchad, who still maintained himself in the western parts of Leinster, in defiance of the government, was defeated in a severe and well-contested battle. The citizens of Dublin fitted out several naval expeditions against the Scotch and Welsh; and though, in their first engagement with the former enemy, they suffered a total defeat on the coast of Ulster, they afterwards revenged the insult by carrying the war into the islands and coasts of Scotland, and by their depredations in Wales, whence they brought back in triumph a shrine of St. Cubin, and lodged it with much ceremony in Christ Church, as a proud monument of their victory. But this favorable change was merely temporary. The lord-lieutenant was wounded, and his forces beaten back, under the very walls of Dublin; and he soon afterwards quitted the country altogether. The residents in the border counties were now reduced to the degrading necessity of purchasing peace and protection from the neighboring Irish chieftains, by the payment of a stipulated tribute called black rent.

The arrival of Sir John Talbot, Lord Fur

nival, in the succeeding reign, a man distinguished for his military talents, gave hope of a change for the better. By his activity and valor he compelled several of the neighboring Irish chieftains, not only to desist from their incursions, but also to do homage and give hostages. Yet though bound to keep the peace, they still retained their independence, and the English pale was not enlarged. The lord-lieutenant, likewise, having brought with him no supplies either of men or money, had no means of maintaining his position, except the oppressive and ruinous system of coyne and livery. The English settlers were thus reduced to a state of extreme degradation and distress. Looked upon by the Irish as aliens and intruders, they were treated by the new comers from England as slaves, and considered by the English in general as in nowise better than the natives. In the beginning of this reign, the parliament at London, in consequence of the swarms of needy adventurers from Ireland, whom the devastations of their own country had driven to seek an asylum abroad, passed an act to oblige all Irish to quit the kingdom. Even the students who resorted to London for education, though expressly excepted from the severe provisions of the statute, were contemptuously excluded from the Inns of Court, from a prejudice as impolitic as it was unjust, since it not only precluded them from an intercourse tending to conciliate their affections to England, but debarred them from the means of acquiring a knowledge of the laws, which were the only effective means of preserving the connection between the countries. Indeed, the continuance of such connection was preserved at the present period, more by the ignorant prejudices of the native princes themselves, than by the exertions of the government. Contented to rule over their petty septs, their aversion to the English was scarcely more violent than that entertained by them against the neighboring tribes of their own race. They united in the most cordial attachment with the old English in

their revolts; and their insurrections, far from being excited by a general desire of exterminating the whole body of their invaders, were usually occasioned by some local dispute or act of private oppression.

In the beginning of the reign of Henry VI. the two Anglo-Irish families of Desmond and Butler began to assume the high political position which they retained long after. James, the first Earl of Desmond, obtained the leadership of the family and the title, to the prejudice of his nephew, who had degraded himself in the eyes of his followers by marrying a peasant's daughter. The uncle was secured in the estate by authority of parliament, and also constituted governor of the counties of Waterford, Cork, Limerick, and Kerry, over which he exerted an almost royal jurisdiction. The Earl of Ormond, the head of the Butler family, after having been removed from the chief government of Ireland by the machinations of his enemies, was protected against their further efforts by the personal kindness of Henry VI., which laid the foundation of a lasting attachment to this monarch on the part of the earl and his descendants. A change now took place in the government, more important in its effects than any hitherto recorded. Richard, Duke of York, descended from an elder brother of the prince through whom the reigning family derived its claim to the throne, was universally beloved. The contrast between him and his inglorious sovereign was too glaring to remain unnoticed. It was therefore resolved to remove him out of England; and he was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, with extraordinary powers. His administration presents one of the few bright gleams of Irish history. It was long quoted as the time when peace and prosperity flourished, when faction was repressed by even-handed justice, and when the natives, the English by blood, and the English by birth, coalesced in an honest exertion to improve the country. Aware, on his arrival, of the bitter jealousy which existed between the rival families of the But-



lers and Geraldines, and although he knew that the former was attached by gratitude to his rival, he scorned to be swayed by any suspicions on that account; but, on the birth of his son, afterwards the unfortunate Duke of Clarence, by engaging the heads of both families to be sponsors at the infant's baptism, he bound each to himself and to the other by the tie of gossipred, a relationship respected to a degree of veneration amongst the Irish. Being called away to England to clear himself from some imputations on his loyalty, he intrusted the administration to the Earl of Ormond, who was succeeded by Sir Edward Fitz-Eustace, a knight of great military fame, by whom the O'Connors of Offaly were defeated, and the sept of the O'Neills, who had presumed to insult the city of Dublin by plundering some of the ships in the bay, and carrying off the archbishop, were so roughly treated at Ardglass, as to check for a long period any efforts of the northern toparch against the pale. In the meantime the Duke of York, though successful in his first effort to seize the English crown, was totally defeated at Bloreheath, and forced to fly into Ireland, where he was received more like a sovereign prince than a discomfited traitor. The parliament passed an act for his protection, and decreed that whosoever should attempt to disturb him, under pretence of writs from England, should be deemed guilty of high treason. An agent of Ormond, who ventured to violate the law, was executed. On the Duke's subsequent change of fortune, numbers of his Irish adherents followed him to England. The palatinate of Meath, in particular, was almost deserted by the English settlers, who hastened to enrol themselves under the banner of the white rose. He appeared in London with this gallant train; but the war being unexpectedly renewed, he was encountered at Wakefield by an army four times more numerous than his own, which consisted but of five thousand men, mostly Irish, and fell in the unequal contest, together with the greater part of his devoted follow-

ers. The exhaustion thus produced was nearly fatal to the English interests in Ireland. Towards the close of Henry's reign, the Irish or rebellious English had conquered or subjected to tribute the greater part of the counties of Limerick and Tipperary, together with those of Kilkenny and Wexford, and almost the whole of Carlow, Kildare, Meath, and Uriel, so that little was left of which the English could claim the undisputed possession, excepting the county of Dublin. The only method to secure peace was by the purchase of the protection of the heads of the Irish septs, who, gratified with such acknowledgement of their superiority, looked with contemptuous disregard on the movements of the Saxons, as the English were called by them.

The attachment of the Geraldines to the house of York was rewarded by Edward IV. on his attainment of the royal dignity, by appointing the Earl of Kildare to the lord-lieutenancy. He was shortly afterwards superseded by the Duke of Clarence, the king's brother, who appointed the Earl of Desmond his deputy, in return for having crushed an effort made by the Butlers in favor of the house of Lancaster. But his continuance in power was short-lived. On the king's marriage with Elizabeth Grey, he had incautiously thrown out some reflections upon the meanness of her birth. Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, was soon afterwards sent over as lord-deputy, and, in a parliament summoned at Drogheda, he caused an act to be passed against the Earls of Kildare and Desmond, for allying themselves by marriage, and fostering with the Irish enemy. Kildare, though arrested, was fortunate enough to effect his escape. Desmond, relying either on his innocence or his influence, came forward to justify his conduct, and was immediately seized and executed without even the formality of a trial. This monstrous outrage did not long go unpunished. Kildare justified himself so effectually before the king, that he was not only restored to his titles and estate, but appointed chief

governor; and Tiptoft, being recalled into England, suffered, in a new revolution, the same fate which he had inflicted upon Desmond. The defence of the confined limits of the pale was now intrusted to a military order established by authority of parliament, under the name of the Fraternity of St. George. It consisted of thirteen leaders of the first consequence in the four counties of Dublin, Meath, Kildare, and Uriel, who had under them forty knights, as many squires, and a hundred and twenty mounted archers. The appointment of a force so inadequate to preserve the peace even of the contracted limits it was intended to protect, evinces in the strongest manner the reduced state of the English power after the termination of the desolating conflict between the rival roses.

The short and distracted reign of Richard III. allowed no time to attend to the state of Ireland. His successor, for what reason it is not known, suffered the government to continue in the hands of the Fitzgeralds, the avowed friends of the house of York. The evil consequences of this policy, or negligence, were not long in showing themselves. Lambert Simnel, who had been set up by the king's enemies on the Continent to personate the Earl of Warwick, son of the late Duke of Clarence, was sent by them to Ireland, as the place most favorable for the design. He was received by the Earl of Kildare, then lord-lieutenant, as the lawful sovereign; proclaimed king; publicly crowned in Christ Church, with a crown taken for the purpose from a statue of the Virgin Mary; and borne thence to Dublin Castle on the shoulders of Darcy of Platten, according to a form used in the inauguration of the native Irish kings. A parliament convened by his writ, under the title of Edward VI., granted subsidies, and enacted severe laws against those who refused to recognize his right, amongst whom the chief were the families of Butler and Bermingham, and the citizens of Waterford. Fortunately for the peace of the country, the

arrival of a body of German auxiliaries from Flanders, under the command of Martin Swart, inspired the partisans of Simnel with such an overweening confidence in their own strength, that they determined to transfer the seat of war to England. Thither Simnel went, attended by the flower of the Irish nobility, and a numerous following of the natives. He was met at Stoke, in Nottingham, and defeated by Henry with immense loss, as the Irish, whose light arms could make no impression on the compact and iron-bound ranks of their adversaries, refused quarter, defending themselves singly, even when routed, until they fell overwhelmed by numbers. Simnel, when taken prisoner, was punished, not by severity, but degradation. He ended his life as a scullion in the royal household. The actors in this hasty and ill-digested movement were not treated harshly. Even the city of Dublin was pardoned, on its humble submission. But, in the hope of securing the future allegiance of the great residents, Sir Richard Edgecombe was sent over as a special commissioner; with a train of five hundred men, to receive their submission, and administer the oath of allegiance. On his arrival at Kinsale, his apprehensions at first prevented him from landing, and he received the homage and oaths of Lord Thomas Barry, a principal nobleman of the district, on board his ship; but he afterwards landed, and was received in Cork, Waterford, and Dublin, in a manner befitting his mission. The Earl of Kildare hesitated for a time, but at length joined with the others in tendering this proof of submission to the ruling power.

Another claimant of the throne now appeared in the person of Perkin Warbeck, who was, or pretended to be, the Duke of York, second son of Edward IV. He landed at Cork, where his identity was acknowledged. On his arrival there he wrote to the Earls of Desmond and Kildare. The former recognized him at once; but before the latter could decide on the part he ought to take, the adventurer had removed to the French



court, whither he had been invited for the purpose of more effectually annoying the English king. Henry now sent over into Ireland Sir Edward Poynings, a knight of distinguished ability, accompanied by several English lawyers to fill the offices of judges; those then on the bench, who owed their elevation to party influence, being notorious for their incapacity.

The administration of this government forms a new era in the history of the country. A parliament assembled by him enacted several useful laws, two of which were peculiarly influential in breaking down the exorbitant power of the nobility. By one of these, all the statutes hitherto passed in England were made law in Ireland; by the other, it was enacted that no parliament should be held until the reasons for holding it, and the statutes to be proposed in it, should be approved by the privy council of England. Warbeck made a second attempt upon Ireland, in which he was openly assisted by the Earl of Desmond; but after an unsuccessful attempt on Waterford, he was forced to quit the country, and take refuge with the King of Scotland. The enemies of Kildare were not remiss in seizing this opportunity to crush him; and the Butlers importuned the lord-deputy to imitate the example of Tiptoft, and consign him at once to the executioner. But Poynings rejected the cruel and impolitic suggestion, contenting himself with sending the earl to England to answer in person the allegations brought against him. This proceeding, as just as it was merciful, led to a conclusion wholly opposite to the anticipations of his enemies. When warned by the king to choose able counsel to defend himself against the heavy charges advanced against him: "Yes," said Kildare, "I choose the ablest in the realm; I take your highness as my counsel against these false knaves." Charge after charge was alleged against him, and answered; amongst others, that of having burned the church of Cashel. On hearing this brought forward, Kildare interrupted the speaker:

"Spare your evidence," said he; "I did burn the church, but I thought the bishop had been in it." This extraordinary plea raised a laugh amongst all present. His accusers in a rage exclaimed, "All Ireland cannot rule this earl." "Is it so?" replied Henry; "then this earl shall rule all Ireland;" and he sent him back as lord-deputy. The event justified Henry's sagacity. Kildare repaid his sovereign's confidence by a government of unremitting zeal, energy, and fidelity. The boundaries of the pale were gradually extended; several septs, to whom tribute had hitherto been paid, were forced to submit. He marched a gallant army into Connaught, against Ulick de Burgho, the head of the degenerate English in that province; more, it must be acknowledged, to gratify private resentment than to promote the interests of his royal master. The armies met at Knocktow, near Galway. The victory of the deputy was sullied by the ferocity of his troops, who refused to give quarter, and continued the massacre until night forced them to desist. This victory reduced the whole of Connaught to obedience. The O'Neills and the O'Briens were the only septs of any consequence who still refused to tender their allegiance.

The Earl of Kildare was continued in the government by Henry VIII., who testified his approbation of his services by appointing his son Gerald his successor. The young earl, with the characteristic valor of the family, inherited a more than ordinary share of their pride and imprudence. Too haughty to court the favor of Wolsey, then in the zenith of his greatness, by meanness and subserviency, he incurred that proud prelate's hatred, which was heightened by the artful suggestions of his rival, the Earl of Ormond. Through the machinations of this nobleman he was removed, and summoned to England to account for his conduct. Here, strengthened by a marriage with the daughter of the Marquis of Dorset, he was enabled to baffle the efforts of the cabal formed against him. He attended Henry at his celebrated inter

view with Francis I., and, by the splendor of his suite, and the brilliancy of his equipage, contributed largely to the splendor of "the Field of the Cloth of Gold." On his return home, the struggle between the rival families attained to such a height, that commissioners were sent from England to investigate the case. Their report, when laid before Henry, induced him to remove from the head of affairs Pierce, Earl of Ormond, better known in the chronicles of the times by the name of Red Peter, the deputy to the Earl of Surrey, then lord-lieutenant, and to substitute his rival in his place. The decision proved eventually fatal to this nobleman. Inflated with an opinion of his own greatness, he acted so as to excite a suspicion of aiming at the assumption of independent power in Ireland. His enemies pressed the charge against him, and a peremptory order was issued for his immediate attendance at court. Unwilling to quit the seat of power, conscious, most probably, that his conduct would not bear a strict investigation, he endeavored, through his wife's relations, to evade obedience; but finding all his efforts ineffectual, he ultimately repaired to London, after having supplied all his castles with arms and ammunition from the royal stores, a measure tending most powerfully to confirm the prejudice raised against him. On his arrival there he was forthwith thrown into the Tower.

That the royal anger against the earl had not been very violent, it is evident, notwithstanding the harsh treatment thus inflicted on him, from the fact that he was permitted to commit the government during his absence to some person for whose conduct he should be responsible. By a step more unaccountable than any of those that had involved him in suspicion, he intrusted the administration to his eldest son, Thomas, a stripling scarcely twenty-two years of age, who, to the rashness of youth, and a natural violence of temper, added an insolent contempt of his rivals, and a boyish confidence in the irresistible power of the Geraldines.

The news of his father's imprisonment could not fail soon to arrive in Ireland. Common fame, aided by the artifices of the enemies of the family, swelled it into an assertion of his execution. The young lord lent a credulous ear to these falsehoods, and, as impetuous as he was credulous, instantly had recourse to means of vengeance as desperate as they were chivalrous. Attended by a retinue of a hundred and forty followers, equipped in a style of gaudy display, which, even in those times of courtly splendor, earned for him the title of "the Silken Knight," he proceeded to St. Mary's Abbey, on the northern bank of the Liffey, where the privy council were assembled; and there, throwing down the sword of state, he solemnly renounced his allegiance, and declared himself the mortal enemy of the English government. All the other members of the council gazed on him in silent astonishment. Archbishop Cromer, then primate and chancellor, alone interfered, and remonstrated with the fiery young man on the madness of the act he was committing. The appeal to his better judgment was interrupted by the family bard, who unconscious, through his ignorance of the language, of what was going forward, commenced a rhapsody on the glories of the Geraldines, the treatment of their chief, and the vengeance which it claimed. Passion prevailed over prudence. The voice of age and wisdom was drowned in the clamors of his attendants, and the young lord tore himself from the chancellor, rushed out of the council board, and, without premeditation or preparation, plunged into a war against the whole power of England.

Baffled in an attempt to surprise the castle of Dublin, Lord Thomas ravaged all the district of Fingal, in its northern neighborhood, in which Allen, Archbishop of Dublin, one of the determined enemies of his family, was taken prisoner. When brought before him, his hasty expression, "Away with the English churl," was translated by his rude Irish followers into a mandate for execution, and the wretched man was immediately but



chered. He then renewed his attempt to seize the castle, but was prevented, and eventually driven from the city by the citizens, who even burned parts of the suburbs, to prevent them from affording shelter to his troops. From being the aggressor, he was now forced to act on the defensive. Maynooth Castle his strongest fortress, was invested, and after a resistance of fourteen days, was captured by the treachery of a foster brother of Lord Thomas, who, after having been paid the pecuniary remuneration of his treason, received a more adequate recompense by being hanged by the orders of the English deputy. The irregular army of the insurgents began to dissolve on the intelligence of this disaster, and their leader was driven to a desultory warfare in the fens and mountains, from which he was inveigled by a solemn assurance of pardon by the English general Lord Grey, and confirmed by the communion of the holy sacrament. Grey was rewarded for his services by the office of lord-justice. His first act of government was one of atrocious perfidy. In spite of his previous solemn promise, he sent his prisoner to London, where the first news the wretched youth received was, that his father had died, not by legal execution, but through grief at his insane rebellion. This act of Grey was followed by a similar one, if possible, of deeper guilt. Henry breathed the most furious revenge against the whole family of Kildare, and sent orders to have the five uncles of the young lord seized. To effect this, the lord-deputy invited them to a banquet, where, in the midst of the pretended hospitality, they were arrested, forced on board ship, hurried to England, and executed along with the real instigator of the rebellion. A brother of Lord Thomas, a boy about twelve years of age, who was also included in this decree of blood, after having been sheltered for some time, at no small risk, by his aunt, the widow of M<sup>c</sup>Arthy, a Munster chieftain, was conveyed to France, and when Henry had the meanness to claim him as a subject, he escaped to Flanders. Thence,

when pursued by the same spirit of despicable malignity, he fled to Germany, and finally found shelter in Rome, under the protection of Cardinal Pole, who, in defiance of Henry's protestations, received and educated him as his kinsman, and, by his favor and support, enabled him to recover his birthright, and restore the otherwise extinct honors of the house of Kildare.

A period now arrived in which religion, hitherto little noticed in the political events of the country, was forced to assume a character as dissonant to its real nature as prejudicial to its true interests. Henry determined to extend to Ireland the reformation he had with so little opposition established in England. Commissioners were sent over to procure an acknowledgment of the king's supremacy, who, though opposed by Cromer, the Archbishop of Armagh, a strenuous champion for the religion at that time established by law, succeeded in obtaining it. A parliament, assembled at the special suggestion of Browne, the first Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, exhibited a subserviency to the royal wishes as great as even the despotic character of Henry could require. It pronounced the king's marriage with Catherine of Aragon null; declared the inheritance of the crown to be in the king's heirs by Anne Boleyn; and as the passing of this declaration was followed by an account of that unhappy lady's condemnation and death, and the king's subsequent marriage with Jane Seymour, it altered the succession anew to correspond with the new change in the king's disposition. It also acknowledged the king's supremacy in the fullest manner, forbade the appeals to Rome, renounced the authority of the Roman see, and decreed the suppression of most of the monastic institutions. An act, more creditable to the body whence it emanated, was also passed, by which schools were to be founded in every parish for instructing the natives in the English language, and in the rudiments of useful knowledge.

But words and writings were not of them-

selves sufficient to accomplish the mighty undertaking which Henry's impetuous zeal had commenced. The Irish clergy in general were averse to a change. Many of them relinquished valuable preferments rather than submit to it. The Irish chieftains found in it a new motive to animate themselves and to influence their followers against the Saxons. The feeling was fomented by a communication from Rome, exciting the northern chieftains, and more particularly O'Neill, to rally round the sacred standard of their forefathers. O'Neill joyfully accepted the post thus assigned him: He proclaimed himself head of the northern Irish, assembled a numerous force, advanced to Tarah, and there had himself proclaimed on the ancient hill of royalty of the native monarchs of Ireland; but, content with this idle display of pomp, he prepared, after ravaging the country, to return to his demesnes. The deputy had expected this storm, and was prepared against it. With the forces raised in Dublin and Drogheda he pursued the retiring Irish, and overtook them at Bellahoe, on the borders of Meath, where, after a partial engagement, in which the van of the latter army only was concerned, the Irish fell back on their main body, which, struck with an unaccountable panic, immediately gave way and fled. The administration of Lord Grey ended with this victory. He was recalled, and thrown into the Tower, on charges equally futile and malicious. Apprehensive of the irritable temper of his brutal master, he waived all defence, pleaded guilty, and perished by the same fate into which he had so treacherously drawn Lord Thomas Fitzgerald and the rest of the ill-fated Geraldines.

The next step taken by Henry to complete the tranquillization of Ireland, was the assumption of the royal title. Hitherto, though exercising all the essentials of sovereignty, the kings of England had contented themselves with the title of Lords of Ireland. This term was now changed by act of parliament into that of king. The alteration was commemorated by conferring peerages on several of

the heads of the great families. O'Neill was made Earl of Tyrone, with the singular privilege of transmitting the title and estate to an illegitimate son, to the prejudice of his lawful issue. Ulick de Burgho was created Earl of Clanricarde, and O'Brien Earl of Thomond. Several of inferior note were created barons.

But the happy prospect which now began to dawn over the country was marred by the mismanagement of the English government. O'More and O'Connor of Offaly had renewed their incursions into Leinster. They soon were driven back into their fastnesses, whence they were lured, by a delusive expectation of pardon and favor, on condition of presenting themselves to the king. Scarcely, however, had they arrived at court when they were seized and thrown into prison, where the former soon sunk under the severity of his treatment. The disgust excited by this act of treachery was heightened by the manner in which the reformation was pressed upon the people. When Dowdal, the primate, who had succeeded Cromer, refused to countenance the new doctrines, an old controversy relative to the superiority of the sees of Armagh and Dublin was revived, and, by a royal patent, the title of primacy was transferred from the former to the latter see. Dowdal, unable to brook the indignity, peevishly as well as injudiciously deserted his see, and retired to the Continent. The opposite party, taking advantage of this false step, immediately placed Goodacre, a Protestant bishop, in the see he had abdicated. Throughout the country parts also, the removal of the clergy of the ancient faith, and the introduction of those of the new doctrines, was carried on in a spirit of violence and acrimony unbecoming the cause and irritating to the people. The garrison of Athlone attacked the ancient and venerated recess of Clonmacnois, plundered its furniture, defaced its ornaments, and defiled its altars. Similar excesses took place in other parts. Thus the impression made by those champions of reform was, that the new system sanctioned sacri-



lege and robbery. In the north, the general peace was disturbed by the family dissensions of the O'Neills. Shane or John O'Neill, the legitimate son of the first Earl of Tyrone, labored sedulously to induce his father to alter the arrangement which gave the inheritance to his natural son Matthew. The latter threw himself for protection on the lord-deputy, who could devise no better means for closing the family schism, than by seizing on the persons of the earl and his countess, whom he kept in close confinement. The consequence of this arbitrary act was the throwing the whole of that country into the hands of Shane, who claimed it by the principles of the English law, and who, assisted by a body of Scots, committed terrible depredations on the property of those who disputed his right or set his power at defiance.

A new revolution, occasioned by the death of Edward VI., added to this state of confusion. The religion was again changed. Dowdal was recalled to the primacy; the most violent of his opponents fled the country, and the great body of the clergy returned to their former faith. This restoration was attended with no acts of violence; the Protestants were not persecuted. On the contrary, several of the English, who had fled from the severity of the law in their own country, were received and sheltered by the Catholics in Ireland. Not so with the Irish. The septs of Leix and Offaly resisted the forfeiture of their lands. They insisted that the offences of their leaders ought not to involve in their confiscation the inferior heads. They took up arms in defence of their rights; but they were soon taught the futility of their opposition. An armed force was sent into the country, which proceeded to the work of extermination with such ruthless ferocity, that scarcely a remnant of the ancient residents could be found to avail themselves of the tardy pardons procured for them by the generous interference of the Earls of Kildare and Ossory. The territory was reduced into shire-ground, under the names of the King's and Queen's Counties, in honor of Philip and

Mary, whose names were given to the respective assize towns of each.

Elizabeth, on her accession, found the whole island involved in a state of petty warfare. The Earl of Thomond contended with another branch of the O'Briens for the rulership of North Munster. The Desmonds and Butlers renewed their contentions in the south. M'William Oughter rose in arms against the De Burghos of Clanricarde. The dispossessed inhabitants of Leix and Offaly revenged themselves by the pillage of the neighboring districts of Leinster, and Shane O'Neill was making rapid strides towards the sovereignty of the whole of Ulster. The last named of these parties was the first pacified. Sir Henry Sidney, the new lord-deputy, instead of turning the military force of the queen against him in the first instance, had recourse to gentler measures. Accepting an invitation to settle the matters in controversy at O'Neill's own residence, he was received with such splendid hospitality, and heard such a statement of facts, as induced him not only to relinquish all ideas of severity, but to engage to be his mediator with the queen. O'Neill even attended the lord-deputy to Dublin; but when there, being made more fully aware of the deadly machinations of his secret enemies, who thirsted to make his princely property an object of confiscation, he adopted the daring resolution of proceeding to London, and laying his case before the queen in person. Attended by a chosen band of followers equipped in the most appropriate costume of the country, he entered that city, to the astonishment and delight of the population, then as well as now fascinated by show and singularity. A native Irish chieftain, followed by a band of men armed in a strange fashion, with heads bare, their hair flowing in clustering curls on their shoulders, clad in saffron linen vests of exuberant folds, surcharged with light and polished cuirasses, and bearing broad double-edged battle-axes over the shoulders, caught the fancy and dazzled the imagination, not only of the

populace, but of the queen herself. She received the singular visitant with marked favor, and sent him back to Ireland secured in the possession of the title and property which he claimed as his right upon his father's death. But this unexpected tide of royal favor only whetted the ingenuity of his enemies at home. Complaint after complaint, either of actual offence or of imputed ill intention, was sent over to Elizabeth, whose answer, "that if he revolted it would be better for her servants, as there would be more forfeitures to divide amongst them," excited their hopes, as the prospect of the prey had roused their cupidity. Sir Henry Sidney had placed a garrison in the town of Derry. This step O'Neill considered as an infringement of his rights, and an intrusion on his sovereignty. A body of forces led by him against it defeated and slew the governor. Shortly afterwards, the church, which had been used as a powder magazine, was blown up by accident, and the garrison forced to evacuate the place. This event was construed by the people into a judgment from heaven for the profanation. O'Neill then proceeded to Armagh, which he took by storm, and burned the cathedral; but was baffled in a subsequent attempt upon Dundalk. The tide of fortune now set strongly against him. Several of the native chieftains in the north, and Desmond in the south, took part with the government. His forces were unequal to contend against such a combination. Finding resistance hopeless, his first emotion was to throw himself on the mercy of the lord-deputy; but the treatment of O'More under similar circumstances deterred him. He therefore determined to seek the protection of a body of Scotchmen, who were encamped in that part of Antrim, then known by the name of Claneboy. His proposal of joining this party, which was readily accepted by them, became known to the English governor, who sent an officer of the name of Piers to the Scotch commander, to persuade him to assassinate his unsuspecting guest. The plot succeeded. O'Neill, on

his arrival, was assailed by a party of his host's followers, upon the futile pretence of a sudden quarrel during the entertainment to which he was invited. His head was sent to Dublin, and Piers received a thousand pounds for his share in the transaction. The deputy named a feeble old man, named Tirlagh Leynagh, as head of the sept, to prevent this office being filled by a more youthful and daring individual.

The ruin of O'Neill in the north was followed by that of Desmond in the south. A small body of Spaniards was brought into that part of Ireland by a banished branch of the Fitzgerald family. Though the Earl of Desmond steadily persevered in avoiding to connect himself with their proceedings, the conduct of some of his relations involved him in suspicions, which were then nearly tantamount to guilt. His brothers Sir John and Sir James having joined the invading party, the former disgraced himself, and injured his cause, by the unprovoked murder of an English gentleman of the name of Davels, who had been sent by the deputy to persuade them to continue in their allegiance. The whole force of the government was directed against the family. The army of the insurgents was utterly routed at Kilmallock. The earl himself, though as yet guilty of no overt act, received a peremptory order to surrender within twenty days; and upon his declining to appear, he was declared a traitor. The war was carried on against him with unexampled cruelty. Slaughter, fire and famine, desolated the finest parts of the rich province of Munster. Desmond, driven to desperation, made a vigorous stand. At one time he possessed himself of the town of Youghal, but was soon afterwards defeated by his old and bitter enemy the Earl of Ormond. At this time a new lord-deputy was sent over in the person of Lord Grey. His first effort was an attack upon the O'Byrnes of Wicklow, who were charged with having banded themselves in alliance with Desmond. He determined to attack them in their stronghold of Glenda



logh, in the very centre of the mountains; but, when entangled in the inextricable labyrinths of these mountain fastnesses, he was assaulted with such well-judged fury, that his army was cut off almost to a man, he himself scarcely escaping to Dublin, overwhelmed with shame and confusion. Hence he was soon afterwards called away to Munster. A body of Spaniards 700 strong had arrived in Kerry to the aid of Desmond; but the number was too small to be effective. On their landing they secured themselves in an intrenchment, which they named Fort d'Ore. Here they were blocked up by the lord-deputy, so as to render escape impossible. They surrendered, whether on terms or at discretion is uncertain. But the subsequent atrocity is as certain as it is detestable. Lord Grey ordered the whole of the garrison to be butchered. His instructions were executed to the letter. Sir Walter Raleigh, and Spenser the poet, were involved in the infamy of this abominable act, the one as the officer presiding at the massacre, the other as assisting in the councils where it was devised. The war was now at an end, but the chief victim still found means to avoid the indefatigable pursuit of his enemies. Hunted from lair to lair, he suffered all the extremity of famine. A few of his daring adherents had seized a prey of cattle for his sustenance. They were traced into a wooded valley, where, attracted by a light, his pursuers were led to a hovel, in which they found only a feeble old man. On being assaulted and wounded, he called out for mercy, and told them he was the Earl of Desmond. This was the signal for his death. The soldier repeated his blow, and slew him. His head was forwarded to the queen, who ordered it to be fixed upon London Bridge.

The government of Sir John Perrott, who succeeded Lord Grey, presents one of the bright spots in the history of the country. His first act was to publish an amnesty, and to denounce the military slaughters and spoliations which were encouraged by too many of the commanders. He took care to

secure all parties in their persons and properties, to administer justice to all alike, and to reform the gross abuses in the public departments. Nor were his endeavors unsuccessful. The natives vied with each other in tendering proofs of loyalty. The old lords of the pale suspended their feuds, and came up to attend his court in Dublin. A parliament was assembled, which, though with some reluctance, passed an act for the attainder of the deceased Lord Desmond, together with a hundred and forty of his followers, and confiscated his immense estate to the crown. Having thus reduced the south to order, he turned his attention to Ulster. Hugh, the eldest son of Matthew, Lord Dungannon, was entitled to the honors and estates belonging to the earldom of Tyrone. He had been educated in England, and had served with honor in the queen's army. He now applied for his seat in the House of Lords, and for the restoration of his property. Perrott granted him the first of these requests, and referred him to the queen for the second. He therefore presented himself at court, not, like his predecessor, in the wild attire and equipage of an Irish dynast, but as a British courtier. He was received with marked partiality, and soon restored to his possessions. The close of Perrott's government was stained by an act unworthy of him. O'Donnell, the chieftain of Tyrconnel, was suspected of meditating a revolt. Perrott undertook to stifle the attempt without difficulty or expense. To effect this, he caused O'Donnell's eldest son to be inveigled on board a ship sent into Lough Swilly, on pretence of trafficking in wine, and had the young man brought up to Dublin, where he was kept for some time in close confinement. But such had been this governor's general conduct, that even an act so unjustifiable did not deprive him of general confidence. On his recall, being aware of an impending Spanish invasion, he assembled such of the lords and chieftains as were most likely to be swayed from their allegiance by the ap-

pearance of a foreign force, pointed out to them the consequences which must result from the apprehended invasion, and persuaded them to give hostages in proof of their determination to adhere to their sovereign. He then quitted the country, followed by the blessings and prayers of thousands. The conduct of his successor, Sir William Fitzwilliam, whose sole object appeared to be the accumulation of wealth, enhanced the feelings of regret for his departure. After the defeat of the Spanish Armada, several of the ships belonging to it were lost on the northern coast of Ireland. Reports were rife as to the quantities of money acquired from the wrecks by the chieftains residing in the neighborhood. Fitzwilliam seized upon some of them, on the mere suspicion of their being in possession of these treasures, and kept them for years in close confinement. He afterwards imprisoned M'Mahon, the head of the sept that held Monaghan county, on a charge of treason, for having employed a military force to collect his revenues, an usual custom in the Irish districts, and brought him to trial before a jury of soldiers, by whom he was at once condemned and consigned to immediate execution. These and similar severities excited the spirit which they professed to repress. Young O'Donnell, who had been treacherously entrapped by Perrott, found means to escape from Dublin Castle, and took refuge in the mountains of Wicklow, whence, after a year's residence, he made his way, through extraordinary difficulties, to his own country, where he was most active in fomenting the spirit of discontent amongst his neighbors.

About this time the university of Dublin was founded, on the site of a suppressed monastery. The project was first conceived by Sir John Perrott, but it was not acted upon until the time of his successor. It was the only successful effort since the arrival of the English at imparting to the country a knowledge of the higher branches of learning.

O'Neill, ever since his restoration to his estate, had been preparing means for the part he afterwards acted. Amongst the stipulations in his favor on his restoration, was the privilege of being attended with a certain number of armed men. These he frequently changed, so as to have in a short time a large number of his followers trained to the use of arms. When he conceived himself sufficiently prepared to set the English power at defiance, he threw off the mask, and openly laid siege to the fort of Blackwater, built some time before for the avowed purpose of keeping him in check. Sir Nicholas Bagnal was sent to relieve it. The opposing armies met near Armagh. The numbers on each side were nearly equal, but fortune turned the scale of victory. In the heat of the engagement, the explosion of a magazine threw the queen's forces into confusion. The death of Bagnal, who, whilst raising his visor, was shot through the brain, rendered the confusion irremediable. The victory of the Irish was decisive, and 1500 of the enemy fell in the field. The fort of Blackwater immediately surrendered, and Armagh was evacuated by the queen's troops.

Elizabeth at length determined to make one irresistible effort to crush an adversary now become truly formidable. She sent the Earl of Essex into Ireland as lord-lieutenant, at the head of 20,000 men; a number deemed more than sufficient to accomplish her object in a single campaign. Essex had orders to proceed directly against Tyrone; but he took a course diametrically opposite. He directed his march southward through Munster, where he found an impoverished and depopulated country, and an enemy that eluded every effort to bring them into decisive collision. In passing through Leix, his cavalry suffered heavily from the repeated desultory attacks of O'More, who cherished all his ancestor's hereditary hatred of the English; whilst another division of his army was defeated by the O'Byrnes of the mountains. In another quarter Sir Conyers Clif-



ford, who was sent into Connaught to create a diversion in favor of the main body, was routed and killed in the Curlew Mountains, by O'Ruark, Prince of Breffney, as the county of Leitrim was then called. These repeated losses so diminished the numbers and broke the spirit of the English, that when Essex moved northwards to effect his main object, he found his means inadequate to the attempt. An interview was proposed and accepted, which was followed by a truce for six weeks, in consequence of which the English army returned to its quarters in Leinster.

The anger of Elizabeth at this termination of her expensive expedition was extreme. Essex, to ward off its effects, took the desperate expedient of returning unbidden to court, to justify himself in person. The act was as unfortunate as inconsiderate. He was arrested, imprisoned, and, on a still more frantic effort to excite the citizens of London against the queen, was tried and beheaded.

Sir Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, was sent to Ireland in the place of Essex. His love of literature had excited an opinion of his effeminacy. O'Neill exulted openly at the appointment of a man "who would lose the season of action whilst his breakfast was making ready." He was soon to learn that the graces of polite literature are by no means incompatible with the qualifications of a warrior. At the commencement of Lord Mountjoy's proceedings, an occurrence took place which excited in his mind strong doubts of the honesty of the Earl of Ormond, who had still the chief command of the army. This nobleman having allowed himself to be trepanned into a conference with O'More, the chieftain of Leix, on pretence of treating as to terms of submission, was seized and long detained prisoner, as Mountjoy was not over hasty in paying a large ransom for a man who, he shrewdly suspected, had been the secret cause of his own calamity. The proceedings against O'Neill were conducted with much policy. The inferior chiefs were bribed to joined in the

confederacy against him. The lands of those who adhered to him were mercilessly devastated. Pardon was granted to the insurgents only on the condition of betraying or murdering a relative or friend. A strict adherence to these practices soon wasted O'Neill's strength. He persevered in his resistance, however, in the hope of succors from Spain. These at length arrived, but fell far short of what his expectations had anticipated, or the greatness of the emergency called for. Two thousand men, under the command of Don Juan d'Aquila, were all that Philip of Spain would or could spare toward this effort to crush his rival, or at least to dismember her empire. To complete the series of ill-combined arrangements, the invading force landed at Kinsale, in the south of Ireland, whilst the ally whose interests it was sent to maintain was shut up in the northern extremity of the island. The Spaniards, as soon as they landed, were blocked up in Kinsale by the combined forces of the lord-deputy, and Sir George Carew, president of Munster. Don Juan wrote in the most urgent terms to O'Neill and O'Donnell to come to his relief. They advanced at the extraordinary speed of forty miles a day, through a country already desolated by the protracted continuance of a war of extermination. At the same time that they arrived near the scene of action, the landing of a second Spanish armament at Castlehaven, joined to the intelligence that this was to be followed by still further succors, induced several of the southern chieftains to declare themselves openly in favor of the Spaniards; and Mountjoy now found himself blocked up in turn, between the garrison of Kinsale on the one side and the Irish army on the other. Under such circumstances, delay would have been ruin. Famine and disease, already active in his camp, must soon have accomplished the annihilation of his army. The impatience of the Spanish general, and the want of concert among the Irish, saved him. O'Neill was prevailed upon to hazard an attack upon the English lines. In this

he was anticipated. Mountjoy, aware of his intention, marched to meet him with part of his forces, leaving the remainder to keep the besieged in check. The enemy were taken by surprise, and, after a short resistance, the main body of the Irish was broken and scattered. O'Donnell, who commanded the rear, fled without striking a blow. O'Neill, after some ineffectual attempts to rally his men, still much superior in numbers, gave up the attempt in despair, and hurried back to the north. The Spanish general, finding himself deserted, and, as he thought, betrayed, by his new auxiliaries, surrendered upon terms. The war of desolation was now carried into the northern province. The forts of Charlemont and Mountjoy were erected to curb the Irish in that quarter. The open country was desolated. Large tracts were converted into deserts, where the miserable remnant of the population endeavored to support nature by feeding on grass, or the filthiest garbage. O'Neill's friends and adherents gradually fell off. He at length applied to be received into mercy. Mountjoy, at this time aware of the precarious state of Elizabeth's existence, was equally anxious to terminate the struggle. After receiving from O'Neill an abject submission on his knees at Mellifont, he admitted him to pardon, and encouraged him with the hope of restoration to his title and estate. Scarcely had the ceremony been concluded when the news of Elizabeth's death arrived. O'Neill, on hearing of it, burst into a flood of tears, occasioned, as he said, by his regret for a princess whose kindness he had so ungratefully repaid, but, with more probability, by the reflection that an earlier intimation of the event might have enabled him to take advantage of it for procuring terms less degrading. The war could not have been much longer continued. It had worn itself out; the resources of the country were completely exhausted; the population was reduced to the number of from 600,000 to 800,000; the finances were in the most ruinous state; and the debasement of the coin, an expe-

dient adopted by Elizabeth to parry the ruin, ultimately served only to aggravate the distress.

With the exception of an effort made in the cities of Waterford and Cork to restore the old forms of worship, which was speedily put down with the effusion of but little blood, the submission of Tyrone restored the general tranquillity to such a degree, that Mountjoy felt justified in proceeding to England to present himself before his new sovereign, leaving Sir George Carew in his place as lord-deputy. He was accompanied by O'Neill and O'Donnell, the former of whom was confirmed in his title of Tyrone, and the latter created Earl of Tyrconnel. Before his departure he published a general amnesty, and received into the protection of the English law the whole of the Irish people hitherto exposed to the ill-defined rule of their respective chieftains. But the dawn of tranquillity was darkened by the apprehension of fresh convulsions. An anonymous letter was found in the council-chamber of the castle, hinting at the existence of a conspiracy carried on by some of the great Irish lords against the state. On the alarm being given, the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, actuated either by a consciousness of guilt, or by an apprehension that they were specially marked out as the objects of persecution, left the country, and took refuge in Spain. Their flight was considered as sufficient proof of their guilt. They were attainted, and their immense possessions forfeited to the crown. In one district of the north the flame of insurrection broke out openly. Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, proprietor of Innishowen, who had hitherto espoused the cause of the English, disclaimed his allegiance, seized by treachery the fort of Culmore, and thence proceeded to attack the town and fort of Derry, which he took by storm, putting the whole garrison, with the commandant, to the sword; but after continuing his ravages for five months, his followers were routed, and himself slain in an engagement, by Sir Arthur Chichester, the



lord-deputy, who found his presence necessary for the complete suppression of the insurrection.

The death of this chieftain and the flight of the two earls having placed nearly the whole of Ulster in the king's hands, he resolved to remodel the province, by removing the ancient possessors, and introducing a colony of English and Scotch settlers in their stead. The tract on which the experiment was to be made comprehended the counties of Tyrconnel, since called Donegal, Tyrone, Derry, Fermanagh, Armagh and Cavan, spreading over upwards of half a million of acres. The lands were to be portioned out into estates varying from one to two thousand acres, the proprietors of which were bound to build substantial residences in them after the English fashion, and to people them with English and Scotch tenantry. The City of London was peculiarly active in promoting this plan. A company of merchants and undertakers there, under the name of the Irish Society, contracted for large tracts of land, which they still hold under this tenure. The remainder was portioned out amongst private individuals, either English or Scotch, who thus became the founders of most of the principal families now residing in these counties. The order of baronets was instituted in order to promote the execution of this favorite project of James. The number of its members was limited to two hundred, each of whom purchased his rank by the payment of a sum adequate to support thirty men on the new plantation for three years. About the same time, the county of Wicklow, heretofore the property of the septs of the O'Byrnes, and O'Tooles or O'Tothils, was made shire-ground, after the natives had been dispossessed by a summary process, somewhat similar to that employed in the settlement of the northern counties.

In order to secure the permanence of these changes by positive law, a parliament was convoked, after a lapse of twenty-seven years. It was the first to which members

from all the counties of Ireland were sent. To secure a preponderance in favor of the crown, a number of new boroughs was created, in the charters of which the right of election was placed in hands which secured subserviency to the ruling power of the day. Notwithstanding this precaution, the political aspect which this assemblage presented was by no means promising. In the Upper House, which consisted of but four earls, five viscounts, sixteen barons and twenty-five bishop, the numbers of the latter order gave the crown an irresistible preponderance. But in the House of Commons the parties were more equally balanced. The election of a speaker served as a trial of strength. The court party proposed Sir John Davis, the attorney-general, an Englishman, and author of the celebrated tract on the Causes why Ireland had never been completely subdued. The country party set up Sir John Everard, an Irish lawyer of respectable family. The election went in favor of the former, by a majority of a hundred and twenty-seven votes to ninety-seven. The defeated party, not content with protesting against the unfair construction of the House, took advantage of the absence of the majority, who had left the apartment for the purpose of being counted on the division, put their own speaker in the chair, and were proceeding to pass resolutions, when the excluded members returned, and, failing in an attempt to eject Everard from the chair, placed their own nominee in his lap. The scene of disgraceful tumult which followed was at length terminated by the secession of the minority, after they had protested against all the acts that should be passed, as informal and unconstitutional.

Charles I. began his reign by sending a large force to Ireland, both to provide against the danger of foreign invasion, and to curb internal disaffection; but, through a deficiency of pecuniary means to support the troops, he had recourse to the exertion of his prerogative, and quartered them on the counties and principal towns, obliging the

inhabitants to supply them, not only with lodging, but with money and provisions. The murmurs against this oppressive impost were loud and frequent. A meeting of the principal Catholic recusants and great landed proprietors having assembled in Dublin, proposed to Lord Falkland, the lord-lieutenant, to grant the king a voluntary assessment of a hundred and twenty thousand pounds, on a guarantee of security in their rights and properties. The proposal was accepted by the king, who sent over the document containing the required concessions, ratified by his signature, in order to their being confirmed by the ensuing parliament. When the parliament which was to give the sanction of law to these favors had met, an informality in the writs for assembling was alleged as a reason for not having then confirmed them; and as no new writs were issued, nor any steps taken to convoke another parliament, the people, who had advanced their money on the security of this promise, entertained strong doubts of the king's sincerity. The recall of Lord Falkland served to confirm these suspicions. The lords-justices who were appointed on his departure executed the laws against recusant Catholics with great severity. They caused the celebrated place of penance in Loughderg, called St. Patrick's Purgatory, to be dug up and desecrated; and on being resisted by a tumultuous mob in an endeavor to prevent the Carmelite friars of Dublin from publicly performing their religious rites, they seized upon fifteen religious houses, and dispossessed the Catholics of their college in Backlane, giving it to the Dublin University, which kept it open for some time as a Protestant seminary. These measures only augmented the spirit of discontent, to repress which Charles sent over Lord Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford. This nobleman, from being one of the most active leaders of the popular party in the English parliament, became at once the most violent assertor of the king's arbitrary measures. Equally proud and dar-

ing, he took no pains to conceal or palliate his desertion. "You see, gentlemen," said he to some of his former political friends, "I have quitted you." "We see you have," replied one of these sturdy republicans; "but, with God's blessing, we will never quit you while you have a head on your shoulders." His policy on his arrival was to treat Ireland as a conquered country, and to beat down opposition, from whatever quarter it might arise, by the stern arm of power. His arbitrary conduct made no distinction of persons. The Earl of Kildare having left the country without his permission, for the purpose of laying a complaint against his overbearing conduct before the king, was forced to make an abject submission to the person against whom he complained. Lord Mountmorris, for having used an unguarded expression, which could be distorted into a threat against the lord-lieutenant, was seized, tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to death, and escaped punishment only by the universal outcry raised against such a stretch of power. One Irish nobleman only had courage sufficient to oppose this conduct. Strafford, on the meeting of parliament, had issued orders that the members should lay aside their swords when they took their seats. The Earl of Ormond who had just come of age, on being stopped at the entrance of the House of Lords, and required by the usher of the black rod to give up his sword, answered, that if that officer must have his sword it should be through his body, and passed on to his seat. On being summoned before the counsel to answer for this daring insult on the viceregal authority, he defended himself by saying that he had received the investiture to his earldom *per cincturam gladii*, and was ordered by the writ of summons to attend parliament *gladio cinctus*. The answer, as spirited as it was unexpected, staggered Strafford. He felt that such a spirit in so young a man must either be crushed at once or otherwise directed. He had the prudence to adopt the latter course;



and Ormond, at the age of twenty-four, was admitted into the Irish privy council. The imperious and harsh measures of the lord-lieutenant had, however, the effect of putting down all opposition in parliament. Six subsidies, amounting to three hundred thousand pounds were granted, and no steps taken to secure to the people, by the sanction of parliament, those graces which the king had pledged himself to grant, and for which they had paid so highly. In some respects, Strafford's government was laudable. He reformed the army, so as to render it efficient without being burdensome to the people; he encouraged the linen manufacture, using, at the same time, every means to depress that of wool; he promoted a spirit of commerce, and guarded the coasts with great vigilance against the annoyance of pirates. Amongst the worst acts of his government, was his project to subvert all titles to estates in Connaught, in order to plant a new Protestant colony in that province. Taking with him a large body of soldiers to overawe the juries, he held courts of inquest to investigate titles. His measures were effectual in four counties. In Galway, the jurors having presumed to give a verdict against the crown, were summoned before the court of the council chamber in Dublin, and the sheriff fined a thousand pounds for returning an improper jury. The exigencies of Charles's affairs induced him to call over Strafford to England, where, after some time, he was impeached by the House of Commons. The principal charges against him rested upon his conduct whilst in Ireland. Several articles were certainly groundless, others exaggerated, but more than sufficient remained to justify the sentence which brought his head to the block, and fulfilled the ominous prediction of the party he had deserted when in the zenith of his prosperity.

Whilst general discontent in Ireland was fermenting through the duplicity of the king, the arbitrary conduct of his officers, the suggestions of his enemies in England,

and their bloody triumph over his great agent, a secret conspiracy was forming to rescue the country by force of arms from its present oppressed state, and to restore the property of it to those whom the late changes had ejected. The deviser and main-spring of the plot was Roger Moore, a descendant of the O'Mores, of Leix, who had been dispossessed in the reign of Mary. In conjunction with a son of the Earl of Tyrone, who, on escaping to Spain, had obtained the command of a regiment in the Spanish service, he set about procuring the means to accomplish the daring measure. Returning to Ireland, he gained over several of the heads of the old Irish families. The death of Tyrone checked, but did not prevent, his proceedings. Application was made to another branch of the family, Owen Roe O'Neill, then in the service of the king of France, from whom the conspirators received assurances of military aid when matters should be ripe. The seizure of the castle of Dublin was to be the first overt act, and the 5th of October was fixed on for the attempt. The timidity of some of the parties caused its postponement. Roger Moore, after having visited his friends in Ulster, on whose exertions, owing to the severity with which they had been dispossessed in the late settlement of that province, he placed most dependence, came up to Dublin to superintend the attack, which was now fixed on for the 23d of the same month. The lords-justices, Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase, were till this moment unaware of the conspiracy, and unprepared for resistance. On the evening of the 22d, information of its existence was given, through Owen Conolly, a Protestant, who had been invited to join in it. Parsons paid little attention to his statement, but Borlase took the alarm, placed guards on the castle and principal avenues, and seized M'Mahon and Lord M'Guire. Moore had sufficient notice of the discovery to make his escape. Dublin was thus saved; but the insurrection broke out with irresistible fury in the north, where

Sir Phelim O'Neill, one of the Tyrone family, a man of mean capacity but violent passions, took the lead, by surprising the castles of Charlemont, Dungannon and Mountjoy. Tanderagee, and the border town of Newry, soon afterwards fell into the hands of the insurgents. Fermanagh was seized upon by a brother of Lord M'Guire, and Monaghan by the M'Mahons. So well organized was the conspiracy, that within eight days' time the Irish found themselves masters of the counties of Tyrone, Monaghan, Longford, Leitrim, Fermanagh, Cavan, Donegal and Derry, together with some parts of Armagh and Down.

In the meantime the lords-justices were engaged in taking measures for their own security in Dublin. All strangers were ordered to quit the city. Parliament was prorogued. The sheriffs of the counties of the pale received orders to provide for the security of their respective districts. The Catholic lords of the pale attended the council, declaring their readiness to assist in the defence of the country. The lords-justices, suspicious of their motives, yet unwilling to irritate them by an expression of doubt, furnished a small supply of arms to those most exposed to danger. After the first burst of an explosion so general and so unexpected, the progress of the insurgents failed to keep pace with their primary exertions. The Protestants in Down took refuge in Carrickfergus. In Fermanagh, Enniskillen set the attempts of the insurgents at defiance, and Lord M'Guire's castle was taken by storm. Sir Phelim O'Neill was driven with disgrace and loss from Castlederg, was defeated in Donegal, forced to retire from before Newry, and again routed at Lisburn, then called Lisnegarvey, with such slaughter that the number of the slain is said to have trebled that of the garrison. These reverses were attended with consequences truly dreadful. The Irish, exasperated by defeat, carried on their hostilities without mercy. The inhabitants of Lurgan, who had surrendered on terms, were seized, and the town plundered.

Lord Caulfield, who had been taken in Charlemont, was murdered, with fifty others. Prisoners, whilst removing from one place of confinement to another, were attacked on the road and massacred, or driven into the nearest river. These excesses were not confined to the one side only. The garrison of Carrickfergus fell upon the Catholic inhabitants of the neighboring peninsula of Island Magee, and forced a number of them over the rocks into the sea. Sir Charles Coote, who was sent out from Dublin to oppose the insurgents, carried on a war of extermination against all suspected of favoring them. That these atrocities did not stain the rebellion at its commencement, but grew out of its progress, is evident from the fact, that no mention of a massacre is made in any of the proclamations issued by the lords-justices, even so late as the 23d of December, three months after its commencement; the protestation of the Irish parliament, which met on the 17th of November, is also silent on the point; nor does any state paper emanating from the Irish government afford grounds for the charge. The parliament, on assembling, sat but for two days. Its only acts were a protestation against those who had taken arms, and the appointment of a committee to confer with their leaders. Alarmed at this act of concession, it was prorogued by the lords-justices; and the conference was broken off in the most indignant manner by O'Moore, when he found himself and his friends stigmatized in it by the name of rebels. The lords-justices now proceeded to deprive these noblemen and gentlemen of the pile of the arms furnished to them in the first paroxysm of terror. Exposed thus undefended to the attacks of the insurgents on the one hand, and to the suspicions of the government on the other, they held meetings with the leaders of the insurrection, first at the hill of Crofty, and afterwards at that of Tarah, in consequence of which they determined to embody themselves as a force distinct from the Ulster Irish, under the command of Lord Gormanstown and the Earl of



Fingal, with the professed purpose of confining their operations to self-defence. The lords-justices were alarmed. They now sent to invite the discontented lords and gentry to Dublin, to confer with them on the state of the country. These excused themselves on the plea that they would not venture within a city under the control of Sir Charles Coote, whose sanguinary speeches at the council board, and massacres throughout the country, had already rendered him peculiarly obnoxious. They also drew up an address to the king, complaining of the injurious conduct of the lords-justices, by which they had been driven to the necessity of arming themselves in their own defence; and they published a manifesto to the same purport, for general circulation. The latter document produced a decisive effect. The insurrection, hitherto confined to Ulster and a small portion of Leinster and Connaught, at once became general. At the commencement of the year the authority of the lords-justices was confined to Dublin and Drogheda, the latter of which was in a state of siege. In Connaught, the town of Galway was retained in its allegiance through the influence of the Marquis of Clanricarde, the king's steady friend. In Munster, the cruelties of Sir Warham St. Leger, president of the province, which equalled those of Sir Charles Coote in Leinster, drove even those hitherto well disposed into insurrection.

The arrival of supplies of men from England produced a change, and encouraged the lords-justices to exert themselves to crush their enemies. The means adopted by them were those of extreme severity. The prisoners of the lower orders brought into Dublin were summarily executed by martial law; those possessed of lands were tried by the regular course of law, in order to secure the confiscation of their property. Bills of indictment for high treason were found against all the Catholic nobility and gentry in Meath, Wicklow and Dublin, and against many in Kildare. Several persons of imputed guilt were put to the torture to extort confessions.

The Earl of Ormond, who had the command of the army, received instructions not only to kill all rebels and their adherents, but to burn all the places where they had been harbored, and to destroy all the male inhabitants capable of bearing arms. Nor were these merely denunciations, circulated for the purpose of producing obedience through terror. Sir William Cole's regiment alone boasted, that, besides killing two thousand five hundred men in battle, they had starved and famished, of the vulgar sort, whose goods they seized on, seven thousand. The Earl of Ormond was despatched into the county of Kildare to relieve and secure the castles which still held out for the government. After executing his commission, he defeated at Kilrush a large body of the Irish under Lord Mountgarret; but being unable, through want of supplies, to follow up his advantage, he was forced to content himself by thus securing a safe retreat to Dublin.

On the other side, the arrival of Owen Roe O'Neill gave fresh vigor to the cause of the Irish in Ulster. A Scotch force, which had been sent thither under the command of Lord Leven, remained inactive. Lord Leven, after an empty display, quitted the country, leaving the command to General Munroe, who, following the example of his predecessor, remained quiet in his quarters, whilst the forces of O'Neill were daily augmenting, by the accession of numbers of the natives, and by supplies of officers, military stores and money from the Continent.

The insurgents now began to find themselves sufficiently powerful to give form and regularity to their proceedings. A general assembly of delegates from all the provinces, was convened at Kilkenny. Their first act was a declaration, in which, after professing their determination to adhere to their allegiance to the king, they disclaimed the authority of the Irish government in Dublin, administered as it was by a malignant party in conjunction with the king's enemies in England. They appointed for the execution of their edicts subordinate councils in the

provinces, from which there was to be an appeal to the supreme council of the Catholics of Ireland, a permanent body, consisting of twenty-four members, chosen by the general assembly. Having thus organized their civil constitution, they provided for their military operations by giving Owen Roe O'Neill the command of their forces in Ulster; General Preston, who had lately brought a supply of arms and ammunition from France, in Leinster; Garret Barry in Munster, and Colonel Burke in Connaught. Lord Castlehaven, who, on the first breaking out of the war, had made a tender of his services to the government, but had been refused, having afterwards appeared in Dublin to justify himself from a charge of treason, was thrown into prison, whence he contrived to escape after a confinement of twenty weeks, and was appointed to the command of the Leinster cavalry.

The good effects of system soon showed themselves. Munroe was defeated in Ulster, and the united forces of Lords Muskerry and Castlehaven were successful in Munster. Connaught was wholly in obedience to the confederates; and though Preston had allowed himself to be defeated near New Ross, Lord Ormond found himself too weak to reap any decisive advantage from his victory. Yet, notwithstanding these favorable appearances, the leaders of the confederates, aware of the great superiority of their opponents, and not firmly united amongst themselves, were anxious to put an end to hostilities. But the English parliament obstinately refused to negotiate with those whom they styled rebels and murderers. The Earl of Ormond at the same time undertook to continue the war on the part of the crown, provided the lords-justices furnished him with a supply of ten thousand pounds. After much delay, a cessation of arms was acquiesced in by both the belligerent parties, for which the confederates agreed to advance to the amount of thirty thousand pounds for the king's service, one half in money, and the remainder in cattle.

The great object of the cessation of hostilities was to procure from the king a permanent settlement of the country. Both parties sent in their proposals. In these the Catholics asked for freedom of religion, seminaries for the education of their children, a free parliament, from which all who had not property in Ireland should be excluded, and an amnesty for the past. The Protestants, on the contrary, called for the strict execution of the penal laws, the total disarming of the Catholics, the vesting of all estates hitherto forfeited in the crown, and the distribution of them when so vested amongst English settlers exclusively. Charles gave no decisive answer to any of these proposals. He pleaded the difficulties of his situation, and referred them to Ormond, whom he had appointed chief governor instead of Parsons and Borlase, and had raised to the dignity of a marquis. Ormond procrastinated. The mean motives of avarice and personal aggrandizement are charged against him for his indecision in such an emergency. But be the cause what it might, the opportunity for a pacific settlement was let slip, and lost for ever.

The first eventful change was the desertion of the confederate party by Lord Inchiquin, who, on being refused the office of president of Munster by the king, declared for the parliament, and became the bitter enemy of his former associates. Still, however, the confederates had the advantage in several minor encounters, for military operations were not wholly stopped by the armistice. At this period, whilst they refused to furnish the king with supplies either of men or money until their interests were more fully secured than by the temporary stipulations of a truce, and whilst Ormond, on the king's part, resisted every attempt at a permanent peace, the pope's legate, Rinuccini, Archbishop of Fermo, arrived, and in his master's name protested against any pacification which did not secure the public establishment of his religion. Charles, pressed by the exigencies of his situation, and una-



ble to overcome Ormond's reluctance, employed another agent. He sent over the son of the Marquis of Worcester, Edward, Lord Herbert, better known by the title of Earl of Glamorgan, to which he was soon afterwards promoted, who, through his influence with the confederates, succeeded in persuading them to make a double treaty, the one public, the other private; which latter contained articles insisted on by the Catholics, but deemed to be such as, if generally known, would increase the prejudice against the royal cause in the minds of the English. The secret clauses were, a provision that the members of each religious persuasion should pay their tithes to their own clergy, and that the churches should remain in the hands of their present possessors.

Rinuncini, who, while on his way to Ireland, had obtained from the queen an assurance of terms even more favorable than those of the private treaty, objected to both of them; he also insisted on the publication of the former. His wish was accomplished by an accident. Sir Charles Coote, the second of the name, for the former had been killed in a skirmish soon after the breaking out of the war, having defeated, near Sligo, a body of men commanded by the Archbishop of Tuam, found amongst the baggage of this prelate a copy of the secret articles. The document was immediately transmitted to the English parliament, which lost no time in publishing it throughout all parts of the country. Charles at once denied its authenticity. He declared that Glamorgan had exceeded his powers, and caused him to be arrested on a charge of treason, and examined before the Irish privy council. His duplicity gained him but little credit even at the time, and documents preserved in the public libraries of England have since furnished incontestible proofs of his insincerity. Glamorgan was soon liberated upon bail. The transaction destroyed all remaining confidence between the confederates and the king. Ormond refused to ratify the secret articles. Rinuncini, also, who had private

information of the progress of a treaty at Paris between Charles and the pope, insisted on delay. In the meantime, the king's affairs became desperate; and Ormond, when it was now too late, consented to relinquish his objections to the repeal of the penal laws, and concluded a treaty with the confederates. But the want of confidence excited by the king's conduct caused delays in carrying the terms of the treaty into effect, which ended in the utter ruin of the royal cause. Rinuncini, still averse to a compromise which withheld from the Catholic church the enjoyment of any of its former privileges, made party with Owen Roe O'Neill, who, through the aid of the nuncio's money, was enabled to undertake offensive operations, and defeated Munroe at Benburb, a village on the Blackwater. Rinuncini, elated with his success, entered Kilkenny, appointed a new confederate council, and imprisoned the members of the old one. Ormond, in despair, resigned the sword of state, and retired to the Continent; and, though he returned again armed with full power as lord-lieutenant, and though a new general assembly of the confederates, convoked at Kilkenny, had declared themselves favorable to terms in which both parties might be led to acquiesce, and were violent in their protestations against the stubborn resistance of the nuncio, the adoption of any decisive measure was postponed, until all were aroused from their lethargy by the appalling news of the demand made by the parliamentary army in England to bring the king to trial. Then, indeed, the confederates agreed to the terms proposed by Ormond. The leading points were, the free exercise of religion, and the retaining of the churches then in possession of the Catholics until the king's pleasure should be known. Twelve individuals appointed by the general assembly, under the name of the commissioners of trust, were made guardians of the treaty, and vested with powers to levy soldiers, raise money and perform all acts of supreme authority. The treaty was signed on the 17th of Janu-

ary, 1648. But it was then too late. Before the news of its ratification could arrive in London, Charles had forfeited his life upon the scaffold.

Previously to the death of the king, no less than five armies were maintained in Ireland, each acting for a different object. The Marquis of Ormond commanded that of the king, for the purpose of restoring him to his government. The parliamentary forces, under Colonel Jones, had possession of Dublin; and in the south he was supported for some time by a force under the Earl of Inchiquin. General Preston commanded the troops of the confederate Catholics in Leinster. Owen Roe O'Neill, who had attached himself to the nuncio, and therefore was equally opposed to the king, the parliament, and the confederates, had the command of all Ulster, except a small portion of its eastern extremity, where Munroe was at the head of an army which favored the Scotch. All these elements of intestine commotion were again thrown into action by the king's death. Rinuncini, indeed, finding that this event, which he was charged with having hastened by his obstinacy and violence, had alienated the whole of the Catholic population, quitted the country privately. Ormond then endeavored to gain over O'Neill, but failed; he afterwards made overtures to Colonel Jones, with whom he was equally unsuccessful, his proposals being met with the retort that his suspicious conduct had been the cause of exciting the apprehensions of the king's insincerity, which prevented any of the parties in Ireland from coalescing with him sincerely, and thus led to his destruction. Having at length, from his own resources, collected an army sufficient to take the field, he invested Dublin, with the intention of reducing it by famine. But an advanced post at Baggotsrath having been successfully assaulted by a sortie from the garrison, which followed up its success by an attack on the marquis's head-quarters at Rathmines, the whole besieging army was seized with such an unaccountable panic

that it dispersed in all directions, leaving the general so utterly deserted, that when he wrote to Jones respecting the prisoners who had fallen into his hands, this officer's taunting reply was, that he did not know where to find his lordship in order to wait upon him on the business.

Before the marquis could recover from the effect of this defeat, news was brought him of the arrival of Oliver Cromwell in Dublin, with a select and well-appointed army of ten thousand men. After a short delay in that city to refresh his troops and to regulate the civil affairs of the country, Cromwell proceeded to besiege Drogheda, which Ormond, suspecting his intention, had provided with a good garrison, and abundance of military stores. After having made a practical breach, the assault was given, but the besiegers were twice repulsed. On the third attack, led on by Cromwell in person, his troops forced their way into the town, and the garrison were overpowered. In the heat of action Cromwell put the whole garrison to the sword; and in this terrible severity he took the surest method to hasten the termination of what threatened to be a long and bloody conflict. The merciless but well-timed stroke broke the power of his adversaries, and by their intimidation saved the country from the bloodshed of a protracted struggle. From Drogheda Cromwell proceeded southwards to Wexford, which being well garrisoned and provided, was expected to make a long resistance, so as to give time to Ormond to collect his forces from other quarters. But it was betrayed by the treachery of the officer placed in command of the castle, and, when taken, treated with the same stern cruelty as that which had before marked Cromwell's triumph at Drogheda.

The effect of these terrible examples of severity in paralyzing opposition, was increased by the orders given by Cromwell to his troops to abstain from any wanton injuries on the peaceable peasantry, and to pay them in full for all their supplies; a system



directly contrary to all former practice, according to which, the soldier, whether friend or foe, was ever the peasant's terror.

The only hope for the royalist party now rested in the cordial union of Ormond and O'Neill. Both were sensible that a junction of their forces was absolutely requisite to counteract the movements of Cromwell. To effect this object, O'Neill moved southwards with his army, but was seized on his march with a defluxion of the knees; a complaint attributed at the time to a pair of poisoned boots prepared for him by an agent of the confederates. Unwilling to retard the movements of the armies, he had himself conveyed in a litter, but sunk under the accumulated pressure of disease and fatigue, and died at Cloughouer Castle.

The commissioners of trust were so much alarmed at the treatment of Drogheda and Wexford, that they were with difficulty prevented, by the remonstrances of Ormond, from abandoning Kilkenny. The want of confidence which he experienced, both from the leaders of the confederates, and the inhabitants of several of the large towns in the south, tended much to embarrass him. The city of Waterford absolutely refused admission to his troops, even at a time when a passage through it was required to make a successful assault on the retiring army of Cromwell. This general commenced the campaign in 1650 by a movement on Kilkenny, which was to have been betrayed into his hands. But the plot being discovered, and the traitor executed, he was forced to lay regular siege to the place. It made a very gallant defence. After a breach had been effected, the besiegers were repulsed in two attempts, and Cromwell was preparing to retire, when he received secret information that the town magistrates were anxious to surrender. A third assault was then made, with as little success as the former; but Ireton having come up with a fresh supply of men, and the garrison having been informed that no assistance could be afforded them from without, the town surrendered on

terms highly honorable to its defenders, who, on marching out, were complimented by Cromwell for their gallantry, and told that, had it not been for the treachery of the town's people, he must have been obliged to raise the siege.

Clonmel still held out against the parliamentary army. The garrison was commanded by Hugh O'Neill, another branch of the family which had signalized itself in the wars of Ireland. The first assault was repelled with such slaughter that the infantry refused to advance a second time, and Cromwell was compelled to bring forward his own favorite regiment of cavalry. These succeeded in entering the breach, but met with an opposition so fierce and so unexpected, at a retrenchment thrown up within, that the greater part of the storming party lay dead or wounded on the spot, and the remainder evacuated the place. In the two assaults Cromwell lost two thousand of his best soldiers. Not daring to venture on a third, he changed the siege into a blockade. The Marquis of Ormond, aware of the importance of the place, made every exertion for its relief. Assisted by the Catholic Bishop of Ross, he collected a numerous but tumultuary body of men in the western part of Cork. These were attacked and routed, and the bishop taken. His life was promised to him, provided he would prevail on the garrison of a neighboring fort, which greatly annoyed the besiegers, to surrender. On going thither, he exhorted the garrison to persevere in their defence, and, on his return to the camp of Cromwell, was executed. O'Neill having defended the town as long as his ammunition lasted, withdrew his troops by night unobserved; and Cromwell, unaware of the movement, gave the people very favorable conditions, to which he was the more inclined, as the intelligence of Charles II. having taken refuge in Scotland, and the hostile indications from that quarter, rendered his presence in England necessary to his party. Immediately after the surrender of Clonmel, he proceeded to Youghal and

embarked for England, leaving the army in charge of his son-in-law, Ireton.

All rational hope of successful resistance to the parliament was now at an end. Ormond prepared to quit the kingdom. The commissioners of trust for some time opposed his intention, conscious of the confusion which must arise from such a public avowal of his despondency. But with the Catholic clergy it was otherwise. They suspected that he was secretly negotiating with Cromwell. His former conduct afforded plausible grounds for such a suspicion; and during the siege of Clonmel he had procured passes from that general for himself and Lord Inchiquin to go to England. A synod of the bishops, held at Jamestown, resolved upon sending a deputation to him, calling upon him to quit the country, and transfer his powers to some trustworthy person, who enjoyed the confidence of the nation. A second resolution denounced excommunication against all who should hereafter adhere to him. Whilst the relics of those who possessed attachment to the royal cause were wasting their strength and ruining their prospects by these proceedings, Ireton was engaged in extending his authority by the reduction of one place of strength after another. Ormond, as a last resource, convened a general assembly at Loughrea; but the party of the clergy was too powerful. Finding all means ineffectual to induce them to recall their hostile declaration, he embarked in a frigate provided for him by the Duke of York, transferring his powers as lord-lieutenant to the Marquis of Clanricarde. An extraordinary negotiation was now commenced with the Duke of Lorraine, by which it was proposed, that on the advance of a large sum of money, and a proportionate supply of military stores, he should be declared protector of the royal cause, and receive some towns as cautionary securities. But the rapid progress of Ireton baffled all these projects. Limerick was reduced, partly by the effects of a pestilential disease, partly by treachery. Amongst the victims of the plague

was Ireton himself. After his death Galway surrendered to Ludlow, his successor. A last desperate attempt at resistance was made in Connaught by Clanricarde, aided by Sir Phelim O'Neill, who now again began to make himself conspicuous. It was defeated, and Clanricarde fled to one of the islands on the coast. Sir Phelim was taken prisoner, and ultimately executed as a traitor. The nuncio's party sent ambassadors to offer the crown of Ireland to the pope, the kings of France and Spain, and the Duke of Lorraine; but none of them would accept the worthless bauble. Clanricarde still endeavored to maintain a mountain war amidst the glens and wastes of western Connaught. It was but the expiring effort of unbending loyalty. At length a letter from Charles, recommending him to provide for his own safety, released him from the shackles of the self-imposed bonds of loyalty. He applied to Fleetwood, Cromwell's deputy, for a pass to retire to England. It was granted, and he submitted to the parliament on an assurance of not being called upon to perform any act inconsistent with his duty to his sovereign. Shortly afterwards, a proclamation from the English parliament announced the termination of what was called the rebellion in Ireland.

The victors had now only to share the spoil. The greater part of the nobility and gentry of Ireland, and of the army, had expatriated themselves; the estates of the confederates were deserted. It remained to apportion them amongst the friends and followers of the parliament, in such a manner as would best secure a zealous attachment to the new order of things. The ordinance of the English parliament to this effect decreed, that all who had been concerned in the rebellion previously to the 10th of November, 1641, all Jesuits and priests, all who, not being themselves in arms, had slain English soldiers, and all who, being now in arms, did not lay them down within twenty-eight days, should be excepted from pardon. The Marquis of Ormond, the Earls of Inchiquin and



Roscommon, and Bramhall, Protestant Bishop of Derry, were also specially excepted. All persons who had borne a command against the parliament were to be banished during pleasure, to forfeit two thirds of their estates, and to be assigned lands to the value of the remaining third wherever the parliament should appoint. All Catholics who had resided in Ireland at any time during the war, and had not manifested their constant good will to the commonwealth of England, were to forfeit one third of their estates. All others residing in Ireland, as before, who had not been in arms for the parliament, or manifested their good will towards it when an opportunity offered, were to forfeit one fifth.

A high court of justice, somewhat of the nature of a court-martial, being composed of parliamentary officers, who acted in the double capacity of judges and jurors, and whose decisions were not regulated by any settled rules of evidence, sat on the cases of delinquency. Yet, after the strictest scrutiny, the number of those subjected to the penalties of the first clause of the instructions was very small. Lord Mayo in Connaught, and Colonel Bagnal in Munster, were condemned, as it was thought, unjustly. Lord Muskerry was saved by the evidence of the numerous English settlers, who pressed forward to vouch for the protection and security they enjoyed under his control. In Ulster, Sir Phelim O'Neill was the only victim. Although offered not only pardon, but restoration and property, if he could produce substantial proof that he had had a commission from Charles to commence the insurrection, he disclaimed the fact, and died maintaining the contrary. Of others, not quite two hundred could be found who came within the strictness of the clause, so much had the accounts of the atrocities committed at the breaking out of the insurrection been magnified, or so completely had the actors in it been swept off by the desolation of the hostilities that succeeded.

The disposal of forfeited lands was regulated according to the principles of an act

of the English parliament, by which those who at the commencement of the war had subscribed £200 towards the reduction of Ireland were to have 1000 acres in Ulster; those who had subscribed £300, the same number in Connaught; and those who had subscribed £450 and £600, a like quantity of land in Munster and Leinster. The holder of the lands thus granted was bound to pay a yearly quit-rent to the crown, of one penny an acre in Ulster, three halfpence in Connaught, two pence in Munster and three pence in Leinster. The soldiers who had served in Ireland since the landing of Cromwell there in 1649, were entitled to a share of the lands in lieu of their arrears, on the same terms as those who had advanced money, and who were distinguished by the name of adventurers. Those who had served previously to that date were to look for payment to the residue of lands which might be over and above after the former division had been made; a kind of security which was found to be very deficient. In order the more effectually to secure the new possessors in their properties, the Catholics who should be found entitled to retain any part of their estates under the provisions of the act above specified, were to surrender such part if in any of the other provinces, and to receive an equivalent, or, as it was called, "to be reprized," by waste lands in Connaught, which new allotments were assigned in the parts of the province situated at least a mile from the coast. No Catholic was, under any condition, to be suffered to remain in a town, or within a certain space around it. By the latter part of this provision, it was intended to cut off the Irish from any communication with foreigners, as by the former the broad boundary of the Shannon separated them from any contact with the residents in other parts of the kingdom. Commissioners of delinquency sat at Athlone, to decide upon the qualifications of the Roman Catholics; others, appointed to arrange the details of settlement of those transplanted to Connaught, held their court at Loughrea. A third body of commissioners

met in Dublin, to receive and hear claims. Under their direction a survey was made by the celebrated Sir William Petty, of all the forfeited lands, which, notwithstanding the lapse of time, and the state of the country when executed, is found to be singularly correct in its details. The confiscation comprehended by much the greater part of the surface of Ireland, and threw the property, and consequently the influence of the country into the hands of a new class of men. Private soldiers, or desperate adventurers, now became the lords of extensive tracts, once enjoyed by the native families of ancient descent, or by the Anglo-Irish nobility. It also produced another change, of less striking character at first, but of overpowering influence on the future destinies of the country. The land was likely to be useless for want of cultivators. The continuance of a warfare, in which mercy was deemed a symptom of timidity or of treachery, had swept away the peasantry in multitudes. Numbers had been transported as slaves to the plantations, many had emigrated as soldiers or colonists. The plan of peopling the wilds of Connaught by transplanting Catholics was almost totally relinquished. Hands were wanting on the new estates; the tenants were therefore retained, but they were treated with all the jealous severity arising from a consciousness of weakness, and an apprehension that advantage would be taken of it. They experienced the harshness of slavery, without the enjoyment of that protection which the selfishness of ownership in some degree spreads over it.

The government of Ireland was intrusted by Cromwell to his son Henry, who proved himself worthy of the choice. He visited most parts of the island, so as to make himself personally acquainted with its resources and capabilities. He checked the frauds attempted to be committed by the commissioners in the disposal of the forfeited lands, repressed the violence of the soldiery, and afforded the protection of the law to the ill-used peasantry. He had even devised plans

on an extended scale for the improvement of the country, which the short duration of his power prevented him from executing. Impressed with the necessity of diffusing knowledge as the surest foundation for the solid advancement of the people, he purchased the library of Archbishop Usher, in order to bestow it on a second college which it was intended to found in Dublin. Amongst other plans for the consolidation of the interests of the two countries, it was intended that Ireland, instead of being governed by a domestic parliament, should send representatives to that of England. The number fixed upon was thirty. But the death of Cromwell, and the resignation of his son Richard, put an end to all these well intended projects. On the announcement of this latter event, the English parliament, aware of Henry Cromwell's abilities and popularity, and apprehensive of an attempt on his part to maintain himself in the government, sent over Sir Hardress Waller to seize upon the castle of Dublin; but the precaution was unnecessary. Cromwell retired without opposition, remaining in privacy in his house in the Phoenix Park until he had provided himself with the means of removing to England, having administered the government with so much disinterestedness during a period in which he had the means of amassing unlimited wealth, that he could not at once defray the expenses of his passage over.

The thoughts of the new settlers, who were now transformed from needy adventurers and soldiers into landed proprietors, began to turn upon the means of securing the properties so unexpectedly acquired. The agitation consequent on the death of Cromwell, whose overruling master-mind had hitherto kept all parties subservient to his views, began to take a turn decidedly favorable to the restoration of royalty. The great leaders of the parliamentary party perceived this, and prepared to shape their course accordingly. Lord Broghill, who had already changed from a royalist to a republican, was the first to retrace his steps. He was



followed by Sir Charles Coote, the most sanguinary of the parliamentary leaders. The towns of Youghal, Bandon, and Kinsale, which had been amongst the first to revolt to Cromwell, were now led by Lord Broghill to declare for the king. Coote secured Galway and Athlone. The same party, after a short struggle, seized upon Dublin Castle. Sir Hardress Waller, who had taken possession of it for the parliament, was sent a prisoner to London; and Ludlow, who, upon the alarm of the change of sentiment in the parliamentary party in Ireland, had been sent over to take the chief command, on arriving in Dublin Bay, was prevented from landing, and forced to return to England. A convention was assembled in Dublin. The council of state in England ordered its dissolution. The order was set at defiance. The king's declaration at Breda being presented to the convention, was accepted by acclamation, and Charles was proclaimed with every demonstration of joy in all the great towns. Thus, the restoration of the son in Ireland was effected by the same persons who had been mainly instrumental in bringing his father to the block.

The sudden change of public opinion gave Charles irresistible influence in Ireland. All parties looked to him. Above all, the Catholics, whose attachment to his father had been the great cause of their sufferings, and of the ruin of their property, anticipated an immediate restoration of their estates. So sanguine were they, that many proceeded to take forcible possession of them, and to eject the new proprietors. The Protestants raised the cry of a new rebellion, employed agents in London to resist their claims, and had influence sufficient to obtain clauses in the act of indemnity, excluding from it all who had at any time aided the Irish, and prohibiting the restoration, upon any terms, of lands already disposed of by the parliament or convention. Nor was it without the greatest difficulty that an exception could be carried in favor of the Marquis of Ormond and other Protestants. Every severe ordinance against

the Catholics was strictly enforced. The commoners sort were prohibited from quitting their place of residence without permission. Assemblies of the Catholic gentry were forbidden. A proclamation was issued for apprehending Irish rebels, and for assuring all adventurers and soldiers in the quiet possession of their grants.

At length the king's declaration, which was to form the basis of the new settlement of the landed property of the country, was published. This document, after vesting all the confiscated property in the king, confirmed the adventurers and soldiers in the lands already granted to them. The officers in the king's service before 1649, distinguished by the name of "Forty-nine men," were to receive their arrears in lands at the rate of twelve and sixpence in the pound, and an equal dividend of whatever should remain of their security. Protestants whose estates had been given to adventurers were to be restored, and the present holders "reprised," that is, given other lands of equal value. Innocent Papists were also to be restored, and the holders reprised; those restored to property within corporate towns were to be reprised in the neighborhood, as no resident Catholics were to be permitted in those places. Such Catholics as had accepted lands in Connaught were to continue bound by that act. Those who had joined the king in his exile, and served under his banners, were to be restored when the present holders were reprised; such persons were called "Ensignmen." Additional grants were made to Ormond and Inchiquin, who had been restored by the English parliament. Monk, now Duke of Albemarle, and some others, received grants. The king's brother, James, Duke of York, had several of very great extent. Thirty-six of the Irish nobility and gentry, to be specially named by the king, were also to be restored under the title of "Nominees." Those who had any share in the trial and execution of the late king were specially excluded from the benefit of this arrangement. Lands belonging to corporations were to be

restored, and the possessors reprimed. The qualifications which entitled a Roman Catholic to claim the benefit of the clause respecting "innocent Papists," were so worded as to render the chances of an acquittal almost impossible. None were to be restored as such, who, at the time of the cessation in 1643, had been of the royal party, or had lived within the quarters of the confederates, except the inhabitants of Cork and Youghal, who had been forcibly expelled from those towns, and driven by the fanatics into the enemy's lines; who had acted with the confederates before the peace of 1648, or had adhered to the nuncio or the papal power against the royal authority, or, when excommunicated for such adherence, had submitted and obtained absolution. Whoever derived his title from persons guilty of those crimes; whoever claimed his estate on the articles of peace, thus acknowledging his concurrence in the rebellion; whoever had held correspondence with the confederates, sat in their councils, or acted under their commission; whoever had employed agents to treat with any foreign power to bring forces into Ireland, or had been a tory, the name given to the marauding parties which harassed the country; were also excepted. Few Roman Catholics could hope to escape being included in some one or other of those sweeping clauses.

The principal subjects which engaged the attention of the Irish parliament that met after the restoration, were the established church, and the settlement of property. Ormond, to whom the management of Irish affairs was principally intrusted, contrived, by postponing the consideration of the question of the lands, to secure the adoption of the former. Although the House of Commons was almost exclusively composed of those who had a few years before been most zealous in pulling down the church and abolishing the liturgy, it now not only readily assented to the revival of both, but concurred in censuring the solemn league and covenant, and in condemning their former oaths

of association. They also procured an order from the lords-justices to adjourn the law term, and close the courts of justice, in order to prevent the reversal of outlawries, or the ejection of adventurers and soldiers before their titles could be secured by statute.

The act of settlement, the next object of parliamentary attention, was framed according to the spirit, and nearly according to the letter, of the declaration published by the king. The principal alterations were respecting reprisals, and what was called the doubling ordinance. The commissioners of the court of claims had been guilty of gross partiality respecting these. They rejected the claims of the nominees, and the ensign-men, on the plea that there were not lands sufficient to reprise the present possessors, a defalcation caused by the clandestine disposal by themselves of these lands to their own friends. Through the exertions of the House of Lords, a clause was inserted for the revocation of these fraudulent grants. The doubling ordinance was still more pregnant with injustice. The English parliament having found that the sums subscribed by the original adventurers had fallen short of the amount required to finish the war, and being in want of further supplies, passed a law, that whosoever advanced one fourth more than his original share, should be entitled to as much land as if he had actually doubled his subscription; and that if any adventurer refused to make such advance on his original share, any other person, on paying it, should reap the benefit of the doubling clause, provided he repaid to the adventurer the sum at first subscribed. With great exertions, and by the determined interference of the Earl of Kildare, it was at length determined that the adventurers should receive lands for the money actually advanced by them, and no more. The Irish parliament, however, could only frame the heads of a bill to this effect, which was liable to be modified by the king and privy council in England. Thither, therefore, all parties interested sent



agents to defend their respective claims. London became the scene of controversy, intrigue, cabal, and even violence. The Irish called for the fulfilment of the articles of the peace of 1648. Ormond, who hated the Catholics even more than he did the regicides, persuaded the king that such fulfilment would be detrimental to his favorite scheme of maintaining an English interest in Ireland. Richard Talbot, afterwards Lord Tyrconnel, the advocate of the Irish, finding reason and justice ineffectual, challenged Ormond. The latter made his complaint to the council; Talbot was committed to the Tower, and detained there till he made an humble submission. The bill, with all its clauses, received the royal assent, and was sent back to Ireland, where it was adopted by both houses of parliament.

But the passing of the act was not sufficient to render it operative. Every one was dissatisfied with it. Even the adventurers, whose interests were best guarded by it, exclaimed against it most loudly. They considered the rejection of the doubling ordinance as the deprivation of so much of their justly purchased property. The land granted to the nominees, the number of whom had been increased by the king, was looked upon as so much cut off from the common fund whence they were to be repaid. The restoration of church property was peculiarly galling to their religious prejudices. The Protestant officers felt that their security was greatly diminished by large grants lavishly made to some of the king's special favorites. The Catholics complained that, so far from having justice done to their services, their agents were not even admitted to plead their cause before the council.

Ormond, now elevated to the rank of a duke, was sent over as lord-lieutenant to calm these effusions of anger, and to settle in the most amicable manner the conflicting interests of the parties. The first proceedings were those of the commissioners of incapacity, who soon found that the number

of those who could clearly establish their innocence even before a court cautiously and carefully composed of Englishmen and Protestants, was inconveniently great, and excited the most serious alarm amongst the other party, who felt that every acquittal abstracted so much from the fund to which they themselves had to look for a settlement. Out of a hundred and eighty-seven cases adjudicated in the first three months, a hundred and sixty-eight were pronounced innocent, and but nineteen condemned. The House of Commons called upon the lord-lieutenant to make the qualifications more rigorous. The more violent of the old parliamentary soldiers laid a plan for a general insurrection. Ormond was steady. He put down the conspiracy, and executed a few of the ringleaders. He refused to make any change as to the qualifications. But he contrived to effect, by an evasion, what a regard for consistency of character had made him reject in public. Upwards of four thousand cases had been entered, and, from the number already decided, and the character of the decisions, it was felt that by much the greater proportion of the Catholic proprietors would be restored to their estates. To prevent such an occurrence, the time of the sitting of the court was limited to a fixed number of days, during which not more than one fourth of the claims could by any possibility be heard. It then closed, and thus upwards of three thousand ancient and respectable Irish families were stripped of their fortunes, without even the form of a trial before a court specially constituted to do them justice. The injured parties applied to the king; but he refused to listen to them, and they were irremediably ruined. Though their claim was rejected, however, its justice was recognized by a concession, and the lord-lieutenant was permitted to select twenty out of the three thousand, to be restored to their estates as objects of special favor.

To remedy, in some degree, the defects of the act of settlement, a bill was brought

into parliament, chiefly by the instrumentality of the Duke of Ormond, which made a few alterations in some of its most obnoxious provisions. This is known by the name of the act of explanation. The two together form the tenure under which by much the greater part of the landed property of Ireland is held; they have therefore been quaintly, and with more regard to their binding force than their justice, styled the *Magna Charta* of the Protestants of Ireland. To account for the Duke of Ormond's conduct towards his former friends, to whom during the war he owed so much, and his master every thing, and his sacrifice of their interests to the bitter enemies both of himself and the king, it may be sufficient to mention, that his estates, which before the breaking out of the civil war, had yielded him but about £7,000 per annum, now brought him in a yearly income of upwards of £80,000, in addition to the pecuniary grants made him for losses during the disturbances. The acts which ruined so many of the adherents to the royal cause, secured him in the undisturbed enjoyment of this princely income.

Notwithstanding the apprehensions arising from the still uncertain state of title, the condition of the country began to improve with a rapidity alarming to the English, who were now suffering through a decline of their domestic trade, which prejudiced persons imputed in a great degree to the excessive importation of Irish cattle. To prevent the supposed ill effects of this, acts were passed prohibiting the Irish from sending cattle or provisions into England after the first of July, which exclusion was afterwards extended to all periods of the year. So strong was the prejudice, so powerful the alarm, that when the Irish parliament, through a wish to alleviate the sufferings of the people of London after the great fire in that city in 1666, sent them a free gift of thirty thousand oxen, the only wealth of the country at the time, the well-intended donation was rejected, as an attempt to evade

the prohibition under the mask of benevolence. The king endeavored to alleviate, though he was too weak and too timid to prevent, this impolitic act of injustice. He issued an act of state, permitting the Irish to export to foreign countries all commodities of their own growth and manufacture; and the Duke of Ormond, on his part, encouraged the woollen manufacture, for which the country was peculiarly fitted, from its capability of rearing sheep, and its water-power for machinery. He brought in foreigners acquainted with the processes of the manufacture, established a board of trade in Dublin, and encouraged factories on the Suir. His attention was also directed to the improvement of the linen manufacture. But his laudable efforts were thwarted by his enemies at court, who persuaded Charles to recall him. Lord Roberts, who was appointed in his place, rendered himself so offensive to all parties, that he was soon removed, and his place supplied by Lord Berkeley, who was also as speedily withdrawn, in consequence of his being active in procuring a commission of inquiry as to frauds practiced on the Catholics in the adjudication under the act of settlement. The government of Lord Essex, his successor, was equally short-lived; and it was found necessary to restore Ormond, as the only person sufficiently acquainted with the state of parties in Ireland to manage the country without danger of a sudden explosion.

Shortly after his return to office, the Popish plot occurred. The devisers of this execrable contrivance endeavored to involve the Irish in a share of the guilt. Charges were made against Talbot, the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, Lord Mountgarret, and Colonel Peppard, as being principals in it. On investigation, the first of these imputed conspirators was found to be laboring under a complication of disorders, beneath which he soon afterwards sunk; the second was bedridden through age; and the third was entirely unknown. The Duke of Ormond, most probably through a conviction of the



necessity of yielding something to popular clamour, issued two violent proclamations. The one required the relations of tories to be answerable for them, and also that the priests of parishes in which a robbery or murder had been committed should be transported, unless the offender were delivered up to justice within a fortnight; the other prohibited Catholics from entering Dublin Castle, or any fortified place, and caused all fairs to be held without the walls of cities and corporate towns. But restraints, however rigorous, were not sufficient. The bigotry of the time called for a victim. Plunket, the Catholic Archbishop of Armagh, was accused of being the instigator of a plot to raise seventy thousand men to overturn the government. He was sent to London, tried there for a crime committed in Ireland, denied either time or means to bring over witnesses, condemned as a traitor, and executed at Tyburn, professing his innocence to the last. The only subsequent act of Charles's reign, of consequence enough to merit notice, was a second attempt to deprive Ormond of his power. And it proved successful. Partly from a plea of his advanced age and increasing infirmities, partly from a necessity avowed by the king of removing from the office several of his friends, the sword was taken from him and assigned to his relative, Lord Rochester.

All the political arrangements consequent on the accession of James II. indicated a settled and systematic determination to disturb, if not wholly to nullify, the provisions of the act of settlement. Talbot, afterwards Earl of Tyrconnel, was placed over the army, which he immediately began to re-model, by cashiering and disbanding most of the Protestants, and bringing Catholics into their places; and by disarming the militia, which consisted chiefly of Protestants, under the plea that they were suspected to have been connected with Monmouth's rebellion. These apprehensions were still further increased by the promotion of Tyrconnel to the chief government. The first

overt act was made against Dublin College, by nominating a Catholic to the professorship of the Irish language, which was defeated on the ground that no such professorship existed. An attempt made to appoint a Roman Catholic to a fellowship was frustrated by the gross incapacity of the person recommended.

The king's attempts against the Irish corporations were more successful. In order to carry into effect all his changes, the sanction of an Irish parliament was necessary; and to effect this, it was equally necessary to secure a majority in the boroughs, in which the Protestant interest had hitherto been almost exclusively predominant. Tyrconnel caused all the charters of these bodies to be seized into the king's hands, on the plea of violation or non-performance of conditions, and granted new charters, so arranged as to throw the whole of the borough influence into the hands of the Catholics. A few of the corporate bodies still hold under these charters; but the great majority of them having been passed after the abdication, are considered as of no authority in the courts of law.

On the landing of the Prince of Orange in Torbay, Tyrconnel received orders to send over four thousand men to England. So little prepared was he at the time to meet the exigency, that he found it necessary to withdraw the garrison from Londonderry in order to make up the number. But he soon became sensible of his error. The Protestants in the northern counties had already been aroused to a movement of self-defence, in consequence of an anonymous letter sent to Lord Mount-Alexander, warning him of the intention of an immediate insurrection to extirpate them. Just at the time, a Roman Catholic regiment, lately raised by the Marquis of Antrim, had been ordered to Derry in room of the troops sent to England. The appearance of the men now approaching the town, no way tended to diminish the feelings of alarm already excited by the previous warning. The first

division of the newly-arrived regiment was within a few hundred paces of the town, when several young men, said to be apprentice boys, hurried armed to the gate, shut out the soldiers, hastened to the walls, pointed the guns and threatened them with destruction if they attempted to force their entrance.

This decided act of the people of Derry was followed up by all the northern Protestants. The town of Enniskillen was secured in a similar manner, and armed associations were formed throughout every part of the province to maintain the Protestant religion and secure the dependency of Ireland. The first act of these bodies, after providing themselves with the means of resistance, was to apply to William. But he had already opened a treaty with Tyreconnel, to whom he sent General Hamilton, then prisoner with him, under a promise that if he failed in gaining over Tyreconnel, he himself should return. Hamilton's conduct on the occasion was inexcusable. Instead of using arguments to persuade Tyreconnel to submit, he encouraged him to persevere in the cause of James, and remained with him instead of redeeming his parole, and proved his zeal in the cause he had thus faithlessly adopted, by heading a body of troops in Ulster, by which the whole province, with the exception of Derry and Enniskillen, was brought again under its allegiance to its former king.

The struggle in Ireland between the forces of James and William has been already described in the history of England; we accordingly pass on to the period after the surrender of the Stuart party.

By the treaty of surrender it was stipulated that the Roman Catholics should enjoy the exercise of their religion, as during the reign of Charles II.; to which was added a promise that the king would endeavor to procure further security for them on this point, as soon as parliament should be assembled.

A parliament was convened shortly after the ratification of the treaty. It was the first

that had assembled after a lapse of twenty-six years of intestine commotion. Composed as it was of a great majority of Protestants, it testified little inclination to co-operate with the king's wishes, in adhering to the strict fulfilment of the articles of Limerick. The king evidently wished them to be maintained in the spirit as well as in the letter. The feelings of the leading party in parliament were sufficiently indicated in a sermon preached by the Bishop of Meath before the lords-justices, which inculcated the detestable doctrine that Protestants were not bound to keep peace with Papists. The first open breach that occurred between the government and the House of Commons was caused by the introduction of two money bills. According to the system of Ireland under Poyning's law, no bill could be brought into parliament until it had received the approbation of the king through the privy council. According to the principles of the British constitution, all money bills should originate with the House of Commons. The party opposed to the king took their stand upon the latter ground. One of the two bills was rejected altogether, and the other suffered to pass solely in consideration of the present exigency of affairs, and the pressing necessity of raising a supply for the king's service. Lord Sidney, in retaliation, suddenly prorogued the parliament, after reprehending the House of Commons sharply for what he styled an undutiful and ungrateful invasion of the royal prerogative. This act increased the general discontent, as several measures of importance then in progress were left unfinished.

A new parliament, assembled in 1695 by the Lord-deputy Capel, opened with an assurance from the throne, that the king was intent upon the firm settlement of Ireland upon a Protestant interest. Such a declaration was hailed with joy by the prevailing party. In order to support the king in this measure, a committee was appointed to consider what penal laws were in force. The following were found to be the principal.



1. An act subjecting all who maintained the supremacy of the church of Rome to the penalties of a *præmunire*, and requiring the oath of supremacy as a qualification for every office. 2. An act imposing fines on absence from the parish churches on Sunday. 3. An act authorizing the chancellor to appoint a guardian to the child of a Catholic. 4. An act to prevent Catholics from being private tutors without license from the bishop. Having ascertained the actual state of restrictions on the Catholics, as they had existed previously to the treaty of Limerick, the parliament proceeded, not to secure them in the privileges guaranteed to them by that instrument, but to increase the number of penalties and restrictions, contrary to its spirit and tenor. The following statutes, passed by this parliament, formed the commencement of the system of restrictive legislation now known by the name of the penal code, which, when wound up to its acme of intolerant severity by the successive enactment of laws, each surpassing its predecessor in severity, was described by Burke as the acme of refinement in political persecution. These acts were, 1, To deprive Catholics of the means of educating their children, either at home or abroad, except under Protestant teachers, and to prevent them from being guardians even to their own children; 2, to disarm the Catholics; 3, to banish Catholic priests and prelates. Having passed these acts in direct violation of the treaty, they proceeded to confirm those articles, or so much of them as might consist with the safety and welfare of the king's subjects in these kingdoms. The bill took care that the precautionary proviso should not be a dead letter. It abrogated the articles which provided for the security of the Catholics from disturbance on account of their religion, which confirmed them in the possession of their estates and the exercise of their profession, which allowed them the use of arms, and which required the oath of allegiance only as a test of their loyalty. The bill passed the House of Commons with little difficulty. But in the House of Lords,

where several of the Catholic peers still had seats, it was strenuously resisted; and when carried, a protest against it was entered on the journals by thirteen peers, six of whom were bishops. This mutilated ratification of the treaty was followed up by three other penal laws: 1, to prevent the intermarriages of Protestants and Catholics; 2, to prevent Papists from being solicitors; and, 3, to prevent them from being gamekeepers.

Whilst parliament was thus employed during the reign of William, in undoing the bonds of the treaty of Limerick, the court of claims appointed to investigate and dispose of the lands forfeited by the adherents of James was equally active in its invasion of their property. Amongst the chief sufferers by the decisions of this court was the Earl of Clancarty. It appeared doubtful whether his noble estate should be included amongst the forfeitures. The point was decided by a declaration of the grand jury of the county of Cork, which resolved that its restoration would be prejudicial to the Protestant interest. It was therefore sold, under a decree of the court. A subsequent attempt made in his favor in the reign of George II. was not only equally unsuccessful, but all attempts at a repetition of it were crushed by a vote of the House of Commons, that any lawyer who pleaded in his behalf should be deemed an enemy to his country.

The annals of Ireland during the reign of Queen Anne are merely a record of the exertions of the Irish parliament to rivet and extend the penal laws. By an act passed in 1703, the father of a Papist who conformed to the established religion was incapacitated from disposing of his property by sale, mortgage, or bequest; and a Papist was prohibited from being guardian to his own child, who, on conforming, was to be taken from his parent, and given in charge to a Protestant. Papists were rendered incapable of holding lands for more than thirty-one years; and if the profit rent of such land was found to exceed one-third of the actual rent, the benefit of the lease was to be transferred to

the Protestant who made the discovery. They were also prevented from inheriting the lands of their Protestant relatives, and their own lands were to be gavelled after death amongst their children. The most extraordinary provision of this monstrous act was the requiring the oath of abjuration, and the sacramental test, to be taken as a qualification for office and for voting at elections. The cause of its insertion is singular. The English government was at this time negotiating with the Emperor of Germany for the toleration of Protestantism throughout his dominions. To press the enactment of severe laws against the Catholics at home at such a period, exhibited an inconsistency as absurd as it was iniquitous. An effort was therefore made to dissuade the Irish parliament from proceeding with the bill, but to no purpose. Knowing, therefore, that the majority of the lower house consisted of Protestant dissenters, the clause requiring the taking of the sacramental test was inserted by the English council, in the hope that the rigid Puritans would reject the whole bill rather than saddle themselves with the disqualification. But they were mistaken. Bigotry prevailed over self-interest; and the Puritans of the day acquiesced in the passing of a law which deprived the conscientious members of their own persuasion of the right of exercising the most valuable privileges of freemen, rather than suffer their Catholic countrymen to participate in them.

This act was followed up by resolutions calling upon all the civil officers of the government to enforce its provisions, and declaring that the prosecuting and informing against Papists was an honorable service to the government. But this law and these resolutions were not deemed sufficient. In 1709 another act was passed, imposing additional restrictions upon the Catholics, by which they were prohibited from holding annuities for life; requiring the father of a conforming child to give in to the chancellor a strict account of the value of his property, in order to apportion a due share thereof to his

support. Jointures were secured to conforming wives. Papists were forbidden to be assistants in schools. Catholic priests who conformed were allowed a stipend of £30 a year, that of a Protestant curate being £50; and rewards were offered for the discovery of popish prelates, priests, and teachers, at the rate of £50 each for the first of these classes, £20 for the second, and £10 for the third. A subsequent statute excluded Catholics from acting as sheriffs, and from sitting on grand juries, and even proceeding as far as to enact, that in trials arising out of statutes for strengthening the Protestant interest, the plaintiff might set aside a juror on the ground of his being a Papist. The example of the parliament was followed by the corporations. By-laws were enacted excluding Catholics from every profitable branch of trade. The result was, that all the Catholic gentry possessed of the means of emigration quitted the country, as did all the merchants of respectability, carrying with them, to fructify in other and in hostile countries, the property which might have enriched that of their persecutors.

The system was now nearly complete. The Catholics were excluded from every opening to political power. They were not exterminated, because the land would have been valueless to the new proprietors, without the assistance of laborers sufficient to extract its produce. The effects of the system soon began to appear. The son of James II. made an attempt to recover his father's dominions in the beginning of the reign of George I. The new proprietary took the alarm. On the first rumor of his intended project against Scotland, a number of Irish Catholic gentlemen were thrown into close confinement. The government, however, ashamed of this unnecessary ebullition of terror, soon afterwards caused them to be liberated, even without payment of the customary fees. The alarm was futile. The Irish had not the means, nor even the inclination, to renew the contest. Their spirit was broken by the grinding degradation of the restrictions



thrown around them. Yet, to make assurance still surer, these restrictions were increased by the addition of new clauses to the penal code, mostly of minor importance, by one of which Papists were excluded from voting in vestries for the assessment of money for repairing or rebuilding parish churches.

The state of the Catholics was now brought down nearly to the lowest point of depression. An address of congratulation to George II. on his accession, presented to the lord-lieutenant by Lord Delvin, on their part, was suffered to remain unnoticed, except so far as to render so faint an effort an apology for still further restraints. A bill was brought in for excluding Papists from voting at elections. By another, lawyers and attorneys married to Papists were prevented from practicing. Even converts could not hold the office of justice of the peace if their wives and children continued to be recusant; and persons plundered by privateers in the service of a popish nation were to be reimbursed by a levy on the goods of Roman Catholics only. A vote of the Commons, declaring any person who took legal steps for the recovery of his tithes of dry cattle, commonly called the tithe of agistment, to be an enemy to the country, threw the greater part of the burden of maintaining the Protestant clergy from the rich proprietor, whose land was wholly under pasturage, upon the Roman Catholic cotter, who was obliged to raise some grain on his little patch of ground for the subsistence of his family.

Whilst the Irish parliament were thus vigilant in cutting off from the Catholics all means of regaining political power, they were no less so in preventing any encroachment of the English government upon the rights they themselves possessed. The relations of these two latter parties towards each other after the Revolution were peculiar. The members of the House of Commons held their seats, not, as in Great Britain, by septennial election, but during the pleasure of the crown. Their tenure was therefore generally regarded as tantamount to a life estate,

subject only to a dissolution on the demise of the crown. Hence they were virtually unrestrained by popular control. On the other hand, as the lord-lieutenant came over to Ireland but once in two years, to hold a parliament for granting the supplies, the management of the country rested with the lords-justices nominated to hold the reins of government in his absence, who were selected from among the most powerful of the great Protestant families. Their influence, in questions between the two countries, was therefore often directed to thwart the measures of the English cabinet, particularly when these seemed to interfere with their own aggrandizement. The operation of the penal laws, whilst it enslaved the Catholics, pauperized the country. The great mass of the population was deprived by them of the main stimulus to industry, the hope of improving their condition by their own exertions. The great proprietors found their land becoming of less value, from the neglect of agricultural improvement. The supplies of the service of government were therefore granted with a niggardly and reluctant spirit. The English cabinet hoped to cut the knot that thus linked them to the Irish parliament. An attempt was made to obtain a vote for the supplies for twenty-one years. The Irish aristocracy immediately took the alarm. However acquiescent in the general tenor of their votes, they now rallied, and the insidious attempt was rendered abortive by a majority of one.

The depression of the country, arising from the treatment of the Catholic part of the population, was endeavored to be remedied by the extension of education, the formation of patriotic societies, and the execution of public works. To educate the Catholics, it was necessary they should first be converted, because by the penal code domestic education according to the principles of their own faith was prohibited. Schools were therefore opened in which the pupils were taught the elements of literature and the useful arts, and were also clothed and fed at

the public expense. Being established by letters patent from the crown, these obtained the name of charter schools. Their professed object was the diffusion of useful knowledge; but as their primary process was based upon Protestant instruction, and as this, to be effective, required a total severance of the parental tie which linked the Catholic peasant to his family, the effort failed. The second element of national regeneration was attempted by the formation of a society, in imitation of the Royal Society of London, under the name of the Physico-Historical Society, for the improvement of agriculture, husbandry, and the useful arts, which afterwards merged into the Royal Dublin Society. The last-named element of improvement, the execution of public works, gave rise to the measure of inland navigation. But none of these were effective to the extent proposed by those who set them on foot. The great object was not merely to give Protestantism the ascendancy, but to eradicate Catholicism; to realize, in fact, what was imagined by a fiction of law, when, in a case where a Catholic came into a court of justice, he was gravely told that the law did not recognize the existence of a Papist. Education, whether of the primary rudiments or of the higher departments of science, gave knowledge, and knowledge revealed the extent and gloom of degradation. Useful works required workmen, and thus circulated capital amongst the Catholic population, to which the undertakers were compelled to have recourse for the mechanical parts of such undertakings. A state of society so anomalous, in which universal liberty was the avowed principle, yet slavery, unmitigated by the protection which sordid interest extends to the preservation of individual property, was the practice, could not but be most precarious. The ruling party, aware of the danger of explosion, at length found itself compelled to give vent to the under-workings of the reaction against oppression, by a partial change of system. That of ever-increasing compression, painful and

hazardous at all times, was found, in periods of general agitation or impending warfare, impracticable. The threatened invasion of England by the young Pretender was the crisis which led to a change of domestic policy toward the Catholics. Ireland, as the weakest point of the empire, was looked upon as the most exposed. The Irish population was numerous and discontented. Their deficiency in the means and the organization of war could be instantaneously supplied by the wealth of France, and by the long-proved skill and valor of their countrymen, the Irish brigades in the French service. To ward off the apprehended danger, Lord Chesterfield was sent over in the spirit of conciliation. To the Catholics, worn down by the action of half a century of increasing oppression, the slightest relaxation of the highly strained engine of oppression became comparatively a blessing. An accidental circumstance afforded the new governor an opportunity to evince the sincerity of his professions. Hitherto the Catholics had held their assemblages for religious worship in the most secluded and secret places. The rewards offered by the laws for the detection of their priests, or of those who attended their ceremonies, compelled them to the strictest secrecy. The floor of a building in one of the confined streets of Dublin, where mass was celebrated, gave way, and caused the death or mutilation of a number of the wretched beings, congregated to worship their God at all hazards, in the way in which they had been trained. Lord Chesterfield, with the tact which has immortalized him as a first-rate character in the annals of fashionable life, seized the opportunity of declaring openly that he would not be a party to a system of religious prevention, liable to the hazard of such results; and the meetings of Catholics for the purpose of religious worship were constantly winked at. Still, however, the spirit of the penal code remained unrestricted; and operative laws were passed during the government of this, the first of the tolerating lord-lieutenants, not only annulling all



marriages between Protestants and Catholics, if celebrated by a Catholic priest, but also rendering the clergyman who performed the ceremony liable to capital punishment. The threatened storm from abroad blew over. The invasion of the young Pretender forms no part of Irish history. The Irish Catholic remained unmoved in his habits of passive obedience. The Irish Protestant returned to his parliamentary controversies with the ruling powers of England. Where there existed such a consciousness of overwhelming superiority on the one side, acting upon a spirit of domineering independence, checked by an internal conviction of weakness, the weakness of division, on the other, collisions between the English cabinet and the Irish ascendancy party could not fail to be frequent and acrimonious; much less could such collisions fail to throw to the surface some of those restless spirits which political convulsions have shaken from their orbits of ordinary movement. A contest between the Irish privy council, which then exercised the most important parts of the legislative functions of government, and the corporation, stimulated Charles Lucas, a Dublin apothecary, to assert the rights of the latter. Though unsuccessful, he was not unrewarded. The death of the two representatives for Dublin gave rise to a contested election, an event of rare occurrence under the then existing constitution of the Irish parliament. Lucas was elected, under the pledge of vindicating, in the House of Commons, the perfect independence of the Irish legislature. This doctrine, first broached by Molyneux shortly after the Revolution, in a treatise called the "Case of Ireland," was viewed with alarm by the English party in the House, and with jealousy by that of the Irish aristocracy. By the one it was viewed as a severance of the connection of sovereignty and dependence between the two countries; by the other it was felt to sap the foundations of their own domestic omnipotence. Passages of libellous tendency were extracted from Lucas's publications. The House of Com-

mons declared him an enemy to the country, and passed a vote for his prosecution. He evaded the coming storm only by retiring to the Continent. On a subsequent vacancy, however, he was re-elected, and took his seat as one of the representatives of the people, which he retained till his death. The Irish parliament, arrogant where it felt secure in its own power, was tamely submissive under circumstances wherein an assertion of its just rights would have been truly creditable. A surplus revenue remained in the Irish exchequer. The English council insisted on the king's right to dispose of it at pleasure. The Irish Commons equally insisted on their absolute control over the public purse, without any interference from other quarters. The bill acknowledging the necessity of the royal consent to the appropriation of the surplus income was rejected by the Commons. The English council cut the matter short. The money in dispute was drawn out of the treasury by a king's letter, and the Commons passively acquiesced in the spoliation and insult.

In this state of torpid tranquillity, ruffled only by apprehensions of internal commotion, or by the agitation of partisan quarrels between the rival factions of court and country which divided the dominant party, Ireland continued to advance for nearly seventy years after the Revolution, until at length the elements of activity were roused by the reality of an actual invasion. In the year 1759, a fleet was fitted out in the French ports, for the avowed purpose of landing a large armament in Ireland. A small squadron under M. Thurot, supposed to be an advanced section of the main fleet, and intended to cause a diversion of the defending forces, landed in the north of Ireland, and took possession of the town and castle of Carrickfergus with little opposition. After holding it a few days, the French commander, checked by the appearance of the general and determined resistance which was gathering around him through all the northern counties, deemed it expedient, instead of proceeding to the assault of the

wealthy and undefended town of Belfast, which lay at but a few miles' distance, to embark. Any further repetition of his predatory incursions was prevented by the destruction of his little armament in the channel, in an engagement, in which Thurot himself lost his life.

The alarm excited by the threatened invasion afforded an opportunity to the Catholics to call the attention of the government to their sufferings. An address, framed by a committee of their body, was presented to the lord-lieutenant, making a tender of their allegiance at this critical period. Its favorable reception brought forward others of the same kind from every part of the country, and thus was the first impulse given to the movement for the repeal of the penal code. Another opportunity of echoing the sentiments contained in these addresses presented itself on the accession of the new king, George III. It was eagerly seized on, and the address was received with favor equal to the former. The state of the country required some vital change in its internal administration. The revenue was declining, and the peasantry were every year becoming more destitute and discontented. The wretched sufferers, attributing their misery to the exaction of tithes and the enclosure of lands hitherto left open in commonage, banded themselves together in large bodies at night, and destroyed the new enclosures; whence they at first received the name of Levellers, but were afterwards better known by that of Whiteboys, from their wearing white shirts over their clothes, to be known to one another in their nocturnal expeditions. From the invasion of property they proceeded to the attack of persons obnoxious to them, particularly tithe proctors, treating with wanton and barbarous cruelty those who fell into their hands. The government, instead of probing the evil to the bottom in order to effect a cure by the removal of the cause of irritation, retaliated by a series of severe and arbitrary laws, known by the name of the Whiteboy Acts. At-

tempts were made to connect those insurrections of desperate misery with the political movements of France. Rumors were circulated that the Whiteboys were encouraged by money from that court, and that their combination was the explosion of a plan for restoring the Pretender. A parish priest of the name of Sheehy, who had made himself obnoxious to the gentry in his neighborhood by his exertions to shield the peasantry from their oppressions, was arrested on a charge of treason; and, though acquitted of that crime after a patient and long investigation by a jury in Dublin, he was, on his return home, again arraigned on a charge of murder, universally known to be false, and executed. The situation of the British government in Ireland at this time was extremely irksome and invidious. In order to carry on the public business smoothly, it became necessary to conciliate the great landed proprietors, who, through their borough influence, had the control of the House of Commons. They were to be gained over partly by allowing them a large share in the disposal of all places of trust and profit, and partly by indulging their enmity to the Catholics, who were still suspected of being cemented in a secret union for the recovery of their forfeited estates. The party which thus virtually ruled the country by playing the British government and the Irish people against one another, was known by the name of the Undertakers. They had a double object; the one to make the crown, as far as Ireland was concerned, dependent on themselves; and the other to check the spirit of liberty in the people, and at the same time to throw on the government the odium of the measures of which they themselves were the instigators. To break down this petty aristocracy, which had intruded itself between the prerogative of the crown and the rights of the people, the British cabinet resolved, in the early part of George III.'s reign, that the lord-lieutenant, who had hitherto visited the country only once in two years for the purpose of holding a par-



liament and passing the supplies, leaving the management of the country during the intervening period to two or three lords-justices chosen from among the leaders of the Undertakers, should reside permanently in Dublin, so as thus to be the immediate and ostensible organ of government patronage and influence. At the same time, to put a stop to the outcry against the mismanagement of the public income, which was attributed to the people's want of a sufficient check over their representatives, the duration of parliaments, which hitherto had terminated only on the demise of the crown, was limited to eight years, so that, as the parliaments then sat only every second year, there should be four sessions between each dissolution. Lord Townshend, a nobleman of moderate political, but of great convivial endowments, was selected as the most fitting person to effect the change. He succeeded with much difficulty, some loss of character, and great expenditure of the public money. But the people felt no benefit from the change. The places and pensions, hitherto bestowed on the dependents of the Undertakers, were now lavished with augmented profusion on the creatures of the lord-lieutenant. The disappointed borough holders of the old parliaments felt their power in the House of Commons increased by the curtailing of the period of legislation. They threw themselves into the ranks of the opposition to thwart the measures of the government which they could no longer direct. The parliament was the arena for the struggle between the two parties, and the real interests of the country were disregarded. The severity of the Whiteboy Acts caused a temporary cessation of insubordination in one part of the country, only to give vent to it in another. The disturbances in the south had been imputed to Catholic conspiracy, aided by foreign influence. A similar systematized spirit of outrage now displayed itself in Ulster, which was chiefly inhabited by a Protestant population, that had already testified its loyalty during Thurot's invasion.

The real cause of disaffection was the same in both parts of the country. High rents, and the rapacity of the agents of absentees, drove the people into insurrection. The assembled multitudes here took the name of Hearts of Steel. For their suppression, the legislature passed an act that offenders should be tried in counties different from that in which the crime was committed. The extreme severity and injustice of the law counteracted its operation. Dublin juries, disgusted at a measure so arbitrary and unconstitutional, acquitted the prisoners, and the law was soon repealed. Emigration to the American colonies was the consequence of the depressed state of the peasantry, and of the severity with which they were treated. The war with those colonies, by closing this vent for the discharge of the popular discontents, caused them to accumulate at home. It also increased their amount by the addition of other grievances arising out of the change from peace to war. America had been the great mart for Irish linens, now the only thriving branch of the national manufactures; it was also the great market for Irish provisions. The war closed the trade, and an embargo laid on provisions in favor of some great English contractors put a stop to their export. The country was also deprived of its portion of the regular troops, which the increasing emergency of the struggle with the revolted provinces called away. The sufferings of the people were intense; and the alarm of danger was shortly afterwards increased by the well-founded apprehension of an invasion from France, now the avowed ally of the Americans. To allay the spirit of discontent which was rapidly pervading all ranks, two measures were proposed, the one in England, the removal of the restrictions imposed there, as unwisely as selfishly, on Irish commerce; the other the relaxation of the penal code in Ireland. The commercial jealousy of the mercantile interest in England prevented the former; the latter succeeded so far as to allow Catholics to hold lands by lease for a

long term of years. This boon, though it might excite the hope of more extended liberality, could avail little toward relieving the pressure of immediate distress. Want at home and danger from abroad, stared the country every year more fully in the face. The landed and commercial interests called on the government for protection. The Earl of Buckinghamshire, then lord-lieutenant, a man of moderate abilities, returned for answer that the government had none to give. The people, urged on by the exigency of the crisis, resolved to arm themselves. Volunteer associations were not hitherto wholly unknown in the country. The military spirit of the nation had shown itself on many preceding occasions, in the readiness with which numerous bodies of men, assuming a self-formed and self-taught military organization, united together on occasions of local or temporary danger. The invasion of Thurot gave rise to some in the north, the outrages of the Whiteboys led to others in the southern counties. But such instances were temporary and local. The impulse now given to the public spirit, by the desponding reply of the government to the appeal for protection, was universal and permanent. The organization commenced in Belfast, to which the lord-lieutenant's answer had been more specially directed. The constituted authorities had told them they were not to look to them for protection, but to themselves. They took the hint, and formed several companies of self-armed, self-disciplined, and self-officered soldiers. The surrounding towns followed the example; and the government, acting in the spirit of its suggestion, supplied these new raised levies with arms. The flame of military ardor spread with unexpected rapidity through all parts, and the number of well-disciplined corps soon became so great and so formidable as to dispel all thought of invasion on the one side, and all apprehension of it on the other. The same spirit caused a re-action against the monopolizing restrictions of the British legislature. The people of Ireland entered into a very general com-

bination to confine themselves to the use of their own manufactures. The sudden check to industry thus produced in England caused the supporters of the measure to reflect on its expediency; and the military display could not fail to attract their respect.

The people of Ireland now began to expect from their volunteer associations what, according to the principles of the constitution, should only be looked for from the legislature. These bodies were not backward in meeting such expectations. Assemblages of volunteer corps in Dublin and elsewhere passed resolutions that the king, lords, and commons of Ireland alone were competent to make laws to bind the people of Ireland. The political feeling thus excited increased the number of military associations; and, whilst in the parliament the old system of corrupt influence carried all before it by numerical majorities, the volunteers of Ulster, in the consciousness of their strength, held a meeting at Dungannon, declarative of the necessity of a thorough reform of the state of the representation, and of a combined exertion of the whole volunteer force of Ireland to procure it. The effervescence of patriotism was increased by the unsettled state of the administration in England; Lord North had resigned, and the death of Lord Rockingham put a premature end to his short-lived administration. The result as to Ireland was the dissolution of the parliament, against which the feelings of the nation were so highly excited. A new parliament was about to meet; and at the same time a meeting of delegates from all the volunteer corps in Ireland was to assemble in Dublin, to urge on the favorite measure of parliamentary reform.

At this time several individuals had raised themselves to the highest pinnacle in the scale of patriotism. The most remarkable was the Earl of Charlemont, who, after spending his youth amidst the elegancies of Italian refinement, devoted his maturer years to the service of his country at home. Next to him were Grattan and Flood, both members of parliament, both eager to establish the in-



dependence of their common country on sure grounds, yet fatally adverse to each other as to the foundation on which it was to be laid; the former considering a simple repeal of all English laws interfering with Irish rights as a sufficient disavowal of the assertion of supremacy, the latter requiring an open and explicit disclamation on the point. Grattan was successful, and the country voted him £50,000. The breach between the rival patriots was irremediable. Grattan remained at home to continue the struggle for securing the newly gained rights of his country. Flood soon afterwards retired to England, where a seat in the British legislature flattered him with a more enlarged sphere for the display of his powers. But he failed, and was no longer named as a patriot or statesman.

The meeting of the new parliament and of the volunteer convention took place simultaneously. The first and only act of any consequence adopted by the latter, was a resolution as to the necessity of a reform in parliament; which having been immediately afterwards introduced by Mr. Flood into the House of Commons, was there rejected by a large majority; and the convention, partly through an apprehension among many of its members, of dangers from a collision between two representative bodies, both emanating from the same source, and both claiming to be the constitutional organs of their constituents, and partly through a manœuvre of some of its leaders, quietly adjourned, and never afterwards assembled.

Assemblages of large bodies of armed men, unconnected with and beyond the control of the government, could not fail to alarm the ruling powers. The union of these bodies into a deliberative meeting, for the avowed purpose of influencing the legislature, was still more alarming. The first effort of the volunteers to attain this position had been baffled. The meeting of delegates was dissolved; but it might, and there was every reason to suppose that it would, be re-assembled. To prevent such a recurrence by

violent means was dangerous. The volunteer body was numerous. It counted upwards of 100,000 men, embracing the greater part of the wealth and respectability of the country, and its ranks, its numbers and discipline were yearly increasing. The consequences of a hostile collision with such a body, particularly at the close of an unsuccessful war, commenced with the avowed determination of crushing the spirit of independence, in the American colonies, were fraught with great hazard. An attempt was therefore made to break up the strength of this body by internal divisions. The Catholic question effected this. The volunteers were almost exclusively Protestants. The extension of their rights to a portion of the population, so long held in a state of passive degradation, was viewed by many of them with a jealous eye. They looked upon every new concession to the Catholics as so much abstracted from themselves. Still, however, the Catholic cause was gaining ground.

The extension of a free trade to Ireland had afforded the means of accumulating property. It was eagerly seized on by the Catholic merchants and traders. The lately conceded permission to hold land on long leases gave the holder of such property a fixed position and weight in the country. New laws, framed in the spirit of the increasing liberality of the age, extended their rights. They were permitted to purchase, hold, and dispose of land, by will or otherwise, as freely as Protestants. The penal acts prohibiting the celebrating or hearing of mass, keeping horses above the value of five pounds each, instructing their own children, or acting as teachers, were repealed; as were those taxing them for the losses sustained from privateers, obliging them to pay Protestant watchmen, excluding them from residence in particular towns, and some other petty and irritating restrictions. Still they were far from being on a political equality with their Protestant countrymen; and at the very time that the severity of the code was thus relaxed as to property, new laws were passed still further

contracting their political rights. By one of these they were debarred from admission into the Inns of Court; by another the English act of William III. excluding them from sitting in parliament, was formally enacted in Ireland. The passing of it attracted but little notice, as the act of William had been hitherto passively acquiesced in by the Catholic body.

Whilst the government was successfully busied in sowing the seeds of disunion amongst the volunteers, it paid little attention to conciliate the people by economy or good management. The reckless system of lavish and profligate expenditure introduced by Lord Townshend, to break down the monopoly of the Undertakers, was persevered in to secure majorities in the House of Commons. A feeble effort made by the Duke of Buckingham to retrench and restore order to the finances only led to his recall. Yet it was soon found that a government resting on majorities thus purchased depended on a very frail security. The mental derangement of the king in 1789 showed the futility of such reliance. The English cabinet wished to restrict the Prince of Wales in the discharge of the regal powers intrusted to him as regent. The Irish privy council was prepared to follow the example. But the opposition in parliament, anxious to extend their own influence by gaining over the heir-apparent, who had till then always made professions of great liberality of political opinion, resolved to grant him the regency of Ireland, with no restrictions beyond those imposed by the constitution on the sovereign himself. An address to this effect, voted by both houses of Parliament, in opposition to the lord-lieutenant, was forwarded to London. The sudden and unexpected recovery of the king prevented its effect. But the British minister, having now so fully before him a warning of the consequences that might result from similar collisions of the two legislatures upon future questions, seemed fully determined to seize on every opportunity of preventing it, by taking

measures for effecting a union of the parliaments of both countries, similar to that which took place in Scotland at the commencement of the century. The prevalence of opposition to the wishes of the English cabinet was as transient as it had been sudden. The members who voted against the ministry on the regency question were again found in their places on all ministerial questions, with the exception of those whose rebellion had been too gross and daring to admit of pardon; and the parliamentary management of the country began to subside again into its former state of torpidity.

But the calm was not to be of long duration. A new element of convulsion was at work. The French revolution broke out in the same year in which the king's insanity had caused such excitation. For some time it produced but little effect on the popular movements in Ireland. The Protestants, indeed, began to call more loudly for reform, and the Catholics to press more openly for admittance into the pale of the constitution. Both were disregarded. The government felt itself strong in its majorities, and in the plenitude of its means for securing them. The question of reform was disregarded; that of Catholic relief was not only scouted with marked contumely, but, during the ensuing recess in 1792, every exertion was made on the part of government to draw forth from the grand juries of the several counties the strongest resolutions against any further concessions. Yet the very next year a bill was introduced into parliament by the government, for extending the elective franchise to the Catholics, which was passed by a majority nearly equal to that which had refused to take their claims into consideration in the last session. Bills for amending the representation, and for disqualifying placemen from sitting in the House of Commons, were also introduced. The promises of reform thus held out induced the minority to acquiesce in several coercive measures, particularly one against the holding of conventions by delegation. Enactments of the lat-



ter character having been secured, that of reform was allowed to languish, and, next year, was rejected by an overwhelming ministerial majority. The French war, in which England was now involved, had been the cause of this sudden burst of concession; but when the means of carrying it on, and of checking by severity any efforts to excite discontent at home, had been assured, the mask was thrown off, and the management of affairs carried on with increased profligacy of expenditure, and disregard of public opinion. The advocates of reform, despairing of any change of measures from parliament, endeavored to carry the question of reform by a pressure from without, through the agency of voluntary associations. They formed a Whig Club, which afterwards was superseded by that of the United Irishmen. One of the leading features of both societies, especially of the latter, was the advocacy of the Catholic question, as it now appeared evident that the question of reform was hopeless, without the previous admission of the Catholic body to their rights of freemen. The government, after some further perseverance in measures of harshness and restraint, heightened by the increased violence of the leaders of the people, the principal of whom, Wolf Tone, Hamilton Rowan, and James Napper Tandy, were forced to expatriate themselves, changed at once to a system of conciliation. In assurance of the sincerity of the change of sentiment, Earl Fitzwilliam, a nobleman possessed of large estates in Ireland, and a steady advocate of liberal measures, was sent over as lord-lieutenant. He commenced his government by arrangements for bringing in a bill for the total repeal of the penal statutes, and by the removal from office of the inferior agents of government, who, by their long continuance in place, and the manner in which their mutual interests were connected, virtually possessed the supreme power. The latter of these efforts caused the lord-lieutenant's removal. The family of the Beresfords, which had for many years possessed the chief places

of profit and influence, and remonstrated effectually against their own dismissal and the breaking up of the old system, and Earl Fitzwilliam was suddenly recalled. Earl Camden, who succeeded him as lord-lieutenant, recurred to the former system of patronage and coercion. The United Irishmen now looked not to a reform, but to a separation from Great Britain, and the establishment of an independent republic in alliance with that of France, as the only means of securing the independence of their country. A well-arranged system of secret confederacy was spread over the greater part of the kingdom, headed by an executive in the capital, the members of which, though wholly unknown, except to the few individuals in immediate communication with themselves, issued orders for enlisting, combining, and arming their adherents, which were zealously and implicitly obeyed. The northern and midland counties had for some time been disturbed by the fierce and deadly contentions of the peasantry of the two opposite religious creeds; the Catholics took the name of Defenders, the Protestants that of Orangemen. As the struggle grew more desperate, the attraction of party extended to the higher classes, and the former of these predial disturbers merged into the great mass of United Irishmen, whilst the latter, consolidated by the infusion of a superior spirit of wealth and intelligence, formed a compact, well-organized, and resolute body, under the original name of Orangemen, determined to maintain to the utmost their own monopoly of power, and the entire exclusion of the Roman Catholics, who formed the great mass of the population, from any participation of it. The increasing hostility of both parties showed itself by acts of augmented atrocity on both sides. The Defenders' means of aggression were nocturnal plunder, house-burnings, and murders. The other party, backed by the sanction of the government, had recourse to the force of statutes of increased rigor, and, where these failed, to the agency of military violence.

beyond the law. In the year 1796 the organization of the united system on the one side, and on the other the increased severities of the Orangemen, supported by the government, and directed exclusively against the Catholic peasantry, compelled the leaders of the people to press upon the French government the necessity of an immediate invasion. In consequence of their repeated and urgent applications, aided by the exertions of Wolf Tone, who, since his departure from Ireland, had devoted himself to this object, a large armament was equipped in the western ports of France, for the avowed purpose of invading Ireland. The command of it was intrusted to Hoche, then considered as the first officer of the time. Taking advantage of a storm which drove the blockading squadron of England off the coast, a large fleet sailed from Brest under his command in the middle of December; but the same violence of weather which afforded it the opportunity of eluding the vigilance of the British navy dispersed it when at sea, insomuch that but a part of the armament arrived on the coast of Ireland. Having lain for some time in Bantry Bay undiscovered by the enemy, waiting the arrival of the general, who had embarked in a frigate, and finding the further continuance on the station every day more precarious, it departed, contrary to the pressing remonstrances of Wolf Tone, and returned to Brest, whither the remainder of the fleet soon afterwards arrived, with the loss of a few ships. A second expedition from the Dutch coast was equally unsuccessful. The possibility of an invasion being thus demonstrated, and the probability of its ultimate success, if effected on a great scale, being apprehended in the present excited state of the public mind, the government had recourse to still stronger measures to put down the spirit of insurrection. The habeas corpus act was suspended, domiciliary visits throughout the country parts were frequent, meetings of the people were dispersed by violence, torture was inflicted to force confession from suspected

persons, and bodies of soldiery were allowed to live at free quarters in suspected districts. The relaxation of discipline and consequent outrages arising from these practices caused General Abercromby, who came over to take the command of the army at this juncture, to declare, in general orders to the troops, that "the army was in a state of licentiousness which rendered it formidable to every one but the enemy." The announcement was as unpalatable as it was harsh. The general was recalled. General Lake was sent in his place. By his commands the soldiery exercised an almost uncontrolled authority, in which they were sanctioned by instructions from the government, empowering the army to use force at the discretion of the officers against the people. At the same time the strength of the United Irish Association was considerably impaired by the arrest or flight of the executive, caused by the treachery of some of their own body. This circumstance, however, produced no despondency. On the contrary, it led to increased exertion. A new executive was formed, and a resolution adopted to press forward the insurrection without waiting for French assistance. A second act of treachery baffled this effort. Twelve of the leading members of the United Irishmen were seized, with their papers, whilst in committee. A third act of treachery led to the disclosure of the details of the plans. Captain Armstrong, of the king's county militia, entered the association for the purpose of betraying its leaders. By his information two barristers of the name of Sheares, brothers, were arrested; and shortly afterwards, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, a brother of the Duke of Leinster, to whom the chief command of the insurrection had been intrusted, was seized in his place of concealment in Dublin, and carried to prison, where he soon after died either of his wounds or from his treatment whilst there. Notwithstanding these checks, the insurrection exploded at the time arranged by its leaders. On the evening of the 23d of May, the United Irishmen assembled in large bodies



in the neighborhood of Dublin and the adjoining counties. The warnings previously given to government were sufficient to provide against the intended attack upon the capital. The parties collected in its neighborhood were easily dispersed, with the loss only of a few lives. Unfortunately the same vigilance did not extend to the more distant parts. The signal for commencing operations on the side of the insurgents was to be the non-arrival of the mail-coaches at their respective places of destination. The northern and western mail coaches were stopped. The town of Naas was attacked, but, owing to an anonymous warning, the garrison was prepared, and the assault was repelled. Unsuccessful attacks were also made on Carlow, Hacketstown, and Monasterevan. A large body which had assembled on the hill of Tarah was routed with much slaughter. The operations of the army were seconded by the most violent acts on the part of the government. Several of the leaders who had been previously seized were tried and executed. Numbers arrested on suspicion were brought to places prepared for the purpose, and there tied up and flogged, to extort confession. The principal places in Dublin for these inquisitorial executions were the Royal Exchange, the Old Custom-House, the Prevot Barrack, and a riding house belonging to a cavalry corps commanded by one of the Beresford family. The atrocities practiced in the capital under the sanction of the government were improved upon in the country parts, where the military, to whom full license was permitted, by putting the country under martial law, not only adopted the same method of extorting confession, but used others of more refined agony to elicit discoveries or to gratify revenge. In some cases they hanged up their victim, and let him down again just before life was extinct; thus repeating at pleasure the sufferings of strangulation. On the heads of others they applied caps lined with heated pitch, which, when fastened on, and allowed to cool, were suddenly torn off, carrying with

them the hair and skin. In the spirit of fiendish mockery, they cut ridges in the hair of others, in the form of a cross, and filling up the furrow with gunpowder, set fire to it. On the first breaking out of the rebellion, a number of suspected persons, some of them respectable farmers, who had been confined in a racket-court at Hacketstown, were deliberately shot, without even the form of trial, on the removal of the troops from that place, lest they should join the rebel camps. A similar massacre was perpetrated at Dunlavin. The insurgents of Kildare, finding themselves defeated in almost every assault upon the king's troops, came forward to surrender on promise of pardon. Many laid down their arms, and were permitted to disperse in safety. But a large body of them, assembled for the same purpose, was unexpectedly attacked by a detachment of the military, who had not been made acquainted with the arrangement, and cut to pieces.

The system of torture was carried by the soldiery into the county of Wexford, which had hitherto remained quiet. Here the insurgents were more successful. After cutting to pieces a detachment of cavalry from Dublin, and another of infantry and artillery from Duncannon Fort, and taking Enniscorthy by storm, they seized on the town of Wexford, which had been evacuated on the first alarm by the military. Having established themselves here, and at Vinegar Hill, an eminence near Enniscorthy, they remained comparatively quiet, being chiefly occupied in putting to death prisoners charged with having been active in the cruelties practiced upon the insurgents. Their first serious defeat was at New Ross, from which they were repulsed after a sanguinary contest of ten hours. In revenge for this defeat, a party of the fugitives set fire to a barn at Scullabogue, in which upwards of a hundred of their prisoners were confined, all of whom were either burned, or piked in attempting to escape from the flames. The same impulse of sanguinary despair caused the insurgents in Wexford to put their prisoners to

death, by piking them on the bridge, and flinging their bodies into the sea; a process of cruelty continued for several days, notwithstanding the active interference and remonstrances of several of their own clergy. At length, however, their main position at Vinegar Hill was invested by a large military force, and stormed after a short resistance. Wexford soon afterwards fell into the hands of the royal troops, having surrendered without resistance, on conditions which were immediately violated. The leaders of the insurrection who had not fallen in the field were executed by court-martial, and the insurrection in this and the neighboring county of Wicklow totally suppressed.

The news of the first successes of the insurgents in Wexford caused a rising in the counties of Antrim and Down, which had remained passive on the first breaking out of the insurrection in Kildare. But it was speedily put down after a battle in the town of Antrim, and another at Ballynahinch, in both of which the insurgents, who displayed much courage, but no military skill, were totally defeated. The marauding parties, who still harassed the country after the dispersion of the main bodies, were ultimately broken up by the prudent and merciful conduct of Lord Cornwallis. This nobleman, who succeeded Earl Camden as lord-lieutenant, not only put an instant stop to the system of torture and extermination which had been adopted and perseveringly acted on by his predecessor, but issued an amnesty, to all who submitted and returned to their dwellings. This merciful policy had its full effect; and the country, after being convulsed for two months by the deadly struggles of the contending parties, entertained the hope of being restored to tranquillity, when the prospect was suddenly overcast. Towards the close of summer, a small French squadron landed a force of about twelve hundred men at Killala, in the west of Ireland. Humbert, the general, being joined by a number of the inhabitants pressed on to Castlebar, where a force of from five to six thousand men under

General Lake was posted to oppose him. This force was taken by surprise, and routed almost without firing a shot. The French then proceeded to Cooloonney, where they received a temporary check from a party of the Irish militia, which made a gallant stand against superior numbers; and thence proceeded, followed by General Lake, into the county of Longford. Having arrived at the village of Ballynamuck, the French commander, finding himself surrounded by an overwhelming majority of force, collected from all parts by Lord Cornwallis, surrendered at discretion, leaving his Irish auxiliaries to the mercy of the enemy. No quarters was given to these. A second attempt at invasion, equally feeble and futile, was made the following month. A small squadron appeared off the northern coast, filled with troops intended for disembarkation; but it was routed by a superior English fleet, with the loss of one line-of-battle ship and six frigates, in which were some of the expatriated Irish who were embarked in this desperate expedition. Amongst these was Wolfe Tone, who, on being brought prisoner to Dublin, anticipated the sentence of a court-martial by an act of suicide.

The British government of that day has been accused of fomenting the rebellion of 1798 for the purpose of bringing about a legislative union between Ireland and Great Britain. There is no foundation for the charge, but doubtless the government took advantage of the explosion of the insurrection of 1798 to hasten on the progress of a necessary measure, the adoption of which was only a question of time. The union of both countries had been proposed and debated without result in 1782, the year of so-called constitutional independence and final adjustment; three years after which, Mr. Foster, the chancellor of the Irish exchequer, said in the Irish parliament, "Things cannot remain as they are; commercial jealousy is roused, and it will increase with two independent legislatures. Without a united interest in commerce, in a commercial empire,



political union will receive many shocks, and separation of interest must threaten separation of connection, which every honest Irishman must shudder to look on as a possible event." Mr. Fox stated in the British House of Commons that from the period of 1782 there had been growing sources of dissatisfaction and discontent in Ireland, and that its condition in 1797 was one at which no man could look without the greatest alarm.

The rebellion of 1798 alarmed all reasonable persons, and the dispute which had occurred in 1789 between the two parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland respecting the powers to be granted to the Prince of Wales as regent, clearly demonstrated that there was no security in the existing arrangement. The project of 1782 was revived, and a legislative union of Great Britain and Ireland recommended in the lord-lieutenant's speech at the opening of parliament in January, 1799. After a discussion in the Lower House on the address, which occupied twenty-two hours, a resolution approving the principle was carried by a majority of one. After a subsequent debate, the opinion of the House having been declared against it by a majority of five, the paragraph in favor of the Union was expunged from the address to the throne. For a time the question remained in an unsettled state. Mr. Pitt, in his speech of the 31st of January, 1799, said, "I wish that the question of the Union should be stated distinctly, temperately, and fully; that it should be left to the unprejudiced, the dispassionate, the sober judgment of the Irish parliament. I wish that those whose interests are involved in the measure should have time for its consideration. I wish that time should be given to the landed, to the monied interest, that they should look at it in all its bearings—that they should coolly examine and sift the popular arguments by which it has been opposed; and that then they should give their final judgment." The great body of the people were induced to give the measure a tacit though reluctant assent, from a promise held out to them of Catholic emancipa-

tion, and other advantages which they had little hope of obtaining from the Irish parliament. The government being resolved on the measure, found it necessary to prevent or disperse various public meetings of its violent opponents, and to make use of all the influence at their command to overcome the reluctance of the majority of the Irish House of Commons. Confiding in the success of his arrangements, Lord Castlereagh, the Irish minister, revived the question early in 1800; and on the final division, which took place on the 6th of February in that year, 158 members voted for the Union, and 115 against it. The principle being admitted, and the details having been settled by the British parliament during the past session, no further difficulty was experienced. At the close of the year the two separate parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland were dissolved, and a proclamation issued for the assembling of an imperial parliament in January, 1801.

In 1793, eight years previous to the Union, Mr. Grattan stated that, of 300 members of the Irish House of Commons, 200 were the nominees of private individuals, from 40 to 50 were returned by constituencies of not more than ten persons each; several boroughs had not more than one resident elector, and that out of 300 members thus returned, 104 were placemen and pensioners. At the Union compensation was awarded to the proprietors of 83 boroughs, an act having been previously passed by which the Irish parliament voted £1,400,000 for the "losses sustained from the Union by the cities, towns, and boroughs, in Ireland, and to make compensation to persons for loss or reduction of emolument of office by the Union."

The act of the Union did not at once produce the results promised by its advocates. It either tranquillized the country, or aided the consolidation of its resources. The Protestants, who constituted the aristocracy, found their influence diminished by it. The Catholics soon discovered the hopelessness of the expectation of being thereby admitted

to the rights of freemen. When the question of their emancipation was about to be made an object of discussion, it was now for the first time publicly announced that the king had insuperable objections to the measure. The consequence was a change of ministry, which was followed up by legislative measures of great severity towards Ireland, founded on the suspected existence of a spirit of disaffection there. Martial law was re-enacted, and the acts for suspension of the *habeas corpus*, and for preventing seditious meetings, were revived. These measures of prospective severity did not prevent the mischiefs apprehended. In 1803, less than three years after the passing of the Act of Union, an insurrection, devised by Robert Emmett, the younger brother of a barrister of the same name who had expatriated himself in consequence of the leading part he had taken in the proceedings of the United Irishmen, broke out in the city of Dublin. Its explosion was so sudden and unexpected, that no suspicions, at least none strong enough to lead to the adoption of measures of precaution, were entertained by the government. Soon after sunset on the 23d of July, Emmett, who had returned to Ireland, in ignorance of the altered state of public feeling, issued, at the head of a number of his followers, armed chiefly with pikes, from a depot established by him in an obscure street in the west of Dublin, and after cutting down some of the military who were proceeding individually to their several quarters, moved towards the Castle, the main object of attack, when his followers were delayed by the approach of Lord Kilwarden's carriage. This excellent and popular nobleman, who had been chief justice of the king's bench during the late troublous times, was coming into Dublin as a place of security, in consequence of a rumor of a rising having reached him in his villa, a few miles from town. On being recognized, he was immediately assailed, and mortally wounded. The arrival of two small picquets immediately dispersed the collected multitude, with the loss of a few

lives. Emmett, on finding the failure of his scheme, escaped to the neighboring mountains, where he was soon afterwards taken, brought to trial, and executed. A similar attempt at insurrection was arranged in the north of Ireland by an associate of Emmett, named Russell, but discovered before the time fixed for its explosion. Measures of prevention were adopted, and its leader, being soon afterwards taken in his place of concealment in Dublin, was also executed. The only permanent consequence of these foolish plans of rebellion was the revival of statutes of extreme severity, which by placing the people beyond the protection of the usual course of law, served to foster in the mind the seed of discontent and disaffection, which it was the professed object of such legislation to extinguish.

The agitation of the feelings of mutual irritation between the two great parties in Ireland, arising from the late insurrection, had not sufficiently subsided to admit of the most distant hope that the Catholic claims would receive the slightest attention in parliament till 1805. Even then, so powerful was the party adverse to the entertainment of the question, that motions for a committee on the petitions of the Catholics presented in that year were rejected in both Houses by overwhelming majorities. Even a bill, which asked no more than to put Roman Catholic officers in the army on the same footing in the English as they were in the Irish service, brought in by the then ministry, led to a dissolution, both of the administration and of the parliament, in consequence of the king's aversion to it. For several years afterwards the question was periodically mooted in one or both houses of parliament, and uniformly rejected, though on each subsequent occasion by a diminished majority.

The Catholic committee, which had sat under various names and forms from time to time since its original institution in 1756, having, in 1811, proposed to assemble by delegation in Dublin, steps were taken by the government to put it down, as contrary



to the provisions of the convention act, which prohibited such assemblages; but, in consequence of the acquittal of one of the members by a Dublin jury, no further proceedings were taken, and the increased activity of the association recalled the Orange lodges into existence, and led to frequent collisions among the people. In 1817 public opinion had advanced in favor of the Catholic claims so far as to admit of the question of securities being a topic of discussion. The chief point now was the exertion of a royal veto in the nomination of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, but the claim was fortunately afterwards abandoned.

In 1821 George IV. visited Ireland during the vice-royalty of Earl Talbot. The king landed at Howth on the 12th of August, and after a stay of nearly three weeks, during which all was loyalty and gaiety, his majesty embarked at Dunleary, afterwards called Kingstown, on the third of September, and Daniel O'Connell, at the head of a Catholic deputation, presented the king with a crown of laurel.

In 1823 the Catholic question began to assume a new and more imposing form. Its change of character was owing to Daniel O'Connell, then a practicing barrister, who, after having signalized himself on his first entrance into political life by an eloquent protest against the extinction of the parliament of Ireland, had been subsequently an active and most influential actor in all the proceedings of the Catholic body. Deploring, along with his friend and coadjutor, in political action, Mr. Shiel, the state of torpid depression into which the question had declined, he suggested the revival of a central body to advocate and manage their cause, planned its details, and commenced its organization. The first meeting of this body, so soon, under the name of the Catholic Association, to be the acknowledged organ of the public sentiment of the greater part of the population of Ireland, commenced in a meeting of three individuals. Its distinguishing characteristics were the exclusion

of anything savoring of delegation, a strict adherence to the letter of any law that had been or might be enacted in order to stifle the expression of the sentiments of the Catholics, and, above all, the admission of the great body of the people into it. This last element of its constitution was finally secured and firmly grafted into it, after a continued and precarious struggle for existence, by a pecuniary contribution, which O'Connell denominated "the Catholic rent." Every Catholic was called upon to subscribe at least one penny per month to defray the expenses of the association, and thereby became a member of it. These expenses were far from inconsiderable. They were applied partly to protect poor Catholics from the petty persecutions of intolerant magistrates and landlords, partly to meet the general expenditure of the association, whose communications with all parts of the country could not otherwise be effectively carried on, and partly for the gratuitous circulation, throughout every part, of a newspaper, containing a detail of all the proceedings of the association.

The dissolution of Mr. Canning's ministry by the unexpected death of its leader, and the formation of the Wellington administration, gave a character of increased energy to the struggle for Catholic emancipation. The duke was universally believed to be decidedly and irreclaimably adverse to concession on this subject; and one of the first measures taken by the Catholics on his accession to power, was the adoption of pledges, to be given by every candidate at an election, to oppose the new government. They were intended for the next general election, but Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald having accepted a seat in the cabinet, a vacancy occurred in the representation of the county Clare, and O'Connell was elected, declaring that he would take his seat and vote. The agitation had now arrived at that point when it could no longer be resisted with safety, and the Catholic claims, which ought to have been admitted immediately after the Union, were granted in 1829.



*Daniel O'Connell*





60

The chief opponents of the Union were the Orange party in Ireland, who had been, and hoped to remain, in the ascendant; the Roman Catholics generally acquiesced in the arrangement, feeling that it would break up, or at least diminish, the power of the Protestant aristocracy. The first public attempt to put in question the repeal of the legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland was made by the High Tory corporation of Dublin, in 1810; the subject was afterwards debated in the House of Commons, in 1822; and two years later Lord Cloncurry recommended the Catholics to join the Protestants on the Repeal question. The great leader of the Roman Catholic, or national party having been re-elected for the county of Clare, after the passing of the Relief Act, took his seat in the House of Commons, and surprised his opponents, who had supposed him to possess only the talents of a vulgar demagogue, by exhibiting his capacity to cope with the best parliamentary orators. To keep alive the spirit and activity of his followers, and coerce the government into granting measures of amelioration, O'Connell proclaimed, in the first year of his admission to a seat in parliament, that a repeal of the legislative Union was the only means of obtaining justice for Ireland, and systematically maintained the position which from first to last he had no serious thought of realizing. The Repeal Association followed the Catholic Association, and, in conjunction with the anti-tithe agitation, this new element of discord raised a storm so potent that it was with difficulty O'Connell could keep it within bounds, and the government was compelled to obtain additional powers by means of the Coercion Bill, which passed the House of Commons, and was enforced by the Marquis of Anglesey, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

With a population approaching 8,000,000 in number, of which little more than 10 per cent. were members of the Established Church, every parish in Ireland was provided with a clergyman of that persuasion, sup-

ported by tithes received from the farmers, who were almost universally Roman Catholics, the amount payable being ascertained by tithe proctors, who walked over the fields and valued the crops for that purpose. In 1823 compositions for tithe were authorized by statutable enactment, but few had taken advantage of the provisions of the act, and during the Reform Bill agitation the Roman Catholics pressed forward the anti-tithe movement. In 1830, Earl Grey, who had succeeded the Duke of Wellington, having promised a bill in parliament for the settlement of the tithe question, the resistance to further payment of tithe became general until 1832, when Lord Stanley introduced the Tithe Composition Bill. The Church Temporalities Act, which originally contained the famous *Appropriation Clause*, reduced the number of bishoprics, and transferred the revenues of the suppressed sees to the Board of Ecclesiastical Commissioners; and in 1838 compositions for tithe were abolished, fixed payments, or rent charges (consisting of three-fourths of the amount of the former composition), to be paid by the landlords, being substituted.

When parliamentary reform took place in 1832, Ireland acquired the privilege of sending five additional members to the Imperial Parliament, the qualification for voters in the counties of cities and towns was raised, and the franchise in other respects assimilated to that of the counties in which the rights of the 40s. freeholders had been taken away by the Catholic Emancipation Act. In the next year a commission was appointed to inquire into the state of the municipal corporations of Ireland. The abolition of the penal laws, and the establishment of the right of Catholics to sit in Parliament had not procured their admission into offices under the municipal corporations, all of which were exclusively under the control of Protestants; but the many abuses and restrictions which were found to exist in those bodies were remedied, or removed, by the Municipal Reform Act of 1840.



In 1836 the police system, originated in 1814 by Sir Robert Peel, when chief secretary for Ireland, was perfected by the consolidation of the law and complete establishment of the efficient constabulary force, which, disseminated in small bodies throughout the country, is the theme of general admiration for its efficiency and intelligence.

Second in importance only to the establishment of police for the security of order and property, is the foundation of a system of national education, which was laid in 1833, and supported by grants of public money, for the education of the poor without distinction of religious creed. The system has so grown in extent and utility, that it must greatly contribute during the next half-century to the rapid spread of civilization throughout the country.

Notwithstanding the numerous institutions for the relief of the poor, and the extent of private benevolence, the amount of pauperism existing in Ireland had become such that it was necessary, for the sake of policy as well as of humanity, to provide, by legislative enactment, for the support of the aged, impotent, and infirm poor. A commission appointed in 1836 to inquire into their condition, recommended that relief should be given only to the impotent; and in 1838 an act was passed authorizing relief under strict limitations, but was gradually extended in the course of time, until, in 1847, the right of the destitute poor to relief was established in consequence of the famine which had resulted from the continued failure of the potato crop.

After the return of Lord Melbourne as premier in 1835, the government maintained for some time a good understanding with O'Connell, who established the Precursor Society to obtain "equality with England under the Union;" but the continued opposition of the House of Lords to the Municipal Reform Bill for Ireland, and the recall of the Marquis of Normandy from the lord-lieutenancy in 1839, induced O'Connell to infuse new vigor into the repeal movement,

and establish the "Loyal National Repeal Association." The ministry of Sir Robert Peel succeeded that of Lord Melbourne in 1841, and the Repeal Association was re-organized. The year 1843, denominated the Repeal year, was remarkable for what were known as monster meetings, commencing at Trim in the month of March, and ending at Mullaghmast on the 1st of October. Another meeting was to have been held on Sunday, the 8th of October, at Clontarf, but the government took measures by proclamation and otherwise to prevent the assemblage of the people. O'Connell, upon understanding the determination of the government, successfully used his authority to keep his followers away, and no monster meetings were afterwards attempted.

In January, 1844, the state prosecutions against the agitator and his colleagues commenced, and resulted in the condemnation of the accused, who were sentenced to a short term of imprisonment. They were confined to Richmond bridewell, but on appeal to the House of Lords, the judgment of the Irish Court of Queen's Bench was reversed, and their prison doors opened.

The Repeal question was one in which O'Connell had little hope, and his followers had much faith. The events of the last few years, when O'Connell had been carried beyond his judgment, had rendered him somewhat timid and doubtful of the result. He never again prosecuted the cause with the same vigor as heretofore. The people became indifferent to him, his health failed, and famine desolated the land. Early in 1847 O'Connell left Ireland for the last time, and, after a gradual decay, died at Genoa of disease of the brain.

Previous to the decease of O'Connell the influence of the young Ireland party had increased among the masses of the people, and in 1846 they formed a separate body, under the title of the "Irish Confederation." On the breaking out of the French revolution, early in 1848, the confederation transgressed all the bounds of moderation, sent a depu

tation to the Provisional Government of France, requesting aid on behalf of the "oppressed nationality of Ireland," and organized plans of insurrection. The government allowed the rebellion, if such it could be called, to attain its full proportions, when, after much excitement, it was terminated by the arrest of Mr. Smith O'Brien, who had incautiously appeared at the head of a small body of insurgents at Ballingarry, in the county of Tipperary. Mr. Smith O'Brien and others were tried for high treason, and found guilty, but the sentence of death was commuted to transportation for life. In 1856, such of the convicts as had not broken their parole received their freedom from the government.

Various legislative measures for the amelioration of the condition of Ireland were passed during the following years. In 1849 a court was established for the sale of encumbered estates. Queen Victoria made her first visit to Ireland in the same year, and again appeared in the country at the opening of the great exhibition of Irish industrial products, in 1853. The Roman Catholic College of Maynooth was established by a grant from the government in 1854, and excited considerable agitation by the Protestant opposition raised against it. The question of "Tenant Right" and other grievances also created considerable disturbance in the minds of the people, but they were either settled in a constitutional manner by parliament, or else suffered to die away at the time, to be again revived whenever a suitable opportunity for action should arrive.

The course of Irish government proceeded in this way without any particular event to mark its administration until the organization known as the Fenian Brotherhood came into notice in 1865.

This organization, consisting of natives of Ireland, extended through the United States, the British Provinces of North America and Ireland. It had its origin about 1857, in a society known as the Emmett Monument Association. The signification of this name is

derived from the fact that Robert Emmett before his execution desired that no monument might be erected to his memory till Ireland should be free from British thralldom. This title, therefore, implied a threat against the dominions of Great Britain. The name of Fenian was afterward adopted, as it is said from Fin McCoul, one of the legendary heroes of the early Irish history. It was not, however, till 1859, that the organization fully developed itself and assumed the regular form that made it appear so formidable. In the United States the system became most perfect. There the lowest detail consisted of a Local Circle of not less than sixty members, which had the privilege of sending a delegate to the Fenian Congress whenever it was held. Above these Local Circles were the State Centres, and at the head of all was the Head Centre, corresponding to the office of president. This Head Centre after the re-organization of the brotherhood, was elected by the Annual Fenian Congress. The first of these assemblies was held in Chicago, in 1863, and a second in Cincinnati in 1865. At these meetings the organization of the society was openly discussed, and its object, the liberation of Ireland, boldly avowed. After a subsequent congress, held in the same year as the last mentioned, public offices were opened by the officers of the Brotherhood in New York, and bonds were issued in the name of the Republic of Ireland.

The proceedings of the Fenian Brotherhood were necessarily conducted in a far different manner in Ireland and the British Colonies. There the greatest secrecy was required, and a mystery was thrown over their movements, which served not a little to increase the anxiety of the English government. This showed itself in increased severity of administration. During the year a large military force was sent into Ireland, and the police greatly increased. In some counties martial law was declared, and many arrests were made. One of the persons arrested proved to be James Stephens, the



Head Centre, not only of the United States, but of the whole Brotherhood; but, notwithstanding the vigilance of his keepers, this important captive managed in some mysterious way to slip out of prison and elude all efforts for his recapture. The operations of the Brotherhood in the following years were chiefly confined to expeditions in America against the Canadian frontier. An attempt, in 1867, to excite a general uprising in Tipperary county failed. In England there was an affray with the police at Manchester, and several Fenians were convicted and executed for the murder of the constables.

The state of Ireland now demanded the serious attention of the English government; disaffection and discontent were spread

throughout the island; the proprietors of estates could not live in safety on their own land, and order was maintained only by the strong exertion of superior power. To ameliorate this deplorable condition, and reform some of the abuses which had always marked the course of British administration in the sister isle, various measures were proposed in parliament. One of the most important of these, the Abolition of the Established Church in Ireland, was at last carried after much opposition; and it is to be hoped that England's sense of justice may not rest satisfied with this tardy and partial act of reparation towards one of the most oppressed and misgoverned peoples whose sufferings fill the darkest pages of history.

## AUSTRALASIA AND POLYNESIA.

**A**USTRALASIA includes the semi-continental mass of land hitherto known as New Holland, and the Islands of New Zealand, New Caledonia, New Hebrides, Queen Charlotte's Islands, Solomon's Archipelago, New Britain, New Ireland, New Hanover, Admiralty Islands, and Papua or New Guinea.

Midway between the two continents, and linking the two hemispheres together, stand the great islands of the Southern Pacific, and the smaller and more numerous clusters that form the vast archipelago of Polynesia. These semi-continents are for the most part situated in the most favored latitudes of the globe, and enjoy the richest blessings of nature in their soil and climate. But fitted as they are to sustain the highest civilization of man, they have until within a very few years been entirely in the hands of the most barbarous races, and at the present day few have got beyond that period, common to all new countries, when the coming of a more powerful people is as yet only a source of corruption and evil. Their place in history thus bears little relation to their future importance to the world; and with a brief notice of

some of the most important, we shall pass on to the great Republic of the New World.

The natives of Australasia are for the major part, of a negro character; and nowhere is human nature found in a more depraved state. An enormous head, flat countenance, and long slender extremities, mark their physical conformation, together with an acuteness of sight and hearing. Captain Cook's description of this race has been verified by every succeeding observer. "The skin," says he, "is the color of wood soot, or what is usually called chocolate color. Their features are far from disagreeable: their noses are not flat, nor are their lips thick; their teeth are white and even, and their hair naturally long and black; it is, however, cropped short." It seems that a decidedly inferior variety of the human race is found in Australasia, and has spread itself to a considerable distance north and east among the islands of Polynesia and the eastern archipelago. The Australasian is puny and weak compared with the African negro; and his intellectual attainments are quite on as low a scale as his physical powers.

## NEW HOLLAND.

**T**HE Portuguese and Spaniards appear to have visited this region in the sixteenth century, but it was the Dutch who first made it known to Europe. In 1605 they coasted it along the western shore as far as 13° 45' of south latitude; the farthest point of land in their map being called Cape Keer Weer, or Turn-again. In 1616 the west coasts were discovered by Dirk Hartog, com-

mander of an outward-bound vessel from Holland to India; and in the year 1801 there was found, by some of the navigators by whom that coast was visited, a plate of tin, with an inscription and dates, in which it was mentioned that it had been left by him.

In 1618, another part of the coast was discovered by Zeachen, who gave it the name of Arnheim and Dieman; though a different



part from what afterwards received the name of Van Diemen's Land from Tasman. In 1619, Jan Van Edels gave his name to a southern part of New Holland; and another part received the name of Leuwen's Land. Peter Van Nuytz gave his name, in 1627, to the coast that communicates with Leuwen; and another part bore the name of De Witt's Land. In 1628, Peter Carpenter, a Dutchman, discovered the great Gulf of Carpentaria. In 1687, Dampier, an Englishman, sailed from Timor and coasted the Western part of New Holland. In 1699, he left England, with a design to explore this country, as the Dutch suppressed whatever discoveries had been made by them. He sailed along the western coast of it, from 15 to 28 degrees of latitude. He then returned to Timor; from whence he sailed again; examined the isles of Papua; coasted New Guinea; discovered the passage that bears his name, and also New Britain; and sailed back to Timor along New Guinea. This is the same Dampier who, between the years 1683 and 1691, sailed round the world, by changing his ships. Notwithstanding the attempts of all these navigators, the eastern part of this vast country was totally unknown till Captain Cook made his voyages, and, by fully exploring that part of the coast, gave his country title to the possession of it; which it accordingly took under the name of New South Wales, in 1787.

Captain Cook having given a favorable account of this island, an act was passed in parliament, in 1779, under the auspices of Judge Blackstone, Lord Auckland, and Mr. Howard, to establish a colony in it where the criminals condemned to be transported should be sent to pass their time of servitude. Some difficulties, however, prevented its being put into execution till December, 1786, when orders were issued, by the king in council, for making a settlement in New Holland. The squadron appointed for putting the design in execution, assembled at the Motherbank on the 16th of May, 1787. It consisted of the *Sirius* frigate, Captain John Hunter;

the *Supply* armed tender, Lieutenant H. L. Ball; three storeships, the *Golden Grove*, *Fishburn*, and *Borrowdale*, for carrying provisions and stores for two years; and lastly, six transports; these were to carry the convicts, with a detachment of marines in each, proportioned to the nature of the service. On the arrival of Governor Philip at the station, he hoisted his flag on board the *Sirius*, as commodore of the squadron. On the 13th of May they weighed anchor. The number of convicts was 778, of which 558 were men. On the 3d of January, 1788, the *Supply* armed tender came within sight of New Holland; but the winds becoming variable, and a strong current impeding their course, prevented them from reaching Botany Bay before the 18th day of the same month.

Governor Philip had no sooner landed than he set about an examination of the country surrounding Botany Bay, which had been so strongly recommended by Captain Cook as the most eligible place for a settlement. He found that neither the bay, nor the land about it, appeared favorable for a colony; being in some places entirely swampy; in others, quite destitute of water. The governor, finding the difficulties that he had to surmount, determined to examine the lands further on, and accordingly went with several officers, in three boats, to Port Jackson, about three leagues distant from Botany Bay. Here they had the satisfaction to find one of the finest harbors in the world, where a thousand sail of the line might ride in perfect safety. A cove which he called Sydney Cove, in honor of Lord Sydney, and the country around it, he destined for the settlement: orders were therefore immediately given for the removal of the fleet to Port Jackson.

The convicts, and others, destined to remain in New South Wales, reached Port Jackson on the 25th of January. No time was lost in beginning to clear the ground for an encampment, storehouses, &c. The work however, went on but slowly, partly owing to the natural difficulties they had to encounter, and partly owing to the habitual indo-

lence of the convicts, as well as to a want of carpenters, only twelve convicts, being of that trade, several of whom were sick, and no more than sixteen could be hired from all the ships. But on the 7th of February a regular form of government was established in the colony.

The scurvy soon began to rage with violence; so that, by the beginning of May, two hundred people were rendered incapable of work; and no more than eight or ten acres of barley, or wheat, had been sown, besides what individuals had sown for themselves. The natives now began to show a hostile disposition, which they had not hitherto done, and several convicts, who had strolled into the woods, were murdered. All possible inquiry was made after the natives who had been guilty of the murder, but without effect.

Cook's survey of the east coast did more for Australian discovery than the united labors of all who preceded him; nor should it be forgotten that Captain Bligh, after the mutiny of the *Bounty*, in 1789, though in an open boat, and devoid of almost every necessary, carried on a series of observations that added much to the information before obtained. By this time, however, many English colonists had arrived, and home and colonial expeditions were actively set on foot. But the greatest discoverers, towards the end of the last century, were Bass and Flinders. In 1798 they sailed through the strait between Van Diemen's land (now called Tasmania) and New Holland; these two being marked in Cook's chart as continuous, and the fact of their being otherwise not having before been proved. Further discoveries have since been made; but it is to Cook and Flinders that we are indebted for the most valuable information.

The eastern coast, or New South Wales, commences at Cape York, in  $10^{\circ} 30'$  S. lat., and terminates at Wilson's promontory in Bass's strait in  $39^{\circ} 0'$ , including an extent of 700 leagues. A chain of mountains appears to run parallel to this coast, through its whole

length, whose bases are from 10 to 30 leagues from the sea. Until of late years all attempts to pass this natural barrier have been unsuccessful. It has, however, at last been overcome; and instead of the sandy deserts or the inland seas with which conjecture had occupied the interior, the discovery of beautiful meadows, watered by considerable rivers and by chains of ponds, has given to the colonists new prospects of extension and riches. The coasts towards the south are in general elevated and covered with lofty trees. Towards the north they are lower, bordered with mangrove swamps, and lined with a labyrinth of islets and coral reefs. The Blue Mountains, which rise behind the seat of the colony are a mixture of primitive and secondary rocks.

Only the south-east part, with comparatively small sections in the west and south, and an inconsiderable tract in the north near Port Essington, have been thoroughly explored. Some useful expeditions have been conducted by Mr. Eyre, Governor Grey, Dr. Leichardt, and Sir T. Mitchell; but much of the interior is still unknown, and some features of its best known regions can only be sketched. The following are the present settlements, with the date of their establishment:—The British settlement of New South Wales, of which Sydney is the capital, was made in 1778. Western Australia, or Swan River, in 1829; South Australia, of which Adelaide is the capital, in 1834. Australia Felix, or Port Philip, chief town Melbourne, established in 1837, is a dependency of new South Wales. North Australia was colonized in 1838. Australind, on the western coast, about eighty miles south of Swan River was established in 1841.

The government, after passing through the usual phases, is now by a recent act of parliament expanded in all the settlements into a constitution.

The wealth of Australia consists mainly in its flocks, which produce the finest wool in the world; and pasture is so abundant that sheep may be reared by all who take the



trouble to attend to them. The fisheries too, though heretofore neglected, seem to hold out strong inducements to industry, and coal and other minerals necessary to the prosperity of man are found in abundance. The animal and vegetable productions of the island are the very opposites of those to be found in Europe. Yet the soil is so good, and the climate so salubrious, that whatever plants or living creatures the settlers import thrive and multiply. The wretched natives are fast disappearing. It appears that they are little capable of improvement, and that intermarriages between them and the whites seldom prove productive. For many years Australia had been a favorite land of emigration for the British population; but an extraordinary impetus has been given to emigration thither by the recent discovery of the gold beds, which must greatly influence the future character of Australian industry and the local distribution of its inhabitants. We subjoin a brief account of this interesting discovery.

On the 2d of May, 1851, the citizens of Sydney were startled with the announcement that gold had been discovered in a native state within the colonial territory. Mr. Hargreaves, a resident of Brisbane Water, who had recently returned from California, struck with the similarity of the geological formation, felt persuaded that there must be gold in several districts of the colony, and on instituting a search his expectations were realized.

The locality in which the first discovery of gold was made by Mr. Hargreaves was in the neighborhood of Summerhill Creek, thirty miles from Bathurst (or about 140 from Sydney). A spot on the banks of Summerhill Creek soon acquired and has retained, the attractive name of Ophir. But the Ophir diggings were shortly surpassed in amount of produce by those of Turon, a river which flows into the right bank of the Macquarie. Meroo creek, further northward, another of the sites of auriferous wealth, belongs to the basin of the same river, the whole valley of which, from the neighborhood of Bathurst

downwards, appears to possess on either hand abundant supplies of the glittering treasure.

The discoveries to which we have been referring, as well as others that shortly ensued, were made in localities within the limits of the New South Wales territory. But it was soon ascertained that the auriferous deposits of the Australian soil were not limited to that colony. Gold fields that surpassed those of New South Wales in the richness of yield were found to exist in the neighboring provinces of Victoria, and in places more accessible from the maritime districts. Early in the month of September, gold was found at a place called Ballarat, forty miles distant from Geelong (or Port Philip), and within a few days after at Mount Alexander, seventy miles distant from Melbourne. The latter locality has proved by far the richest of the Australian gold fields hitherto worked, and has attracted by much the greater number of diggers. The workings at Ballarat and Mount Alexander rapidly proved so successful as completely to throw into shade the diggings that had already been commenced at Anderson's Creek, and at other places nearer Melbourne. Within a year from the date of the first announcement, gold to a value exceeding four millions sterling had been shipped to England from the Australian colonies; and upwards of thirty thousand diggers were eagerly employed in the search after the precious metal in a single locality of the widely extended gold fields belonging to these portions of the southern hemisphere.

It is impossible to predict what consequences may result from this important discovery, but a glance at what has been done during the last twenty years may serve to indicate the future progress of the country. Within this short period the map of New Holland has gradually been filled up; the bays and headlands of the sea-board have been successfully settled; river after river has received enterprising cultivators on its banks; steam navigation has united the bristling points of 2,000 miles of coast, whilst an average of 200 miles a long that coast has

been subdued to pasture or the plough. The marts of trade have been supplied with wool, tallow, horns, hides, ornamental and hard woods, trenails and copper; so that England, the emporium of trade, is both clothed, adorned, and fortified with the produce of this once despised territory.

**N**EW ZEALAND, a group of islands in the South Pacific Ocean, was discovered by Tasman, in 1642. He traversed the eastern coast, from latitude  $34^{\circ}$  to  $43^{\circ}$  south, and entered a strait; but being attacked by the natives soon after he came to anchor, in the place to which he gave the name of Murderer's Bay, he did not go on shore. He called the country Staten Land, in honor of the States-general; though it has been generally distinguished, in maps and charts, by the name of New Zealand.

In 1770, it was circumnavigated by Captain Cook, who found it to consist of two large islands, the coasts of which were indented with deep bays, affording excellent shelter for shipping. From that period the coasts were occasionally visited by whalers, and some communication was held with the natives; but until 1815, when a missionary station was established there, no permanent settlement appears to have been made by any people. At the general peace the right of Great Britain to these islands was recognized; but no constituted authority was placed over New Zealand till 1833, when a sub-governor from New South Wales was sent to reside there. Meantime the shores and become infested by marauding traders and adventurers of the worst class, who attempted to obtain from the natives large tracts of land by most fraudulent means. In order to remedy this evil as far as possible, and to put a stop to such practices in future, New Zealand was, in 1840, constituted a colony dependent on New South Wales, and a governor appointed; a commission

was also appointed to enquire into the validity of all claims to land, etc.

The highest hopes were entertained respecting the issues of this adventure, and the New Zealand company enjoyed a large share of the public favor. It undertook to transplant English society in all its ramifications to the further side of the globe; and sent out in the same expedition judges, a bishop, clergy, persons who by purchase had become landed proprietors, artisans, peasants, medical men, and printers. But either because due precautions were not taken in the selection of colonists, or that the colonists themselves went out with exaggerated ideas of the advantages secured to them, the result fell short of general expectation. Quarrels between the settlers and the natives broke out, and the system of local government, when put to the test, was found not to fulfil the purposes for which it had been concocted. The grievances of the natives at length stimulated them into a formidable insurrection, under their chief, Heki; but since its suppression in 1848, tranquillity was undisturbed till the commencement of the Maori war, in 1863.

In spite of all hindrances, however, society has by degrees widened its basis in New Zealand. The first body of emigrants, who arrived there in 1830, founded the settlements of Wellington and Nelson on opposite shores of Cook's straits. They have been followed by different swarms at different times, two of which make religious principles, and the right in civil affairs of self-government, the basis of their social organization. At a place called Otago, about 400 miles from Wellington, a settlement of Scotchmen, members of the Free Church of Scotland, has struck root. And further north, at Canterbury, the Church of England has set up her standard under the auspices of the Canterbury association, of which the Archbishop of Canterbury is *ex officio* president. In 1852 New Zealand received from the British government a constitution modeled on that of the Australian settlements.



## POLYNESIA.

THIS name, as we have already observed, is given by modern geographers to various groups of islands in the great Pacific Ocean, lying east of the Asiatic Islands and Australia, and on both sides of the equator; stretching through an extent of about 5,100 miles from north to south, and 3,600 from east to west. Everything bespeaks their submarine creation, and in many there are positive evidences of volcanic agency. They are sometimes divided into Northern and Southern Polynesia, and classed in the following groups:—Pelew Islands; Carolines; Ladrões; Sandwich Islands; Friendly Islands; Gallapagos; Admiralty Isles; New Ireland; New Britain; and New Hanover; Solomon's Islands; New Hebrides and New Caledonia; Queen Charlotte's Islands; Navigators' Islands; Society Islands; Marquesas; Pitcairn Island, &c. Of these we shall only mention a few, as they can hardly be said to come within the scope of a work professedly historical.

THE LADRONES are a cluster of islands belonging to Spain, lying in the North Pacific Ocean, between the 12th and 21st degrees of north latitude, and about the 145th degree of east longitude. They were discovered by Magellan, who gave them the name of *Ladrone Islands*, or the *Islands of Thieves*, from the thievish disposition of the inhabitants. At the time of this discovery the natives were totally ignorant of any other country than their own, and, as it is said, were actually unacquainted with the element of fire, till Magellan, provoked by their repeated thefts, burned one of their villages. At the latter end of the 17th century they obtained the name of the Marianne Islands, from the Queen of Spain, Mary Ann of Austria, mother of Charles II., at whose expense missionaries were sent thither to propagate the Christian faith.

Commodore Anson visited the Ladrões in 1742, and describes Tirrian, one of the

group, as abounding with everything necessary to human subsistence, and presenting at the same time a pleasant and delightful appearance, where hill and valley, rich verdure, and spreading trees formed a happy intermixture. Subsequent navigators, however, found the island to have been deserted, and become an uninhabitable wilderness. The natives of the Ladrões are tall, robust, and active, managing their canoes with admirable adroitness. Guajan is the largest island in the group, and the population consists of settlers from Mexico and the Philippine Islands.

THE FRIENDLY ISLANDS are a group or cluster of islands said to be upwards of one hundred in number, in the Southern Pacific Ocean. They received their name from the celebrated Captain James Cook, in the year 1773, in consideration of the friendship which appeared to subsist among the inhabitants, and from their courteous behaviour to strangers. The chief islands are Anamooka, Tongataboo, Lefooga, and Eooa. Abel Jansen Tasman, an eminent Dutch navigator, first touched here in 1643, and gave names to the principal islands. Captain Cook laboriously explored the whole cluster, which he found to consist of upwards of sixty. The three islands which Tasman saw he named Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Middleburg. Tongataboo is the residence of the sovereign and the chiefs. These islands are fertile, and in general highly cultivated. Eooa is described as a beautiful spot: the land, rising generally to a considerable height, presents the eye with an extensive view. Captain Cook and some of his officers walked up to the highest point of the island. "While I was surveying this beautiful prospect," says the captain, "I could not help flattering myself with the pleasing idea, that some future navigator may, from the same station, behold these meadows stocked with cattle, brought to these islands by the ships of England; and that the completion of this single benevolent purpose, independent of all oth-

er considerations, would sufficiently mark to posterity, that our voyages had not been useless to the general interests of humanity."

Of the nature of their government no more is known than the general outline. The power of the king is unlimited, and the lives and property of the subjects are at his disposal; and instances enough were seen to prove that the lower order of people have no property, nor safety for their persons, but at the will of the chiefs to whom they respectively belong.

THE SOCIETY ISLANDS, in the Pacific Ocean, are eight in number; viz., Otaheite, Huaheine, Ulitea, Otaha, Bolabola, Maurowa, Toobae, and Tabooyamanoo. They are situated between the latitude of  $16^{\circ} 10'$  and  $16^{\circ} 55'$  south, and between the longitude of  $150^{\circ} 57'$  and  $152^{\circ}$  west. The people, religion, language, customs and manners, soil and productions, are nearly the same as at Otaheite, of which we shall speak.

Otaheite was discovered by Captain Wallis, in 1767, who called it King George the Third's Island. Bougainville, a French circumnavigator, next arrived at it in 1768, and staid ten days. Captain Cook, in the *Endeavor*, next visited it in 1769, in company with Mr. Banks (afterwards Sir Joseph Banks), Dr. Solander, and other learned men, to observe the transit of Venus, and staid three months; and it was visited by Captain Cook in his two succeeding voyages; since which time the Spaniards and other Europeans have called there. It consists of two peninsulas, great part of which is covered with woods, consisting of bread-fruit trees, palms, cocoa-nuts, and all tropical vegetation. The people of this and the neighboring islands are the most honest and civilized of any of the Pacific Ocean; but it appears certain that the inhabitants have degenerated rather than improved since Cook's time.

THE SANDWICH ISLANDS, in the North Pacific Ocean, consist of eleven in number.

The are called by the natives, Owhyhee, Mowee, Ranai, Morotoi, Taboorowa, Woakoo, Atooi, Neeheehew, Orehowa, Morotinne, and Takoora; all inhabited, except the two last. They were discovered by Captain Cook in 1777 and 1778.

Goats and European seeds were left by the English at their departure the first time; but the possession of the goats soon gave rise to a contest between two districts, in which the breed was entirely destroyed. The inhabitants are undoubtedly of the same race as those that possess the islands south of the equator; and in their persons and manner approach nearer to the New Zealanders than to their less distant neighbors, either of the Society or Friendly islands. Tattooing the body is practiced by the whole of them.

As these islands are not united under one government, wars are frequent among them. The same system of subordination prevails here as at the other islands, the same absolute authority on the part of the chiefs, and the same unresisting submission on the part of the people. The government is monarchical and hereditary.

Owhyhee, the easternmost and largest of these islands, was discovered by Captain Cook on the 30th of November, 1778, on his return from his voyage northward. Having circumnavigated the island, and anchored in a bay, called Karakakooa, he found great alteration in the conduct of the natives, and a general disposition to theft; and it appeared evident that the common people were encouraged by their chiefs, who shared the booty with them. Still, however, no hostilities were commenced. The greatest honors were paid to the commander; and on his going ashore he was received with ceremonies little short of adoration. A vast quantity of hogs, and other provisions, were procured for the ships; and on the 4th of February, 1799, they left the island, not without most magnificent presents from the chiefs, and such as they had never received in any part of the world. Unluckily, they encountered a storm on the 6th and 7th of the same



month during which the *Resolution* sprung the head of her fore-mast in such a manner that they were obliged to return to Karakakoa bay to have it repaired. On the 13th one of the natives being detected in stealing the tongs from the armorer's forge in the *Discovery*, was dismissed with a pretty severe flogging: this had but little effect; for, in the afternoon of the same day, another having snatched up the tongs and a chisel, jumped overboard with them, and swam for the shore, and having got on board a canoe escaped. These tools were soon after returned through the means of Pareah, a chief. But Captain Cook was not satisfied with the recovery of the stolen goods only; he insisted upon having the thief, or the canoe which carried him, by way of reprisal. As the officer was preparing to launch the canoe into the water, he was interrupted by Pareah, who insisted that it was his property and he should not take it away. This brought on hostilities. The Indians attacked the sailors with stones, and soon drove them to their boats. They then began to break in pieces the pinnace after having taken every thing out of her that was loose. Before the English reached the ship, Pareah overtook them in a canoe, and delivered the midshipman's cap, which had been taken from him in the scuffle. He joined noses with him in token of friendship; and desired to know whether Captain Cook would kill him on account of what had happened. They assured him he would not; and made signs of reconciliation on their part. On this he left them, and paddled over to the town of Kavorah, and that was the last time he was seen by the English.

Next day it was found that the large cutter of the *Discovery* had been carried off in the night time; on which Captain Cook ordered the launch, and small cutter, to go under the command of the second lieutenant and to lie off the east point of the bay, in order to intercept all the canoes that might attempt to get out, and if necessary, to fire upon them. The third lieutenant of the *Res-*

olution, was dispatched to the western part of the bay on the same service. Captain Cook now formed the resolution of going in person to seize the king himself in his capital of Kavorah: with this view he left the ship about seven o'clock on the morning of Sunday, the 14th of February, attended by the lieutenant of marines, a sergeant, a corporal, and seven privates. The crew of the pinnace, under the command of Mr. Roberts, were also armed; and as they rowed ashore, the captain ordered the launch to leave her station at the opposite point of the bay, in order to assist his own boat. Having landed with the marines at the upper end of the town, the Indians flocked round him, and prostrated themselves before him. The king's sons waited on the captain as soon as he sent for them, and by their means he was introduced to the king, who readily consented to go on board; but in a little time the natives began to arm themselves with long spears, clubs and daggers. An old priest now appeared with a cocoa-nut in his hand, which he held out as a present to Captain Cook, singing all the while, with a view to divert the attention of the Captain and his people from observing the motions of the Indians, who were now everywhere putting on their thick mats which they use as defensive armour. Captain Cook beginning to think his situation dangerous, ordered the lieutenant of marines to march towards the shore, as he himself did, having all the while hold of the king's hand, who very readily accompanied him, attended by his wife, two sons, and several chiefs. The Indians made a lane for them to pass; and the distance they had to go was only about fifty or sixty yards, while the boats lay at no more than five or six yards from the land. The king's youngest son, Keowa, went on board the pinnace without hesitation; and Tarraboo, the king, was about to follow, when his wife threw her arms about his neck, and with the assistance of two chiefs, forced him to sit down. The captain finding that he could not take the king along with him without a

great deal of bloodshed, was on the point of giving orders for his people to re-embark, when one of the Indians threw a stone at him. This insult was returned by the captain, who had a double-barrelled gun, by a discharge of small shot from one of the barrels. This had little effect, as the man had a thick mat before him; and as he now brandished his spear, the captain knocked him down with his musket. The king's son still remained in the pinnace; and the detention of him would have been a great check upon the Indians; but Mr. Roberts, who had the command of the pinnace, set him on shore, at his request, soon after the first fire. Another Indian being observed by the captain to be brandishing his spear at him, he fired at him, but missing, killed one close by his side; upon which the sergeant, observing that he had missed the man he had aimed at, received orders to fire also, which he did, and killed him on the spot. Captain Cook now called to the people in the boats to come nearer, to receive the marines. This order was obeyed by Mr. Roberts; but the lieutenant who commanded the launch, instead of coming nearer, put off to a greater distance, and by his conduct deprived the captain of the only chance he had for his life. Captain Cook was now observed making for the pinnace. An Indian was seen to follow him, who struck him on the back of the head with a club. The captain staggered a few paces, and then fell on his hand and one knee, and dropped his musket. Before he could recover himself, another Indian stabbed him with a dagger in the neck, and he fell into the water; when a savage struck him with a club, which probably put an end to his life. They hauled his body on the rocks, and used it in the most barbarous manner. The chief who first struck him with the club was named Karimana Raha; and he who stabbed him with the dagger was called Nooah.

Owing to the barbarous disposition of the Indians, it was found impossible to recover Captain Cook's body: however by dint of

threats and negotiation, some parts were procured, by which means the navigators were enabled to perform the last offices to their much-respected Commander. These being put into a coffin, and the service read over them, were committed to the deep, with the usual honors, on the 21st of February, 1779.

The Sandwich Islands, although the last important discovery in the Pacific, have, in consequence of their geographical position, been more frequently visited by Europeans, and have advanced in civilization more rapidly, than any of the other islands, presenting, at the present time, a degree of improvement unsurpassed, if equalled, during a corresponding period in any other part of the world. The first movement in this direction was made by the chief who governed the large island of Hawaii, after the death of the king who ruled at the time of Captain Cook's visit. This prince, Tamehamaha, the founder of a new dynasty, and sometimes compared to Peter the Great, was a chief of quick perception and great force of character. The Sandwich islanders are necessarily a nautical people, and their king was one of the first to perceive the immense superiority of European vessels over the native canoes. When Captain Vancouver visited these islands in 1792, the king being desirous of having a vessel of European construction, this able navigator laid down the keel of one, which was speedily finished. Ten or twelve years after this, when Mr. Turnbull visited the islands, the king had a naval force of twenty vessels or upwards, of from twenty-five to fifty tons, which traded amongst the islands. To these he subsequently added others, purchased at enormous prices from foreigners visiting the islands. Bent not only on the improvement of his own island, but the subjugation of others, the king encouraged a warlike spirit in the people, introduced European arms among his soldiers, and by means of his infant navy, and the superior weapons of his troops, conquered, though not without great destruction of life, one island after an



other until he became undisputed sovereign of the whole group. He also encouraged trade with foreigners, and derived from its profits a large increase of his revenue, as well as the means of consolidating his power.

The introduction of letters, the reception of the Christian faith, and the guarantee thus afforded for the security of commerce, constituted an era which may be regarded as the turning-point in the history of this people. From that time they have continued steadily to advance in intelligence, resources, civilization, and religion. Their progress has been at times painfully interrupted by means of the misrepresentations of the representatives of foreign governments, and the conduct of foreign officers. On one occasion an English officer went so far as to take possession of the island, and establish a commission for its government; and French officers abrogated the laws, dictated treaties, and by force of arms established the Roman Catholic religion in the country. The act of the English officer was disallowed by his superior as soon as known; but these acts of violence led to a representation on the part of the native sovereign to the governments of England, France, Belgium, and America, and by these powers the independence of the Sandwich Islands was guaranteed in the year 1844.

The Hawaiian government has since been regularly organized; its several departments are efficiently administered, and its laws obeyed throughout the islands. Most of the principal offices of government are filled by foreigners,

chiefly Americans, who have become Hawaiian subjects.

Since their independence has been secure, the progress of the people has been uninterrupted; and the resources of the island have been greatly augmented by the discovery of gold in California, which, lying within a short distance, has increased the trade, opened important markets for produce, and raised the value of labor throughout the islands.

The material prosperity of the people is remarkable. Houses are built in European forms and of durable materials; good roads connect the different parts of several of the islands; a large portion of the inhabitants are well clothed and are possessors of money, or herds, or plantations; and numbers of foreigners, chiefly Americans and English, have settled in the islands either for purposes of commerce or as permanent residents. Of these there are about 500 at Honolulu in Oahu, and perhaps an equal number in other islands. Improved and productive agriculture, introduced by foreigners, has been adopted by the natives; and besides the ordinary indigenous productions, wheat and other grain is raised and converted into flour. Horned cattle are numerous. Extensive plantations of coffee and sugar yield a good return for the capital invested, and reward the skill and labor employed. A sort of national agricultural society exists; and the government has encouraged agriculture, especially the culture of sugar-cane, by the award of premiums or the remission of taxes to the most successful native cultivators.







RETURN TO the circulation desk of any  
University of California Library  
or to the

NORTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY  
Bldg. 400, Richmond Field Station  
University of California  
Richmond, CA 94804-4698

---

ALL BOOKS MAY BE RECALLED AFTER 7 DAYS

- 2-month loans may be renewed by calling  
(510) 642-6753
- 1-year loans may be recharged by bringing  
books to NRLF
- Renewals and recharges may be made 4  
days prior to due date.

---

DUE AS STAMPED BELOW

---

OCT 28 2001

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

12.000 (11/95)

TL 06301

YE 06301

146826

D20  
D2  
V23



